

Chapter 21 – Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850

The Conservative Order

The Peace Settlement

1814 (before Waterloo) Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to stay united and ensure peace
Quadruple Alliance restored the Bourbons to France, with Louis XVIII
Congress of Vienna – led by Klemens von Metternich (Austrian foreign minister)

Principal of Legitimacy

Metternich considered legitimacy (restoring the legitimate monarchs) to be the key to ensuring peace
Applied to France, Spain, and Italian states
Ignored with Poland (which Russia, Prussia, and Austria all claimed)
Declared “independent” but ruled by the Romanovs
Austria, Prussia “bought off” with other lands
Austrian Netherlands was merged with Dutch Republic to create the Netherlands

A New Balance of Power

No country would dominate another
France was held to 1790 borders – after Napoleon’s 100-day return

The Ideology of Conservatism

Metternich, an avowed conservative, worked to contain the liberal forces of the French Revolution
Conservatism began in 1790

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) published *Reflections on the Revolution in France*
Each generation has the duty to preserve and transmit the culture to the next
Allowed for overthrow of a government but not by suddenly or violently

Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821)

Restoration of a hereditary monarchy
Divinely inspired and the only way to guarantee order

Conservative ideology:

- a. obedience to political authority
- b. organized religion helped social order
- c. no revolutions, no liberal demands for civil liberties, no representative governments
- d. community over the individual
- d. only monarchies could do it right

conservatism supported by hereditary monarchs, govt. bureaucracies, landowners, churches

Conservative Domination: The Concert of Europe

Quadruple Alliance agreed to meet periodically to discuss issues and take any necessary action
1818 (Aix-la-Chapelle): lifted occupation of France, became the Quintuple Alliance
1820 (Troppau): dealt with outbreaks in Spain and Italy

The Principle of Intervention

Metternich, thinking Italy’s revolt threatened Austria’s domination, proposed principle of intervention
Great European powers had the right to send in armies to restore legitimate monarchs
Britain refused to agree

Did manage to keep Europe out of Latin American revolutions

1821 (Laibach): Austria, Russia, and Prussia authorized Austria to invade Naples

1822 (Verona): Austria, Russia, and Prussia authorized France to invade Spain

The Revolt of Latin America

Napoleon’s overthrow of the Bourbons in Spain weakened Spanish authority in the New World

1810: Argentina

Simón Bolívar helped liberate Colombia (1819) and Venezuela (1821)

José de San Martín liberated Chile (1817) and Peru (1821)

By 1825: Mexico and Central America; Brazil’s independence recognized by Portugal

Britain kept others from intervening, proposed jointly protecting Latin America along with U.S.

President Monroe rejected Britain, proposed the Monroe Doctrine

Guaranteed their freedom and protected against European intervention

(actually, it was Britain's navy that made Europe reluctant to invade)

Britain merchants moved in and dominated Latin America's economy

The Greek Revolt

Principle of intervention could also aid revolutions

1821: Greeks revolted against the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire

1827: combined British-French fleet defeated the Ottoman armada

1828: Russia invaded Ottoman-controlled Moldavia and Wallachia

1829: Treaty of Adrianople allowed Russia, France, and Britain to decide Greece's fate

1830: Greece was granted independence

Conservative Domination: The European States

Great Britain: Rule of the Tories

1815: Britain was governed by land-owning elite

voting was restricted by the landed gentry

newly expanding cities were wildly underrepresented

Tories and Whigs: two political parties controlled by the landed gentry

By 1830, Whigs had begun to receive support from the industrial middle class

Tories remained highly conservative

1815: Tories passed the Corn Law – placing high tariffs on foreign grain

benefitted the landowners but devastated the poor with rising prices

1819: Peterloo Massacre – troops attacked 60,000 protesters, killing 11

Parliament reacted by clamping down on demonstrations, distribution of pamphlets

Restoration in France

1814: Louis XVIII recognized need for some change

accepted the Napoleonic Code, with equality under the law, established bicameral legislature

pleased neither side: liberals said he hadn't gone far enough and ultraroyalists criticized any compromise

1824: Louis was succeeded by his brother, Charles X

indemnified the nobles whose lands were lost in the Revolution

encouraged the Catholic Church to return to its role in controlling French education

