

Chapter 23: Ideologies and Upheavals, 1815-1850

1. The peace settlement
 - a. By 1814, the conservative monarchs had defeated French armies and checked the spread of the French Revolution--but many questions remained unanswered.
 - b. The Congress of Vienna was a settlement that would not sow the seeds of another war.
 - c. The European balance of power
 - i. The victors (mainly the alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain) restored the French boundaries of 1792 and the Bourbon dynasty.
 1. Further, France did not have to pay any war reparations.
 2. Because the repercussions were so lenient, the French did not feel vengeance for the victors.
 - ii. They made other changes in the boundaries of Europe, establishing Prussia as a "sentinel" against France, and created a new kingdom out of Belgium and Holland.
 - iii. It was believed that the concept of the **balance of power**--an international equilibrium of political and military forces--would preserve peace in Europe.
 - iv. But the demands of the victors, especially the Prussians and the Russians, for compensation threatened the balance.
 1. The Russian **Tsar Alexander I** wanted Russia to get Poland, Prussia to get Saxony and Austria to get Italy.
 2. **Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand** signed a secret alliance, forcing Russia and Prussia into a compromise whereby Russia got part of Poland and Prussia received two-fifths of Saxony.
 - v. After Napoleon's escape from Elba and his final battle at Waterloo, France only lost a little territory, paid an indemnity of 700 million francs and had to support a large army of occupation for five years.
 - d. Intervention and repression
 - i. Under **Metternich**, Austria, Prussia, and Russia led a crusade against liberalism.
 1. Metternich, like other conservatives, believed that liberalism was the cause of a generation of bloody war. He believed that tradition was the proper way to go.
 - a. Middle class lawyers started a "conspiracy" that seduced the lower classes as well.
 - b. National self-determination, the idea that each people had a right to establish its own independent government and seek to fulfill its own destiny, defied traditional absolutism.
 - i. Idea was a bit problem for the ethnically and religiously diverse peoples of the Austrian Empire of the Habsburgs.
 2. They formed a **Holy Alliance** to check future liberal and revolutionary activity.
 3. When liberals succeeded in Spain and in the Two Sicilies, these powers intervened to restore conservative rulers to the throne.
 4. But Latin American republics broke from Spain.
 5. Metternich's policies also dominated the German Confederation--through which the **Carlsbad Decrees** were issued in 1819.
 6. These decrees repressed subversive ideas and organizations in the 38 German states.
 - e. Metternich and conservatism
 - i. Metternich represented the view that the best state blended monarchy, bureaucracy, and aristocracy.

- ii. He hated liberalism, which he claimed stirred up the lower classes and caused war and bloodshed.
 - 1. Liberalism also stirred up national aspirations in central Europe, which could lead to war and the breakup of the Austrian Empire.
 - 2. The empire, which was dominated by the minority Germans, contained many ethnic groups, including Hungarians and Czechs, which was a potential source of weakness and dissatisfaction.
- 2. Radical ideas and early socialism
 - a. After 1815 new radical ideas emerged--all of which rejected the old conservatism and sought alternative ideologies.
 - b. Liberalism
 - i. Liberalism demanded representative government, equality before the law, and individual freedoms such as freedom of speech and assembly.
 - ii. Early-nineteenth-century liberalism opposed government intervention in social and economic affairs.
 - iii. Economic liberalism was known as laissez-faire--the principle that the economy should be left unregulated.
 - 1. **Adam Smith** was critical of mercantilism and argued that a free economy would bring wealth for all, including workers.
 - 2. He believed that a self-regulating market would give all citizens a fair and equal opportunity to do what they did best.
 - 3. British businessmen often used the principle of laissez-faire in self-serving ways.
 - iv. After 1815, political liberalism became increasingly a middle-class doctrine, used to exclude the lower classes from government and business.
 - 1. Only those with property (aristocratic landowners, substantial businessmen, and successful members of the professions) could vote.
 - 2. Some "radicals" went beyond liberalism to call for democracy--that is, universal voting rights.
 - c. Nationalism
 - i. Nationalism was a second radical idea in the years after 1815.
 - 1. It advocated the ideal of "cultural unity."
 - 2. Nationalists sought to turn cultural unity into political reality, so that the territory of each people coincides with its state boundaries.
 - a. However, a variety of ethnic groups share territories.
 - b. The "unity" of language is false; only the elite had a standardized written language, while the lower-classes spoke in a variety of local dialects
 - 3. The new urban-industrial society needed better communication (such as language and cultural unity) between individuals and groups, promoting the use of a standardized national language within many countries.
 - 4. "Nations" are recent creations--the product of a new nationalist ideology centering on ceremonies and parades and other traditions.
 - 5. A common belief in "the people" linked nationalism with democracy, liberalism, and republicanism.
 - a. The benefits of self-government were only possible if the people were united by common traditions that transcended local interests and even class differences.
 - ii. Nationalists believed that every nation had the right to exist in freedom-- sovereignty.

