

Revolution and the Reimposition of Order

Chapter XII. Sections 58-62 pp. 500-541

“Never before or since has Europe seen so truly universal an upheaval as in 1848....In 1848 the revolutionary movement broke out spontaneously from native sources from Copenhagen to Palermo and from Paris to Budapest. Contemporaries sometimes attributed the universality of the phenomenon to the machinations of secret societies...but the fact is that revolutionary plotters had little influence upon what actually happened....Many people wanted substantially the same things--constitutional government, the independence and unification of national groups, an end to serfdom and manorial restraints where they still existed. With some variation, there was a common body of ideas among politically conscious elements of all countries....But...[it] lacked basic driving strength. It failed almost as rapidly as it succeeded. Its main consequence, in fact, was to strengthen the more conservative forces that viewed all revolution with alarm. Revolutionary ideals succumbed to military repression....the governments of the 1850s and 1860s, while hostile to revolution, satisfied some of the aims of 1848, notably in national unification and constitutional government with limited representation, but they did so in a mood of calculated realism, and while asserting their own authority....[The] prophets of a new society also became more realistic, as when Karl Marx...offered his own views as hard-headed and ‘scientific.’”

58. Paris: The Specter of Social Revolution in the West

pp. 501-507

- A. The “February” Revolution in France
 1. The July Monarchy of Louis Philippe represented only the upper bourgeoisie and was filled with graft and corruption. Liberals wanted more voting rights; radicals wanted universal suffrage and a republic. The king and **Guizot**, his prime minister, failed to ally with the liberals and obtusely opposed any change. An order forbidding a banquet of reformers brought barricades in working-class Paris. A demonstration led to the death of 20 demonstrators, the city rose in rebellion, and Louis Philippe fled to England.
 2. A Republic was now proclaimed, a “provisional government” established with such leaders as the socialist Louis Blanc and the poet Lamartine. Blanc wanted “national workshops”--state supported, collectivist shops, but bourgeois opposition prevented their effective use, with a political enemy of Blanc chosen as their head. They were used only for unemployment relief--as the number of legitimate unemployed rose rapidly.
 3. The Constituent Assembly, elected by universal male suffrage, formed a new executive board--no socialists, since France in general was bourgeois and peasant. Thus again came the split of Paris/France, but unlike 1783, Paris was much larger--and had 200,000 unemployed.
- B. The “June Days” of 1848
 1. The National Workshops had effectively mobilized the workers. In May they attacked the Assembly, but order was restored by the National Guard. When the Assembly tried to end the Workshops, the laboring class resisted; martial law was declared under Gen. Cavaignac and the regular army. The “**Bloody June Days**” of June 24-26 followed, with 10,000 casualties and 11,000 deported. “It was widely understood that a class war had in fact broken out. Militant workers were confirmed in a hatred and loathing of the bourgeois class....People above the laboring class were thrown into a panic.”
 2. In England the Chartists acted--especially the violent minority. Clashes occurred in Liverpool and elsewhere; plans for barricades and arson were made. Special constables were sworn in, but were not needed; most Chartists were peaceful--and a secret organizer in London was a government spy (agent provocateur?). The idea of insurrection collapsed, but the fear led to moderate responses.
- C. The Emergence of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte
 1. The Constituent Assembly of France drafted a Republican constitution calling for a strong President elected by u.m.s. to be elected immediately. Four candidates came forth: Lamartine, Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon, nephew of Nappy. LNB was elected with 80% of the votes.
 2. LNB had become head of the Bonaparte family when Nappy’s son died. He had attempted two minor putsches, ridiculous attempts to seize power to restore the “glory of the empire.” He had been a Carbonari and had vaguely expressed liberal political and social ideas. He was seen as a friend of the common man and the representative of order. But the key to his election was his name.
 3. The Second Republic now elected a new Legislative Assembly. As in 1797, the majority were monarchists, but they were divided into irreconcilable factions. One-third were republicans, divided between 180 socialists and 70 old-line republicans. After an abortive insurrection in June of 1849, the Assembly ousted 33 socialists and suppressed public meetings and the press, and took away the vote from the poorest. Schools were put under the supervision of the Catholic clergy, to rally religion to “save society.” Troops were sent to Rome to protect the Pope from rebels. LNB now placed his men as heads of War and Interior (police), and in 1851 he sprang his coup d’etat. The Assembly was dissolved. After

brief fighting, LNB was elected president for a term of 10 years by a great majority, and a year later he became Emperor Napoleon III.