1827: Charles accepts that his ministers must be responsible to the legislature

1829: Charles violated his agreement

1830: the deputies protested, and Charles dissolved the legislature, calling for new elections

Intervention in the Italian States and Spain

Congress of Vienne had established 9 Italian states, all of which had highly reactionary governments

Much of Italy was dominated by Austria

Nevertheless, there were secret, nationalistic societies (Carbonari)

1814: Ferdinand VII (a Bourbon) was put on the throne

Ferdinand battled the Cortes (legislature) and even tore up the constitution

Army officers + middle-class merchants overthrew the king

1823: French army invaded and restored Ferdinand to the throne

Repression in Central Europe

Despite some liberalism and nationalism within Germany, monarchs and elites controlled the region

Congress of Vienna recognized the Germanic Confederation: 38 States (Austria, Prussia, and the rest)

Prussia had been the most liberal state –prior to 1815:

Abolished serfdom, expanded primary and secondary education, formed national army by draft

Frederic William III became more reactionary after 1815

In reaction, university professors/students formed the Burschenschaften for a free, united Germany

1817: they honored the 300th anniversary of Luther's 95 Theses by burning conservative books

1819: Metternich drew up the Karlsbad Decrees

closed the Burschenschaften, censored the press, kept an eye on universities

Austria was a multinational, polyglot state with a common ruler, the Habsburg emperor

Germans, though only a ¼ of the population, were economically advanced and influential in the govt.

Austria was held together by 1) dynasty, 2) imperial civil service, 3) army, and 4) Catholic Church

Russia: Autocracy of the Tsars

In 1800, Russia was overwhelmingly rural, agricultural, and autocratic

Tsars were still absolute monarchs

Alexander I considered himself an enlightened monarch

Relaxed censorship, freed political prisoners, reformed educational system

Refused to grant a constitution or free the serfs

After Napoleon's defeat, Alexander became more reactionary (e.g., tightened censorship)

Secret societies began to form, most notably the Northern Union

Favored constitutional monarchy and freeing the serfs

1825: Alexander died; brother Constantine renounced in favor of other brother, Nicholas

Northern Union rebelled (Decembrist Revolt) and was crushed by loyal troops

Nicholas became even more conservative as a result

Determined to avoid another rebellion, he strengthened the bureaucracy and the secret police

Regularly deported suspicious or dangerous people

Was willing to use his army to crush revolts around Europe

The Ideologies of Change

Liberalism

Owed much to the Enlightenment and the American and French Revolutions, also the Industrial Revolution

In whatever form, it believed that people should be free from restraint as much as possible

Economic Liberalism (classical economics)

Laissez-faire: business should be free from government intervention

Especially as influences supply and demand

Government has only three primary functions

1) defense (army), 2) protection (police), and 3) construction and maintenance of massive public works

Business would then bring about the maximum good for the maximum number

Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) published *Essay on the Principles of Population*

Population (when unchecked) grows at geometric rate while food grows at arithmetic rate

Result is overpopulation and resultant starvation

It is "natural" and inevitable and therefore the government should not interfere

David Ricardo (1772-1823) published *Principles of Political Economy* in 1817

"iron law of wages"

greater population → more workers → lower wages → misery, starvation → fewer workers →

higher wages → more children → greater population (and the cycle continues)

again, it is inevitable, so government interference would just perpetuate the cycle

Political Liberalism

Freedom in this case meant protection of individual liberties

Equality before the law, freedom of assembly, speech, religion, and press, and from arbitrary arrest

Occasionally added separation of church and state, peaceful opposition to the government, and a

representative legislature, ministerial responsibility (to the legislature), limited suffrage

Guaranteed by a written document, like a Bill of Rights

equal *civil* rights did not necessarily mean equal *political* rights

suffrage always meant "men of property," although the property requirement diminished with time

liberals were *not* democrats

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) published *On Liberty* in 1859

"absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment" to be protected from government, majority tyranny

supported women's rights: published *On the Subjection of Women* in 1867

"the legal subordination of one sex to another" was wrong

Nationalism

Arose out of belief that a community has a set of common institutions, traditions, language, and customs

