The Early 19th Century: The Conservative Order & Revolutions

Lamartine in front of the Hôtel de Ville (i.e. City Hall), Paris, on 25 February 1848, refusing the socialist red flag. Painted by Félix Philippoteaux --- Public document credited to the web site of the Académie of Strasbourg.
Bourbon Dynasty in France

Louis XIV  1643 - 1715

Louis XV  1715 - 1774

Louis XVI  1774 - 1792
French Revolution 1789-1799
(Liberal to Radical)
Napoleon 1799-1814
(Liberal / Moderate / Conservative)
Napoleon downfall
June 18, 1815  Battle of Waterloo
Congress of Vienna
(Conservative/Reactionary Backlash)
• From left to right, they are Talleyrand, the French representative; Montgelas, the Bavarian minister; Hardenberg, the Prussian minister; Metternich, who appears to be the focus of attention in the group; and von Gentz, a German political theorist.
Congress of Vienna was an eight month long meeting of world leaders from 1814 -1815.

GOALS:
1. Restoration/Legitimacy
2. Balance of Power
   *prevent Bonapartist expansion
3. Keep Revolutionary Movements and Liberal Reforms in Check
4. Intervention
5. Principles of Conservatism
I. **Conservatism** - ideology based on:

- Obedience to authority/institutions
- Importance of institutional religion
- Against revolutionary upheavals, liberal reforms
- Against nationalist aspirations
- Community over individual rights
- Importance of a well-ordered predictable society based on tradition

Edmund Burke: *Reflections on the Revolution in France*

Prince Klemens von Metternich - Austrian Foreign Minister

Frenchmen Joseph de Maistre - restoration monarchy
Conservatism – Edmund Burke

Society – a contract, but “…the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, to be taken up for a temporary interest and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties.” – and was a partnership “not only between those who are living, but between those who are to be born.”
Conservatism – Joseph de Maistre

Supported the institution of hereditary monarchy – divinely sanctioned institution and was the only viable way of maintaining “order in society”
Simulation – Congress of Vienna
Europe (1789) Pre-Revolution
Congress of Vienna – The Reality...

Nobleman: “The Congress dances, but makes no progress...” – 200 countries...

• National Goals:

1. Austria (Metternich)
   - Metternich – dominant in meetings – “Age of Metternich”
   - Multiethnic empire – repress nationalism
   - Collective security – maintain status quo

2. France (Talleyrand)
   - Sought readmission w/ restoration of Bourbons (legitimacy)
   - Talleyrand won over Metternich – exposed plan of Prussia/Russia to take all of Saxony and Poland w/out consulting other powers (“Poland-Saxon Question”)

3. Great Britain (Castlereagh)
   - Balance of power on the continent (Fr, Pr, Ru)
   - Avoid future military involvement on the continent

4. Prussia (Prince von Hardenberg)
   - Limited power
   - Desired incorporation of Saxony (long-time enemy)

5. Russia (Alexander I)
   - Control of Poland
   - “Holy Alliance” (Ru./Au./Pr.) to stop future “godless’ Bonapartist revolutions
II. Congress of Vienna Agreements

A. Principle of Legitimacy - maintain peace by restoring legitimate monarchs who would preserve traditional institutions

1. Return monarchs to throne of Spain (Bourbon), France (Bourbon), and Naples (Bourbon) Italian states
   * Constitutions conceded in some cases, but power remained in conservative hands.

2. Ignored in some cases like Poland
   (3/4 size of Duchy of Warsaw)
B. **Balance of Power** - distribution of power among several states so no single nation can dominate or interfere with the interests of another

1. To balance Russia’s gains (land in Sweden, and Norway) Austria and Prussia were given territory/strengthened (Territory on the Rhine).