59. Vienna: The Nationalist Revolution in Central Europe and Italy pp. 507-514

- A. The Austrian Empire in 1848
1. Austria was divided: Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary with a dozen linguistic and ethnic groups: Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Rumanians, Italians. Some were intertwined, some in blocks. Austria controlled two major segments of Italy, Venice and Milan (Lombardy). Germans dominated, but the Magyars had heir pride and the Slavs their dreams. Austria was dominant in the German Confederation, and Florence (Tuscany) and the Two Sicilies were under Austrian control.
 2. The problem was persistent feelings of cultural nationalism, and the Austrian leadership evaded the issue. Only Piedmont-Sardinia had an independent policy; Italy was only a “geographical expression,” said Metternich. Metternich opposed any cultural nationalism or liberal reformism; “a reigning house, with an official bureaucracy, should rule benevolently over peoples with whom it need have no connection and who need have no connection with each other”-- ideas best suited to an 18th century agricultural localistic society.
- B. The March Days
1. News of the February Revolution in Paris brought Magyar nationalist Louis Kossuth to the fore in Hungary. His speech in Budapest was soon heard in Vienna, where it brought an insurrection that drove Metternich from power. Rioting in Berlin led the king of Prussia to promise a constitution, and lesser German governments fell soon. Hungary claimed autonomy within the Empire, and equivalent status was granted to Bohemia by emperor Ferdinand. Milan and Venetia declared their independence, and the people of Florence declared their republic. The king of Piedmont-Sardinia, who had granted a constitution, declared war on Austria and invaded north Italy. Italian unity seemed certain.
 2. “Patriots everywhere demanded liberal government and national freedom--written constitutions, representative assemblies, responsible ministries, an extended suffrage, restrictions upon police action, jury trial, civil liberty, freedom of press and assembly [and]...serfdom was declared abolished.”
- C. The Turning of the Tide after June
1. In general, the revolutionaries were poorly organized; they were men of ideas, not spokesmen or powerful interests. Workers were not politically conscious, angry, or organized; they soon separated into factions. The army was the key, with noble officers and peasant troops.
 2. In May, the Germans had called an all-German assembly for Frankfurt; the Czechs replied with an all-Slavic assembly in Prague in June. The Czech assembly was profoundly anti-German--but not anti-Austrian nor anti-Habsburg. The main problem was Bohemia, divided between the Sudeten Germans and the Czechs. When a Czech insurrection broke out, the Austrian army under Windischgrätz ended both it and the Slavic congress. The following month, Radetsky decisively defeated the Italian forces and hopes of Italian independence ended. The Hungarian movement soon followed. It had been based totally on Magyar nationalism--feelings strongly resented by Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, and Croatians. A pro-Habsburg army moved against the Magyars.
 3. In Vienna, a mass insurrection forced Emp. Ferdinand to flee. But it was too late; Windischgrätz crushed the rebellion. The forces of counter-revolution--the landed nobility, the Catholic clergy, and the army--cleared the past by forcing the abdication of Ferdinand and bringing Francis Joseph to the throne.
- D. The Final Outburst and Repression, 1849
1. Riots, insurrections continued in 1849--Germany, Rome. Mazzini established a republic in Rome and Kossuth declared Hungary independent; P-Sardinia attacked again. The Austrian army crushed Italy, with Russian troops called to stop the Hungarians. Pius IX, once liberal, now turned reactionary and condemned liberalism.
 2. Austria became repressive under the Bach (Min of the Interior) system: the government was rigidly centralized, peasants were emancipated, internal trade barriers were ended, administrative efficiency was increased. But it really consisted of ““a standing army of soldiers, a sitting army of officials, a kneeling army of priests, and a creeping army of informers.””