That community becomes the focus of people's loyalty

First established as a force during the French Revolution

Any such community deserves its own government

Naturally led toward

1) the unification of common peoples, and 2) the desire for independence by subject peoples
Nationalism in Germany or Italy would have upset the balance of power, among Hungarians it would have split the Austrian Empire

Conservatives opposed nationalism; liberals thought it supported the freedom of peoples

Early Socialism

Horrible conditions in the mines, factories, and slums gave rise to *socialism*

A belief that cooperation, rather than competition, would produce equality

Later Marxists would scornfully call these *utopian socialists*

Fourier

Charles Fourier (1772-1838) proposed small, model communities called *phalansteries*

Communally housed, they would live and work together for everyone's benefit

Work would be rotated to avoid undesirable tasks

Owen

Robert Owen (1771-1858), a British cotton manufacturer, established self-contained communities

New Lanark in Scotland (succeeded) and New Harmony in Indiana (failed)

Blanc

Louis Blanc (1813-1882) published *The Organization of Work*

Social problems could be solved by governmental assistance

Called for government workshops: financed by govt., owned and operated by workers

Female Supporters

Some women believed only a changing order would help women's cause

Comte de Saint-Simon's call for equality between men and women drew female support

Tristan

Flora Tristan (1803-1844) combined socialism and feminism

Saw absolute equality as the only hope for women

Utopian socialism was at the fringe of politics, overshadowed by liberalism and nationalism

Laid the groundwork for later criticisms of capitalism

Section 3

Revolution and Reform (1830-1850)

1830 : a wave of change pushed the social order; 1848: wave of revolution moved through Europe

Another French Revolution

1830 elections resulted in liberal victories; Charles X issued *July Ordinances*
rigid press censorship, dissolved legislature, and reduced the electorate
produced the *July Revolution*

moderate, propertied liberals asked Louis-Philippe (a cousin of Charles X) to take the throne
Louis-Philippe was called “the bourgeois monarch”

Supported by the upper middle class; acted and dressed like them

New constitution favored the upper middle class

Lowered financial requirements created new voters (only the wealthiest could vote)

Disappointed the lower classes – after all, look what the industrial revolution had done to workers

Even the legislature was torn: Party of Movement (“more change”) vs. Party of Resistance (“enough”)

After elections of 1840, Party of Resistance dominated

Revolutions in Belgium, Poland, and Italy

Merger of Catholic Belgium with Protestant Dutch Republic had never worked

1830: Belgians revolted and European powers recognized its independence

minor German prince became king, Belgium became a constitutional monarchy

Italian revolt was crushed by Austrian troops sent by Metternich

Polish tried to get rid of Russian domination

Appeal to Britain and France for help was denied, Russians set up a more repressive military dictatorship

Reform in Great Britain

1830: Whigs gained power, realized that compromise was preferable to revolution

The Reform Act of 1832

Recognized what changed the Industrial Revolution had brought

Disenfranchised 56 rotten boroughs, enfranchised 42 cities and towns

Lowered property requirement (to £10 annual rent) but still only top 3% could vote

Still greatly favored the upper middle class – but there was new representation by industrialists

New Reform Legislation

1830s and 1840s Parliament: wealthy landowners vs. wealthy industrialists

landowners proposed legislation regulating working conditions; industrialists opposed it

Poor Laws of 1834: make paupers’ lives so miserable that they would seek work

Threw those who couldn’t support themselves into “workhouses” that were intentionally miserable

Repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) served two constituencies

Lowered the price of bread for the commoners, reinforced “free trade” favored by industrialists

1848, a year of continental revolution, passed without a crisis in Britain

The Revolutions of 1848

Despite revolutions in France, Belgium, and Greece, conservatism controlled most of Europe

Nevertheless, liberalism and nationalism continued to grow

Yet Another French Revolution

Agricultural and industrial depression, corruption scandals, middle-class frustration with no suffrage

Party of Movement moved against Party of Resistance

Political rallies were forbidden, so they held political “banquets”