1. **Jules Michelet's *The People***: "[Each citizen] learns to recognize his country as a note in the grand concert; through it he himself participates and loves the world."
 2. **Giuseppe Mazzini**- "In laboring according to the true principles of our country we are laboring for humanity."
- iii. However, nationalism generated "we" and "they" ideas of national superiority and national mission.
- d. French utopian socialism
 - i. Socialism began in France with the goal of overthrowing selfish individualism with cooperation and a sense of community.
 - ii. French socialists proposed a system of greater economic equality planned by the government.
 1. They believed the rich and poor should be more nearly equal economically.
 2. They believed that private property should be strictly regulated or abolished, replaced by state or community ownership.
 - iii. **Saint-Simon** and **Fourier** proposed planned socialist communities.
 1. Saint-Simon was a moralist who believed that a planned society would bring about improved conditions for the poor.
 - a. He proposed a new class system, with the **doers** (scientists, engineers and industrialists) at the top and planning the economy, and the **parasites** (the court, aristocracy, lawyers, and churchmen) below them.
 2. Fourier proposed new self-sufficient planned towns; he also criticized middle-class family life and sexual-marriage customs, instead supporting free unions based only on love.
 - iv. **Blanc's Organization of Work** asserted that the state should set up government-backed workshops and factories to guarantee employment, to protect the "right to work."
 - v. The anarchist **Proudhon** claimed that property was profit that was stolen from the worker, and that the worker was the source of all wealth.
 - vi. Socialists supported skilled workers (guild members) in their hatred of laissez-faire laws and their quest for collective action and state intervention on their behalf.
 - e. The birth of Marxian socialism
 - i. The *Communist Manifesto* (1848), by **Marx** and **Engels**, is the key work of socialism.
 1. Background history on Marx- atheist, studied philosophy, journalism and economics
 2. Marx saw all of previous history in terms of an economic class struggle among the three classes: the **aristocracy**, the **bourgeoisie**, and the **proletariat**.
 3. The industrial society was characterized, according to Marx, by the exploitation of the proletariat (workers) by the bourgeoisie (middle class).
 - ii. He predicted that the future would bring a violent revolution by workers to overthrow the capitalists.
 1. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. **WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**"
 - iii. Marx argued that profits were really wages stolen from the workers, an extension of David Ricardo's idea that labor was the source of all value.
 - iv. His theory of historical evolution came from **Hegel**.

1. Hegel believed that each age is characterized by a dominant set of ideas, which produces opposing ideas and eventually a synthesis.
 2. Marx retained Hegel's view of history as a dialectic process of change but made economic relationships between classes the driving force.
3. The romantic movement
- a. The romantic movement was partly a revolt against classicism and the Enlightenment.
 - i. Romantics rejected the classical emphasis on order and rationality and the idea that the ancient Greeks and Romans had discovered eternally valid aesthetic rules.
 - b. Romanticism's tenets
 - i. Romanticism was characterized by a belief in emotional exuberance, imagination, and spontaneity.
 1. In Germany, early romantics of the 1770s and 1780s called themselves the **Sturm und Drang** ("Storm and Stress").
 - ii. Romantics stressed individualism, led bohemian lives, and rejected materialism.
 1. They kept their hair long and uncombed rather than wearing wigs.
 2. They believed that the development of one's unique human potential was the supreme purpose of life. <3
 - iii. Romantics used nature as a source of inspiration, and they emphasized the study of history.
 1. "Nature is Spirit visible."- **John Constable**
 2. History was seen as the key to an organic, dynamic universe.
 3. Reading and writing history was viewed as the way to understand national destiny.
 - c. Romanticism in literature
 - i. Romantic literature first developed fully in Britain, as exemplified by the poets **Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats**.
 1. Wordsworth was influenced by the ideas of Rousseau and the spirit of the early French Revolution.
 2. Wordsworth and Coleridge rejected classical rules of poetry; Wordsworth's work points to the power of nature to elevate and instruct.
 - a. He used ordinary language.
 - b. One of the best examples of his romantic credo is his poem "Daffodils."
 - c. "[Poetry is] the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling recollected in tranquility."- Wordsworth
 3. The Scottish novelist and poet **Walter Scott** romanticized history through a series of historical novels.
 - a. He translated **Gotz von Berlichingen**, which was a play about a 16th century knight who revolted against centralized authority and championed individual freedom.
 - ii. Classicism remained strong in France under Napoleon, but in 1813 **Germaine de Staël (On Germany)** urged the French to turn away from classicism to romanticism.
 - iii. In France, **Victor Hugo** emphasized strange settings and human emotions--such as those in his **Hunchback of Notre Dame**, equating freedom in literature with liberty in politics and society.
 - iv. Romantics such as the Frenchwoman **George Sand** rebelled against social conventions.
 1. She abandoned her husband and took her two children to pursue a career in writing, eventually writing **Lélia**.