60. Frankfurt and Berlin: The Question of a Liberal Germany pp. 514-519

- A. The German States
- The Frankfurt Assembly met from May 1848 to May 1849 to bring a liberal, constitutional government to a united Germany. It was made possible by the collapse of the existing German governments in the March days of 1848. Germany was composed of 39 independent obstacles to unifications--the states recognized by

- the Congress of Vienna. Austria claimed historic rights in the region; Prussia was composed of the Rhineland, the area around Berlin, West Prussia, Posen, and East Prussia. Prussia was controlled by the Junkers, who lacked German political feelings.
- B. Berlin: Failure of the Revolution in Prussia
 1. Prussia was illiberal but not backward. Its government was efficient, progressive and fair. It had high literacy and had an outstanding university and elementary school system. It had created a *Zollverein*, or customs union which included most of Germany.
 2. Berlin riots had led to the creation of a legislative assembly because the king, Frederick William IV, refused to call in the army. The Assembly was dominated by anti-Junker lower-class extremists who were also anti-Russian. They set up new pro-Polish institutions in Posen. These were soon crushed by the army, and it was obvious where real power lay.
 - C. The Frankfurt Assembly
 1. German voters elected delegates, but the Assembly proved weak since it represented nothing but an idea--with no power to issue orders or force compliance, no army or civil service to act. The Assembly was professional, middle class; it opposed violence and revolution, opposed working class upheaval. It needed an alliance with the lower class to work. But when radicals rioted in Frankfurt, the Assembly called in the Prussian army to suppress them.
 2. Their major problem: What was "Germany?" Was it the German language zone, or something less? What of Austria? The Assembly divided into Great Germans, wanting union under the Austrian Emperor, and the Little Germans, wanting to exclude Austria and unify under the King of Prussia. Both wanted *Schlesswig*, included in Denmark; the Assembly called for war but needed Prussia's army; the army refused to act and the Assembly was humiliated.
 3. Overall, each revolting nationality had failed to support the others, and the result was victory by the Old Order. In Frankfurt, they wrote a constitution, speaking of the "rights of Germans"--and offered the throne to Frederick William IV. He refused, declaring that he would not "pick up a crown from the gutter." The Assembly disbanded; riots broke out but were suppressed by the army. Liberal nationalism had failed, and a harsher variety would soon replace it. Many liberals and revolutionaries emigrated to the US.
 4. Frederick William now issued the Prussian Constitution of 1850. It called for a parliament with two chambers. Elections for the lower house were held with u.m.s, but the richest third elected one-third, the next richest one-third, and the poorest the last third. The Junkers remained in control, with their former serfs turned into free wage earners economically dependent on them.

61. The New Toughness of Mind: Realism, Positivism, Marxism

pp. 519-527

- A. Introduction:
 1. The "springtime of peoples" (1848) had failed. Constitutional liberty was secured for a few small states, but national freedom had not been gained nor had democracy been advanced. Serfdom had ended; peasants were free to move, find new jobs, take part in a money economy, or migrate. But once freed, peasants showed little concern for constitutional or bourgeois ideas.
 2. The main result was a new toughness of mind. Idealism was discredited, radicals were less optimistic, conservatives more willing to be repressive. Industries developed, times were prosperous; prices and wages were rising, property owners felt secure, and labor leaders turned from theories to organizing viable unions, especially for skilled trades.
- B. Materialism, Realism, Positivism
 1. According to materialism, the spiritual, mental, or ideal grew from the physical world. Romanticism was replaced by realism in lit and art; one should describe life as it was. Trust in science went along with religious skepticism--from opposing organized religion to the radical notion that religion was an invention to aid the "haves."
 2. Positivism was the philosophy of Auguste Comte; it was based on a scientific outlook. The function of sociology, the science of society, was to determine the laws of social progress. One should seek verifiable facts, questioning all assumptions and seeking the utility of human ideas.
 3. In politics, the new attitude was called *realpolitik*, the politics of reality. Governments should be orderly, hard-working, and honest; reformers should use the political means to gain their ends. In international politics, nations should be governed not by ideology but by practical interests--and using any practical means to achieve their ends. Pacifism was soft-headed; war was accepted as a means, a tool, though not necessarily a glorious one.
- C. Marxism: Karl Marx (1818-1883) was the son of a lawyer in the Rhineland. In 1848 he was a democratic-radical newspaperman who had studied law and philosophy. He met Friedrich Engels (1820-1893), son of a

German textile manufacturer with a plant in Manchester. They joined the Communist League in Paris in 1847 and agitated for a radical socialist revolutionary program for Germany. Their program was just the sort of ideas that alarmed the Frankfurt Assembly. It was in this connection that Marx and Engels wrote their *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. With the failure of revolution, Engels returned to his Manchester factory and Marx settled down in London, where he produced his *Das Kapital*.