Government outlawed a grand banquet in Paris, but they showed up anyway

Louis-Philippe was unable to counteract it, so he fled to Britain

Provisional government was formed and tasked with writing a new constitution

Representatives were to be selected by *universal male suffrage*

At urging of Louis Blanc, it established national workshops

They became centers for “make work”: leaf-raking and ditch-digging

Set up conflict between moderates (most of France) and radicals (working class of Paris)

Elections for the National Assembly: 500 seats to moderates, 300 to monarchists, 100 to radicals

Unemployed workers supported by workshops rose from 10,000 to 120,000
Bankrupted the treasury, so moderates closed the workshops
Workers didn't accept it, so they rioted; 1000s of them were killed, 4000 were deported to Algeria
New constitution set up the Second Republic
established a unicameral legislature of 750 elected by universal male suffrage
Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president (to a four-year term)

Revolution in the Germanic States

News of the French revolution triggered upheavals across Europe
Rulers attempted compromise to avoid revolution
Prussian king (Frederick William IV) agreed to abolish censorship, establish a new constitution
Similar efforts across German Confederation intended to unify Germany
Frankfurt Assembly
Broke down over concept of "Big Germany" (with Austria) or Little Germany (without)
Austrians withdrew, then FW IV declined offer to be German emperor, ordered delegates home

Upheaval in the Austrian Empire

News of French revolution triggered dissatisfied factions
Hungarians wanted separate legislature
Protests in Buda, Prague, and Vienna forced Metternich out.
Hungary got its own legislature, so the Czechs demanded their own, too
Conservatives exploited the divisions between moderates and radicals
Military crushed the rebels in Prague (Czechs) and later in Vienna
Weak ruler Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of stronger Franz Joseph I
But his army couldn't crush Hungarians, so Nicholas I sent the Russian army, which did

Revolts in the Italian States

After failure of 1830-1831, leadership of the *risorgimento* fell to Giuseppe Mazzini, founder of Young Italy
Mazzini (1805-1872) published *The Duties of Man*, urging creation of a united Italy
1848: rebellions in Sicily, Lombardy, and Venetia resulted in constitutions
king of Piedmont (Charles Albert) called for liberation from Austrian domination
invaded Lombardy and was crushed; Austria took back Lombardy and Venetia
French forces helped Pop Pius IX regain control of Rome
Only success: Piedmont retained its constitution

The Failures of 1848

Division among the rebels shattered the efforts
Liberals didn't extend suffrage to the working class
Divisions among ethnic groups shattered the efforts
Hungarians demanded independence from Austria, but wouldn't support Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs

The Maturing of the United States

1789 Constitution supported liberalism and nationalism
At first this wasn't evident: Federalists (Hamilton) and Republicans (Jefferson and Madison) argued
over how strong the central government should be
BTW, the Federalists were pro-British and the Republicans were pro-French
The War of 1812 with the British doomed the Federalists
Supreme Court under Justice John Marshall strengthened the power of the federal government
1828: Andrew Jackson opened an era of mass democracy (property qualification was ended)

Emergence of an Ordered Society

Revolutionary upheavals + influx from the country to the cities put a premium on establishing strong order
Crime – especially against property – rose dramatically
New police forces appeared to protect the propertied classes from criminals and misfits

New Police Forces

Civilian police forces aimed to preserve property and lives, maintain order, investigate crime, arrest criminals

French Police

March 1829: new police, known as *serjents*, appeared in Paris, dressed in blue uniforms
carried white cane during the day and a saber at night

British Bobbies

Britain had employed volunteer constables to keep order, prevent crime, and arrest criminals

Sept. 1829: "Bobbies" (named after Robert Peel, who had introduced the legislation) appeared in London

Originally intended to prevent crime; eventually used to impose order on the working class

Spread of Police Systems

After revolution of 1848, Berlin established *Schutzmannschaft*

Began as civilian body but gradually became more militaristic and put to political use

Other Approaches to the Crime Problem

Social reformers tied crime to the problem of poverty

Governments attacked the problem of poverty by creating workhouses to make unemployed miserable

Some reformers believed poverty was caused by moral degeneracy of the lower classes

Their solution was to instruct the poor in trades to make them more productive members