2. To balance a strong France created a larger Netherlands (Dutch Republic + Austrian Netherlands *Belgium*)

3. Piedmont-Sardinia enlarged

4. Germanic Confederation created

5. Swiss Neutrality – formally recognized

6. Britain gains Ceylon (Sri Lanka, South Africa)
C. New borders

1. Smaller Poland was reborn but with Russian influence (Russian Tsar = King of Poland, but directly ruled by “Congress Poland”)

2. Prussia given 2/5 of Saxony, Westphalia, E. bank of Rhine River

3. **Compensation for lost territory**: Austria given Lombardy and Venetia, but lost the Austrian Netherlands

4. France – not significantly weakened, but borders reset to 1790 borders – forced to pay indemnity and accept occupation army

“Polish-Saxon Question”: Compromise that avoided war!!!
D. A “Concert of Europe” was set up so that nations (monarchies/aristocracies) would help one another if any revolutions broke out. (Concept of Intervention to maintain status quo...)

**Collective Security**

**System of alliances, ongoing meetings, negotiations/interventions to prevent the future rise of a “Bonapartist” power...**

- Quadruple Alliance → Quintuple Alliance (1818 w/ France)
- Holy Alliance → Austria, Prussia, Russia – stop revolution (Alexander I)
III. Results of the Congress of Vienna

** A conservative reaction (maintain institutions, tradition) to contain liberal and nationalist forces unleashed by the French Revolution**

A. Liberal/Nationalist ideals of the French Revolution were still popular and influential especially in Western Europe.
B. Peace *among principal powers* was maintained in Europe for 30 years.

*no general/continent-wide war for almost 100 years*

C. France’s power decreased while Britain and Prussia’s power increased.
D. Nationalism spread throughout Europe:

- Revolts in Spain/Italy vs. restored monarchies (1820); in Serbia (1815–1835) and Greece (1827-1830) against the Ottoman Empire; against Spanish authority in Latin America (up to 1825)

- which helped lead to the formation of the countries of Belgium (1830) Greece (1832), Germany (1871), and ...
Italy (~1871).
IV. Conservative Domination in the Congress System

A. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)

1. Withdrew occupation armies from France
2. France added to Concert of Europe (Quintuple Alliance)

British resistance to an International peace keeping Force

Coverage by the press – Growing influence of public Opinion
**Congress of Troppau (meeting to deal with/unrest in Italy/Spain)**

Issue: Forced kings to agree to constitutional limits...

B. Revolt in Naples

1. 1820: overthrow of Naples’ king by revolutionaries
   - Metternich’s view of revolt as something to be quarantined
   - Austria’s close relationship with Italy

2. Principle of intervention
   - British rejection

3. Eventually sent in Austrian troops to put down revolt (Ferdinand I)
   *Sanctioned by Congress at Laibach (1821)*
C. Revolt in Spain

1. 1820 – spread of revolutionary fervor into Spain
2. Sent French troops in, crushed revolt, punished revolutionaries, restored Bourbon Monarch in 1823 – sanctioned by Congress of Verona – 1822
D. Revolts in Latin America
   1. Affect of Napoleonic Wars
   2. European intervention
      • British objection
   3. Monroe Doctrine (1823)
      US – “mouth” ...
      Britain – “muscle”
      • British motives
        – Break Spanish Empire – trade influence
      • American motives
        – Fondness for revolutions against old world monarchs
        – Nationalistic flexing of international “muscle”
        – Economic interest in Latin America “sphere of influence”
      • Counterpoint to Metternich’s policy of intervention
        *no congress after Verona – but spirit of cooperation until 1848*
E. The Greek Revolt *violates anti-nationalist stance of the Concert of Europe*

1. 1827 – Greeks revolt against Ottoman rule
2. Growth of Greek nationalism and support of European nations (British/French)
3. Interest of Russia in Balkans
   *1828 – war vs. Ottoman Empire*
   *est. of protectorate*
4. 1830: Greece declared independent kingdom *Treaty of Adrianople*
Competing Ideologies...