D. Sources and ideas of Marxism:

1. From the French Revolution Marx took the idea that workers could change society, bringing social and economic equality. From the Industrial Revolution Engels brought a full knowledge of English industry--the poor pay of labor, reinvestment of profit in capital goods that were private property, government in the hands of the wealthy, religion seen as needed for order, and the family disintegrating under work pressure--all basic themes of the Manifesto. Based on these ideas, country no longer mattered; one must be loyal only to class, to the proletariat.

Marx also borrowed the idea of the Iron Law of Wages and the labor theory of value--ironically, just as orthodox economists were dropping both (the first, as wages began to rise, and the second from the theory that value is determined psychologically, by the satisfaction of human wants or tastes). From the labor theory Marx derived his idea that the worker is cheated of the value his labor creates; that the low wages of workers meant the threat of over-production, accumulated goods, and depression; and that depressions cause revolution.

2. From German philosophy Marx took the Hegelian dialectic. History is a process of development that is necessary, logical, and deterministic. To Marx, the primacy of the materialistic (i.e., economic) "relations of production" are what produces religions, philosophies, governments, laws, morality. Conditions are the roots, ideas are the trees. Hegel emphasized the ideas; Marx the economic and social conditions. Material conditions cause classes, and changes produced new classes resulted in struggle until the rise of a new dominant class. Finally, bourgeois and proletariat would enter the great struggle which would produce the classless society. With no exploiting class, the state would wither away. But until the final victory, the worker must see everything in terms of the class war. Workers must be disciplined; class solidarity must hold against opportunism, the siren promises of change by the bourgeois. All law, religion, morality is bourgeois and therefore evil. Negotiating for improved wages and conditions is treason to one's class, leading workers to forget the class war. There can be no hope through the owners, or through the state, or through religion--for all are but different faces of the bourgeoisie, the class enemy.

E. The Appeal of Marxism: Its Strengths and Weaknesses

Marx claimed his socialism was scientific; the dialectic would inevitably produce the classless society from the conflict of classes. But European workers did not behave as members of a class; they believed in Christian morality, the concept of justice, and nationalism. As they gained the right to vote and improved conditions through unions, they acted through the state. They became, as Marx observed, opportunists. But "From Marx the working classes absorbed much, including a watchful hostility to employers and a sense of working-class solidarity; but on the whole, as Marxism spread at the close of the nineteenth century it ceased to be really revolutionary." [until revived by Lenin and transplanted to Russia....]

62. Bonapartism: The Second French Empire, 1852-1870

pp. 527-531

- A. LNB is the first modern dictator--a politician seizing power in peace due to the fears of a divided people. He used speeches to mold opinion; he appealed to the masses by promises and pageantry. He gloried in modern "progress." He declared that parliaments accentuated divisions and brought anarchy--while he stood above class and ruled equally for all. He was authoritarian, creating a Council of State to draft laws and using elective bodies with very limited power. He produced a brilliant, luxurious, showy court life with his Empress Eugénie. He had the great architect-engineer Hauptmann plan Paris, with broad avenues and fine buildings and monuments.

B. Economic Developments

1. The newly realistic Saint-Simonians of the 1850s created investment banking founding the *Crédit Mobilier* to raise funds by selling its shares to the public--and using the capital raised to buy stock in new industrial enterprises it wished to develop. The times were good, as gold from California and Australia financed an inflationary boom. New railroads were built and required rolling stock, rails, stations. Iron steamships were replacing wooden sailing ships. A French company built the Suez Canal. Large corporations were developed using the idea of limited liability--and the wealth and savings of the country were mobilized and put to work. Financiers assumed a new eminence.