- v. In central Europe, romanticism and nationalism reinforced each other.
 1. The **Grimm Brothers** rescued German fairy tales.
 2. The Slavs converted spoken peasant languages into modern written languages.
 3. **Aleksander Pushkin** used his lyric genius to mold the modern literary language.
- d. Romanticism in art and music
 - i. **Delacroix, Turner, and Constable** were three of the greatest romantic painters.
 1. Delacroix painted **Liberty Leading the People**, celebrating the nobility of popular revolution in general.
 2. Turner depicted nature's power and terror; wild storms and sinking ships were his favorite subjects.
 3. Constable painted gentle Wordsworthian landscapes in which human beings were at one with their environment.
 - ii. Romantic composers rejected well-defined structure in their efforts to find maximum range and emotional intensity.
 1. They tripled the size of the small classical orchestra.
 2. **Liszt** was the greatest pianist of his age.
 3. **Beethoven** was the first master of romantic music.
 - a. "Beethoven's music sets in motion the lever of fear, of awe, of horror, of suffering and awakens just that infinite longing which is the essence of Romanticism." - contemporary admirer
 4. Music became an end in itself, no longer just background entertainment.
- 4. Reforms and revolutions
 - a. National liberation in Greece
 - i. Greece was still unified by a common language and the Greek Orthodox religion.
 - ii. Greek nationalists led by **Ypsilanti** in 1821 fought for freedom from Turkey.
 - iii. At first, the Great Powers supported the Ottoman Empire, but popular demands forced Britain, France, and Russia to support Greek nationalism, and Greece became independent in 1830.
 1. People loved classical Greek culture and saw the Greek national struggle as romantic.
 2. The Great Powers defeated the Turks at Navarino.
 3. Russia established a Russian protectorate over present-day Romania.
 4. A German prince was installed as the king of Greece.
 - b. Liberal reform in Great Britain
 - i. After witnessing the French Revolution, the British aristocracy, which controlled the **Tory party**, feared liberalism and worked to repress it.
 - ii. The **Corn Law (1815)**, which protected the English landowners by prohibiting the importation of foreign grain unless the domestic price rose above a certain level, is an example of aristocratic class power and selfishness.
 1. The change in the Corn Laws led to protests by urban laborers, supported by radical intellectuals.
 2. The **Battle of Peterloo** was a large, but orderly protest against the Corn Laws, which was broken up by armed cavalry.
 3. Soon after, Parliament passed the **Six Acts (1819)**, which eliminated all mass meetings.
 - iii. The growth of the middle class and its desire for reform led to the **Reform Bill of 1832**, created by the **Whig party**, which increased the number of voters from 8

percent to 12 percent.

1. The **House of Commons** emerged as the major legislative body, setting a precedent by forcing the House of Lords to concede to the bill by threatening to create new peers, or more members in the **House of Lords**.
 2. The new industrial areas of the country gained representation in Commons.
 3. Many "**rotten boroughs**" --electoral districts that had very few voters and that the landed aristocracy had bought and sold-- were eliminated.
 - iv. The Chartist demand for universal male suffrage failed, but the middle-class manufacturers in the **Anti-Corn Law League** succeeded in getting the Corn Laws repealed in 1846 and free trade established.
 1. Ireland's potato crop failed, making famine seem likely in England as well.
 - v. By 1846, Tory and Whig parties were interested in reform and passed the **Ten Hours Act (1847)** that limited the factory workday for women and young people to ten hours.
- c. Ireland and the Great Famine
- i. Most people in Ireland were Irish Catholic peasants who rented land from a small number of lazy and greedy English Protestant landlords.
 - ii. These peasants lived in shocking poverty--and under tremendous population growth.
 - iii. Population growth was due to potato cultivation, early marriage, and high rents.
 - iv. Peasants had no incentive to make permanent improvements since it would all be taken away by higher rent. Rural poverty was inescapable and better shared with a spouse, while a child was an old person's best hope of escaping destitution.
 - v. From 1820 on the potato crop was often diseased and starvation resulted.
 - vi. Relief efforts were inadequate; landlords insisted on rents and the government continued to collect taxes--all of which led to massive evictions.
 - vii. Millions died or left Ireland; anti-British feelings followed--as did Irish nationalism.
- d. The revolution of 1830 in France
- i. **Louis XVIII's Constitutional Charter of 1814**, although undemocratic, protected the people against a return to royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege.
 1. Only 100,000 of a population of 30 million had the right to vote for the deputies who, with the king and his ministers, made the laws of the nation.
 - ii. **Charles X**, Louis's reactionary successor, tried to re-establish the old order and repudiated the Constitutional Charter in 1830.
 1. The reaction was an immediate Parisian insurrection that brought the expulsion of Charles X.
 - iii. The new king, **Louis Philippe**, accepted the Constitutional Charter but did little more than protect the rich upper middle class.
 1. "The trouble with this country is that there are too many people like you who imagine that there has been a revolution in France." - Casimir Perier, Louis Philippe's new chief minister
 2. Despite their revolution, little had changed.
5. The revolutions of 1848
- a. A democratic republic in France
 - i. The refusal of **King Louis Philippe** and his chief minister, **Guizot**, to bring about electoral reform sparked a revolt in Paris in 1848.
 - ii. The revolt led to the establishment of a **provisional republic** that granted universal male suffrage and other reforms.
 1. All slaves in French colonies were freed, the death penalty was abolished, and the ten-hour workday in Paris was established.