Organized religion set up Sunday schools to improve the morals of children

Protestants set up nurseries for orphans and homeless children

Catholics set up religious orders dedicated to leading men and women away from vices

Prison Reform

Capital punishment was gradually being replaced by imprisonment

British decreased the use of transporting serious offenders to Australia

Reformers questioned the effectiveness of prisons

Rehabilitation rather than punishment was explored

After examining American prisons the French and British began to isolate prisoners

They believed solitary confinement forced prisoners to examine their consciences

In the end, it became too expensive and was dropped

Section 4

Culture in an Age of Reaction and Revolution: The Mood of Romanticism

In the late 1700s, Romanticism challenged the Enlightenment's preoccupation with reason

Intuition, feeling, emotion, and imagination deserved at least equal attention

The Characteristics of Romanticism

Emphasis on emotion, sentiment, and inner feeling

Good model was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther*

Hero felt misunderstood and rejected by society, and his unrequited love caused his suicide

Subsequent European novels dealt with the tragic deaths of young women by disease

Appreciation for *individualism*

Led Romantics to rebel against society's conventions (tended toward long hair, beards, outrageous clothes)

The Romantic Hero: solitary genius willing to die for a cause (good example: the poet George, Lord Byron)

Attention paid to "romantic" past: medievalism, folk histories

Folk tales from the Grimm Brothers in Germany, Hans Christian Anderson in Denmark

Walter Scott evoked medieval Scotland in novels, poems (including *Ivanhoe*)

"Gothic" architecture in castle-mansions in the country, neo-Gothic cathedrals, churches, public buildings

Attraction to the bizarre and unusual: "*Gothic literature*"

Edgar Allan Poe, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*

Some Romantics focused on dreams, nightmares, hallucinations, suicidal depression

Aided by drugs (cocaine, opium, hashish, laudanum)

Romantic Poets

Poetry thought to directly expose the soul

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), an outspoken atheist, wrote *Prometheus Unbound* in 1820

Lord Byron (1788-1824), a melancholy hero, wrote *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* about a melancholy hero

Love of Nature

William Wordsworth's poetry suggested a mystical connection with nature

Sometimes taken further in a *pantheistic* worship of Nature as God

Critique of Science

Romantics criticized the mechanistic materialism of science (spoiled the "romance" of nature)

Emphasis on the mathematical precluded an imagination or the human soul

Mary Shelley's monster in *Frankenstein* symbolized the dangers of science trying to conquer nature

Romanticism in Art

Art was meant to be 1) a reflection of the artist's inner feelings and 2) a mirror of the artist's vision of the world

Show warmth, movement, and emotion

Friedrich

German painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) conveyed mystery and mysticism in landscapes

Turner

British painter J.M.W. (Joseph Malford William) Turner produced more than 20,000 works

Landscapes, seascapes, sunrises, sunsets had objects "melt" into their surroundings (impressionism?)

Delacroix

French painter Eugène Delacroix employed theatricality and movement, "garish" colors as "a feast for the eye"

Romanticism in Music

Music was thought by some to be the "most Romantic" because it most deeply probed human emotion

Beethoven

German composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) felt that music *must* reflect his deepest inner feelings

Prior to 1800 he studied in Vienna (with Haydn) and composed in the classical style

1804: wrote his third Symphony, the *Eroica* ("heroic"), originally for Napoleon

used uncontrolled rhythms to express dramatic struggles and uplifted resolutions

Berlioz

French composer Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) was among the first to write "program music"

Used the moods and sound effects of instrumental music to depict actions and emotions of a story

Symphony Fantastique "tells" of the passion of a tortured love affair

The Revival of Religion in the Age of Romanticism

1700s: flirtation with the Enlightenment caused the elite to lose their attraction to Catholicism

1815: restoration philosophy strengthened Catholicism

Romanticism looked to the medieval church for inspiration

Catholicism

François-René de Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity* based acceptance of Catholicism in Romanticism

Cathedrals elicited feelings of awe and God's majesty

Protestantism

A great "awakening" had begun in the late 1700s with Methodism in Britain and Pietism in Germany

Enthusiastic evangelical ministers found acceptance for their hellfire sermons and emotional conversions

From an audience weary of the highly educated clergy of the state churches