2. Workers also gained through humanitarian relief; hospitals and asylums were established, and the vague outlines of a social-service state began to appear. Unions became legal, and in 1864 strikes became legal as well.
 3. Napoleon III also believed in free trade, with a plan for a tariff union with Belgium, an idea blocked by interests in both countries as well as from Great Britain and the *Zollverein*. He pushed a bill for free trade with Britain.
- C. Internal Difficulties and War
- LNB's policies brought domestic opposition--free trade produced some industrial enemies; his policy for Italy displeased Catholics. And during the 1860s he gave freer reign to the Legislative Body. The real problem was war. In the 1850s, France was involved in the Crimean War with Russia, the Italian war for independence; in the 1860s he was embroiled in adventures in Mexico, and finally he took France to war with Prussia. And so ended the Second Empire. (Details later.)

Write the proper letter for the Multiple-Choice and A for True, B for False

- ___ 1. The July Monarchy is described as being conservative and coldly efficient
- ___ 2. The policy of Louis Philippe and Guizot is described as being obtuse:
(A)clever (B)destructive (C)far-sighted (D)stupid (E)courageous
- ___ 3. The fall of L. Philippe was brought about by an incident in which the police fired on a crowd of working class demonstrators.
- ___ 4. The new government of February, 1848, enthusiastically supported the idea of the National Workshops of Louis Blanc.
- ___ 5. The "Bloody June Days" were the results of acts by the Assembly--elected by the upper middle class-- against the workers.
- ___ 6. The Assembly set up a republican government headed by a strong, elected president.
- ___ 7. A putsch is defined as a(n):
(A)petty uprising (B)revolution (C)coup d'etat (D)major rebellion
- ___ 8. The key factor in the rise of LNB was the Napoleonic legend--he was a Bonaparte.
- ___ 9. The Chamber of Deputies elected by u.m.s. in 1849 was predominately royalist.
- ___ 10. In 1851 LNB overthrew the government and declared himself Emperor Napoleon III.
- ___ 11. LNB's coup was possible because he controlled the army, bureaucracy, and police.
- ___ 12. LNB's actions as president were designed to secure basic liberal political goals.
- ___ 13. The French violence of 1848 triggered the equally violent but unsuccessful revolts in Britain of the Chartists.
- 14. The events of 1848 again show the essential fact of French politics first clear in 1791, 1792, and 1797:

Write the proper letter for the Multiple-Choice and A for True, B for False

- ___ 1. The July Monarchy is described as being conservative and coldly efficient
- ___ 2. The policy of Louis Philippe and Guizot is described as being obtuse:
(A)destructive (B)far-sighted (C)stupid (D)clever (E)courageous
- ___ 3. The fall of L. Philippe was caused by the insurrection after Gen. Cavaignac was given power and imposed martial law.
- ___ 4. The new government of February, 1848, gave half-hearted support to the idea of the National Workshops of Louis Blanc.
- ___ 5. The "Bloody June Days" were the results of acts by the Assembly--elected by the upper middle class-- against the workers.
- ___ 6. The Assembly set up a republican government headed by a strong, elected president.
- ___ 7. A putsch is defined as a(n):
(A)major rebellion (B)petty uprising (C)revolution (D)coup d'etat
- ___ 8. The key factor in the rise of LNB was his reputation as a "man of the people."
- ___ 9. The Chamber of Deputies elected by u.m.s. in 1849 was predominately socialist.
- ___ 10. In 1851 LNB overthrew the government and declared himself Emperor Napoleon III.
- ___ 11. LNB's coup was possible because he had the support of the people.
- ___ 12. LNB's actions as president were designed to secure basic liberal political goals.
- ___ 13. The French violence of 1848 triggered the equally violent but unsuccessful revolts in Britain of the Chartists.
- 14. The events of 1848 again show the essential fact of French politics first clear in 1791, 1792, and 1797:

MARXISM:

Write an essay in which you explain the major ideas of Marx's view of history.

A possible outline of some of the points you should cover:

- 1. basic economic ideas and their origin (Ricardo and Proudhon)
 - a. idea of classes and their origin
 - b. influence of class on culture, including government and religion
- 2. Concept of class conflict: the dialectic (Hegel)

3. Bourgeoisie v Proletariat: the working out of the final struggle
 - a. why it occurs (ideas of Communist Manifesto)
 - b. capitalism's contradictions and failures
 - c. establishment of communism
4. Failures of Marx

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