Conservatism
Nationalism
Liberalism
  Economic Liberalism
  Political Liberalism
Socialism
F. Conservatism to Revolutions in European States
1815-1830 vs. 1830-1848
Role of Liberalism, Nationalism, Socialism, Class Tension, Industrial Revolution?
“When France sneezes, Europe catches a cold.”
1. France

c. Liberals vs. Ultraroyalists (Conservatives)

- Charles X (1824-1830) ... last Bourbon Monarch
- Conservative: Indemnity to aristocrats (confiscated land), Catholic Church control of educational system
- Liberal: Outrage leads to principle of **ministerial responsibility**
- Charles would violate this commitment
- After a protest by Deputies in 1830 – Charles dissolves legislature
- Brink of revolution in 1830 - new elections...
Gerard – depicting Charles X
d. 1830 Elections – victory for French Liberals

e. Charles Issues **July Ordinances** (July 26, 1830)
   - Rigid censorship, dissolved assembly, reduced electorate

f. Leads to July Revolution
   - Propertied liberals ousted Charles X in favor of Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans
   - Constitutional monarchy established

g. Louis-Philippe (1830-1848) – “bourgeoisie monarch”
   - Increased number of voters from 100,000 to 200,000 (still only wealthy)
   - Limited reforms created disappointment even rage among poor working class who helped to bring about the revolution
   - Increasingly political consciousness among the poor

h. Division seen in Chamber of Deputies
   - **Party of Movement** (Adolphe Thiers) – ministerial responsibility (ministers responsible to legislature vs. king and limited expansion of electorate
   - **Party of Resistance** (Francois Guizot) – more conservative – political leanings that favored more wealthy upper-middle class – cooperative with Louis-Philippe
1830 - - Belgium (NATIONALISM)

- Congress of Vienna – established a new state, The Netherlands that combined the protestant Dutch Republic and Catholic Belgium under Dutch monarch.
- Belgian rebellion against Dutch – accepted by European powers
- Independent constitutional monarchy in 1830
1830 - - Italy & Poland (suppression of LIBERALISM/NATIONALISM)

- Austria crushed revolts in Italian states (Metternich)
- Polish revolutionaries attempt to overthrow the Russian Tsar and fail to receive outside support from France/Britain – Russians impose military rule in 1831
Lead up to ANOTHER French Revolution

g. Major problems in France
   • Industrial/agricultural depression in 1846-1847
     Parisian workers: unemployed EOY 1847
   • Scandals, graft, corruption
   • Government refusal to extend suffrage to middle class
   • Resentment of Louis-Philippe’s gov’t – refused to meet demands of middle class
   • Coalition of resentment (radical republicans, socialists led by Louis Blanc, upper middle class led by Adolphe Thiers) wanted dismissal of Guizot
ANOTHER French Revolution

(Notice influences of POLITICAL LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM)

h. Gov’t forbade banquet
i. Protests in Paris on February 22nd
j. Abdication of Louis-Philippe
k. Provisional government – called for universal manhood suffrage, set up national workshops/cooperative factories run by the workers (Actually make-work programs) – Louis Blanc
  • Split between the more popular moderate republicans and the radical republicans (supported narrowly by Parisian working class)
  • Elections in National Assembly:
    500 moderate republicans
    300 monarchists
    100 radical republicans

Cartoon:
Louis Philippe ...
turning in to a pear
Important Dates

1517
1555
1648
1688
1715
1763
1776
1789
1848
Reasons for 1848 Revolutions

• Liberal frustration at political change and representation in government
• Nationalism – lack of self determination for ethnic minorities
• Working class discontent/political consciousness
1848 Revolution in France

k. Failure of the provisional government and the Rise of Napoleon III
   • Unemployment goes up, more workers go on the roles of the workshops – creates too much expenses
   • Workshops close
   • “June Days” – Workers revolt – bloody rebellion
   • Government forces crush the revolt – deport 4,000 to Algeria
   • New Constitution in November 1848 – universal male suffrage (750 member body)
   • Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (nephew) elected – exploits middle class fears about working class rebellion – 4 years later became Emperor Napoleon III

1848
Second
Republic
2. Great Britain

a) Inequities of Parliament – dominated by the aristocracy DESPITE growing industrial middle class

b) Birmingham/Manchester – no reps

c) Political factions: Tories vs. Whigs (landed classes)
   – Tories held parliamentary power until 1830
   – Whigs – increasing support from industrial middle class

d) Growing discontent after 1815
   – Corn Law of 1815 (tariff on foreign grain → high prices)
   – 1819 Protest – “Peterloo Massacre”
   – Growing popular discontent
   – Reforms made – Tories keep power
   – Corn Laws not repealed until 1846
e. 1830 – new parliamentary elections brought Whigs to power