- iii. The revolutionary coalition couldn't agree on a common program, as the moderate, liberal republicans (universal male suffrage *only*) split with the radical socialist republicans (universal male suffrage *and* socialism.)
 - 1. Many artisans hated cutthroat capitalism and wanted strong craft unions.
- iv. **Louis Blanc** and a worker named **Albert** pushed for socialist reforms in the government.
- v. National workshops were a compromise between the socialists' demands for work for all and the moderates' determination to provide only temporary relief for the massive unemployment.
- vi. The French masses elected 500 moderate republicans, 300 monarchists and 100 radicals.
 - 1. One of the republicans was the author of ***Democracy in America***, **Alexis de Tocqueville**, who had predicted the overthrow of Louis Philippe's government.
- vii. The fear of socialism led to a clash of classes.
 - 1. The French peasants wanted to keep the land that would be lost in a socialist society.
 - 2. After losing their main representative **Blanc**, the workers invaded the Constituent Assembly and tried to proclaim a new revolutionary government.
 - 3. The Assembly dissolved the workshops in Paris.
- viii. The closing down of the workshops led to a violent uprising (the **June Days**), which was put down by **General Louis Cavaignac** and his republican army.
- ix. Class war led to the election of a strongman, **Louis Napoleon**, as president in 1848.
- b. The Austrian Empire in 1848
 - i. The revolution in France resulted in popular upheaval throughout central Europe, but in the end conservative reaction won.
 - ii. Hungarian nationalism resulted in revolution against the Austrian overlords.
 - 1. Under **Kossuth**, the Hungarians demanded national autonomy, civil liberties, and universal suffrage.
 - 2. **Emperor Ferdinand I** promised reforms and a liberal constitution.
 - 3. Serfdom was abolished, newly freed people lost interest in the political and social issues plaguing the country.
 - 4. The artisan workers and the urban poor rose in arms and presented their own demands for socialist workshops and universal voting rights for men, coming into conflict with the middle classes.
 - iii. Conflict among the different nationalities (Hungarians against Croats, Serbs, and Rumanians; Czechs against Germans), encouraged by the monarchy, weakened the revolution.
 - iv. The alliance of the working and middle classes soon collapsed.
 - v. The conservative aristocrats crushed the revolution.
 - vi. **Francis Joseph** was crowned emperor in 1848.
 - vii. The Russian army helped defeat the Hungarians.
- c. Prussia and the Frankfurt Assembly
 - i. Middle-class Prussians wanted to create a unified, liberal Germany.
 - ii. Inspired by events in France, the working-class people of Prussia demanded and received a liberal constitution from **Frederick William IV**.
 - 1. He also promised to merge Prussia into a new national German state.
 - iii. Further worker demands for suffrage and socialist reforms caused fear among the aristocracy.

- iv. The **Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848** was a middle-class liberal body that began writing a constitution for a unified Germany.
- v. War with Denmark over the provinces of **Schleswig and Holstein** ended with a rejection of the Frankfurt Assembly by the newly elected **Frederick William** and the failure of German liberalism.
 - 1. They had concentrated too much on nationalist issues, and too little on the liberal constitution.
 - 2. **Frederick William** granted them a conservative constitution
 - 3. He also tried to get monarchs of Germany to elect him emperor, Austria supported by Russia forced Prussia to renounce schemes for reunification
- vi. Unification of Germany had failed.