- Important that the July Revolution in France made an impact – catalyst for change

- Industrial revolution – created a wealthy class who resented the corruption of the British electoral system (had excluded them from power)

- Whigs realized that they had to allow reform or risk revolution – demands of industrial class were heeded

- 1830 – election reform bill – enacted in 1832

- “Days of May” – Popular riots in support of reform bill
e. Reform act of 1832

- Redistricting to destroy “rotten boroughs” established new towns – good for industrial/urban communities
- STILL – property qualification
- STILL – while almost doubling the electorate, only 1/30 people was represented in Parliament – 478,000 \( \rightarrow \) 814,000
- Only benefited upper class industrialists – who joined the political prominence of landed aristocracy
- Characterization of Reform Act of 1832: “Reform that you may preserve”
- More of a minimalist conservative response to an impending radical upheaval

Remember:

Factory Act of 1833
Mines Act – 1840s
Ten Hours Act - 1847
“But let us know our interest and our duty better. Turn where we may – within, around – the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, ‘Reform, that you may preserve.’ Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears;...now, while the heart of England is still sound;...The time is short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing regret, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.”

Thomas Babington Macaulay
Speech of March 2, 1831 to the House of Commons on the subject of the Reform Act
1830s/1840s

• Aristocratic class – responsible for legislation to curb industrial abuses (more of a defender of urban working class interests)

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM:

• Poor Law of 1834 – based on theory that giving aid to the poor encouraged laziness and more paupers – punish the poor
  – Poor house conditions intentionally made miserable
  – Choose to work

• Anti-Corn Law League 1838 (Richard Cobden/John Bright) – attempt to lower bread prices (help to the working classes/industrial middle classes who believed in economic liberalism)

• Repeal of Corn Laws 1846 – movement toward free trade – ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

• 1848 – no major crisis in Britain – pacification of middle class (Reform Act 1832, Repeal of Corn Laws 1846)
Anti-Corn Law League, 1845

- Give manufactures more outlets for their products.
- Expand employment.
- Lower the price of bread.
- Make British agriculture more efficient and productive.
- Expose trade and agriculture to foreign competition.
- Promote international peace through trade contact.
3. Italy
   a. 9 states
   b. Austrian influence
      (small duchies and Lombardy & Venetia)
   c. Reactionary gov’ts
   d. Popular liberal/ nationalist revolutionary sentiment
      Carbonari
   c. Stifled in three Italian states by Austrian intervention (Metternich) in 1830
   e. Italy’s Risorgimento (resurgence) came under the control of Giuseppe Mazzini

NATIONALISM
f. 1848 Revolt in a number of Italian states – vs. Austrian overlords
   • Sicily → North → successes in Lombardy & Venetia (republic)

h. By 1849 – Austrians reestablished complete control over Lombardy, Venetia,
4. Spain
   a. Restoration of Bourbons
      Ferdinand VII (1814)
   b. Constitution and the Cortes
      (parliament)
      • Torn and dissolved/persecuted!
   c. Revolt (army officers,
      intellectuals, merchants)
      • Restored constitution and
      Cortes (1820)
   d. French Army restored
      Ferdinand
      (Congress of Verona 1822 -
      Intervention)
   e. Internal turmoil during 1848
      revolutionary period –
      insurrections, civil wars,
      political instability
6. Austria, German Confederation, Prussia

a. Austrian Empire – Conservative repression under Metternich (anti-liberalism/anti-nationalism)
   - Abolition of serfdom
   - Spies/agents
   - Dominance of aristocratic class kept nationalist/liberal movements weak
   - Centralized Habsburg monarchy

b. Liberal/Nationalist movements in Austria, Prussia, German States
   - Burschenschaften – students – anti conservative - 1817

c. Karlsbad Decrees – 1819
   - Reactionary – censorship, university supervision

d. Ethnicity problem
   - German Speaking Elite
   - Monarchy, its civil service, its army, Catholic Church

e. German Confederation – 38 sovereign states – weak diet required unanimity
   - Dominated by Austria/Prussia

f. Prussia – Frederick William III (followed Metternich’s lead)
   (Stein/Hardenberg)
   - Reforms under Napoleon
     - Abolition of serfdom
     - Municipal self-gov’t (town councils)
     - Universal primary/secondary schools
     - National army/conscription
     - No national parliament
     - Frederick William III - reactionary/ absolutist
6A. 1848 Revolution in Austrian Empire

a. Paris Revolution inspired revolution in Austria in March 1848 (NATIONALISM/LIBERALISM)
b. Hungarian liberals (Louis Kossuth) – wanted Hungary to have “commonwealth” status willing to keep Habsburg monarch, but own legislature (NATIONALISM/LIBERALISM)
c. March – demonstrations in Buda, Prague, Vienna → Metternich – dismissed -- flees to Britain
d. Vienna taken over by revolutionary forces – insisted on a liberal constitution
e. Hungary was granted the right to form legislature, separate national army, control over foreign policy and budget
f. Czech – demands for own government
g. Loyalty to Habsburg monarchy – single thread
h. Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I (1835-1848) – made concessions to revolutionaries BUT
i. Exploited middle-class fear of working class social revolution
j. June 1848 – General Alfred Windischgratz put down Prague rebellion
k. October 1848 – crushed revolt in Vienna
l. Ferdinand I abdicates for Francis Joseph I (1848-1916) (Constitution est. in 1849) – efforts to force authority of royal government, but unable to defeat Kossuth/Hungarians
m. Russian Army of 140,000 – to crush Hungarian revolution
n. Austria exploited ethnic nationalism in Hungary to help force Hungary into submission
o. Failure of liberal/nationalist revolt in Austria
6B. 1848 Revolution in the German States

a. News of the February 1848 revolution in Paris triggered upheaval in Central Europe

b. German rulers promised constitutions, free press, jury trials, (LIBERAL REFORMS)

c. Also idea of a united Germany (NATIONALISM) – many governments allowed for universal male suffrage for deputies to an all-German parliament (Frankfurt) – idea was to prepare for a constitution for a united Germany
   – *Grossdeutsch vs. Kleindeutsch* debate (inclusion or exclusion of Austria)
   – Solved when Austrians withdrew

d. Frederick William IV – refused assembly’s offer of the title of “Emperor of the Germans”
   “Crown from the gutter”

e. Disbanded – failed attempt

6C. PRUSSIA - response to Paris 1848 revolution – King Frederick William IV – agreed to abolish censorship, establish a new constitution and work for a united Germany (only to refuse)
Limits, Failures & Lessons of 1848

REASONS FOR FAILURE

• Liberal forces lacked institutional power still held by aristocracy (armies, bureaucracies)
• Upper class bourgeoisie and conservatives exploited middle class fear of working class radical revolution (June Days in Paris, German States, Austria)
• Divide and conquer tactics of conservative leaders to exploit ethnic divisions (Austria vs. Hungary’s minorities)

OVERALL RESULTS:

• Revolutions of 1848 were failures as revolutions
• Growing tensions between middle and working classes
• Age of hard-line revolution declines
• Conservatives could no longer ignore liberal reform, popular discontent, and nationalism if they wished to stay in power
• Manifestation/Continuation of French Revolution?
7. Russia

a. Alexander I
   - Divine right monarch
   - Rural, agricultural, autocratic
   - Power of aristocracy

b. Before 1815...Michael Speransky – Limited liberal reforms
   - Relaxed censorship
   - Freed political prisoners
   - Reformed education BUT

c. After 1815...Alexander I more reactionary (CONSERVATISM)
   - No constitution
   - Continued feudalism/serfdom
   - Censorship
   - Secret societies

d. Northern Union (LIBERALISM)
   - Aristocrats – sought intellectual freedom, political reforms
   - Const. Monarchy, abolition of serfdom

e. Decembrist Revolt of 1825 – Death of Alexander I
   - (Brothers Constantine/Nicholas)
   - Nicholas crushes, executes conspirators

e. Nicholas I (1825-1855) – Reactionary
   - Strengthened state power
   - Bureaucracy/secret police “Third Section” of the tsar’s chancellery

REMEMBER:
Crushing of Polish Uprising
In 1830 & the Hungarian Uprising in 1848
Northern Union – Attacking at Senate Square, St. Petersburg (Decembrists vs. Royalists – outnumbered 3 to 1)
Other Topics...

• Emergence of liberal Jacksonian Democracy in the US after War of 1812 (Federalists vs. Republicans)

• Social disorder/inequality/urbanization, property crimes – Civilian Police Forces
  – France, Britain (unpaid constables to “Bobbies” *Robert Peel*)

• Addressing the morality of the poor (views of poor as “dangerous class,” work houses, technical training, Sunday schools, women’s societies, Catholic Church)

• Role of prisons (punishment to reform)
  – Australia, French Guiana
Romanticism: General Characteristics

- Time period: 1800-1850
- Reaction to Enlightenment and Classicism
  - 1) Rejection of reason as only true source of knowledge; emphasis on feeling, emotion, intuition, spirituality,
  - • Stressed heart over head
  - 2) Anti-modernity, industrialization – as corruptive of true humanity (Frankenstein)
  - 3) Idealization of the past, historical heroes
  - 4) Portrayed a reverence and mystical aspects of nature (pantheism)
Romanticism: Literature and Poetry

• Lord Byron
• William Wordsworth
• Mary Shelley
• Edgar Allan Poe
• Walter Scott
  – e.g., *Ivanhoe*
• Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
  – e.g., *The Sorrows of the Young Werther*
• Grimm Brothers and Hans Christian Andersen
Romanticism: Architecture

- Neo-Gothic Style
  - e.g., new houses of Parliament
St. Patrick’s Cathedral, New York City
Romanticism: Art

• Caspar David Friedrich
  – Portrayal of mystical view of nature
  – Man overwhelmed by nature
Man and Woman Gazing at the Moon
Abbey Graveyard in the Snow
The Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog
• Joseph Mallord William Turner
  – Portrayal of nature, but interest in conveying its moods through interplay of light and color
  – Forerunner of Impressionists
Landscape with Distant River and Bay
Rain, Steam, and Speed – The Great Western Railway
Peace: Burial at Sea
San Giorgio Maggiore: Early Morning
The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons, 16th October, 1834
• Eugene Delacroix
  – Interest in exotic and daring use of color and movement
Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople on 12 April 1204
Romanticism: Music

• Eras of music
  – Baroque era (1600-1750)
    • Bach & Handel (Germany)
  – Classical era (1750-1830)
    • Haydn & Mozart (Austria)
  – Romantic era (1800-1850)
    • Beethoven & Berlioz
• Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827, German)
  – Bridge between Classical and Romantic eras
  – Music a reflection of inner feelings
  “”Beethoven’s music opens the flood gates of fear, of terror, of horror, of pain, and arouses that longing for the eternal which is the essence of Romanticism. He is thus a pure Romantic composer.”
  – Abandoned classical restraint for emotional expression
  – His deafness
Ludwig von Beethoven  
(1770 – 1827)  

- German composer (see pg. 661 in your textbook)  
- Beethoven was so impassioned when conducting his music, musicians were told not to allow themselves to be distracted by his gestures.  
- He was known to be stubborn and downright rude, even to nobility  

Symphony 9
• Hector Berlioz (1803-1869, French)
  – Program music
    • e.g., “Symphonie Fantastique”
Hector Berlioz
(1803 – 1869)

- French composer (see pg. 661 in your textbook)
- Berlioz was more influenced by literature (Goethe, Shakespeare, etc) rather than previous composers.
- Berlioz explored new instrumental sounds like the glissando (slide), muffled tones, and strings played with the wood side of bows (col legno)

Symphony Fantastique