AP Euro Review
Unit Seven

Ideologies and Revolutions in the “Age of Metternich”
Ca. 1815-1848
THE “LONG” NINETEENTH CENTURY

A Time of change, the Nineteenth century saw the transformation of Europe through the “Dual Revolution”.

It began with the political revolution in France and ended with a modern, industrialized Europe with new political alliances & great influence in most parts of the world.
## Politics in the “Long” 19th Century

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The Congress of Vienna

- Purposes included:
  - division of the spoils of war
  - production of a settlement to return Europe, as closely as possible to the way it was before the French revolution
  - promotion of conservatism & suppression of liberalism & divisive nationalism

- Big 4 = England (Castlereagh), Russia (Alexander I), Prussia (Fred. Will. II), & Austria (Metternich).
Concerns of the Congress

- Balance of Power (checks & balances): Wanted to make sure no single power could dominate Europe as France had done.
  - German Confederation created! (Kept Napoleon’s basic organizational structure)

- Legitimacy: wanted the restoration of monarchies & the return of all original lands
  - Restoration of Bourbons in Spain and France

- Compensation: France paid 700 million Francs to support an army of occupation until 1820.
  - Though the Congress is still considered to have treated France quite leniently to prevent the growth of resentment
Alliance Systems

The Concert of Europe consisted of several alliances with the purpose of maintaining the conservative settlement designed by the COV.

These included:
- The Holy Alliance (Russia, Prussia, and Austria)
- The Quadruple Alliance (Eng, Austria, Prussia, and Russia)
- The Quintuple Alliance (Quadruple alliance joined by France in 1818)

Established the Congress System
- International meetings to establish and implement the principle of “collective security”
- Congress of Troppau creates policy of intervention, but Britain refuses to accept this policy
Evaluation of the Congress of Vienna

- Successfully restored the Balance of Power
  - B of P would not be disrupted until the unification of Germany in 1871
  - Now world wars occurred between 1815 and 1914
- Served as the major accomplishment of reactionary conservatism during the early 19th century
  - Concert of Europe put down revolts in Italy & Spain in the early 1820’s, but broke down by 1825 due to the fact that England was not as conservative as the rest of the members & pulled out.
- However,
  - Enforced conservatism will continually be challenged by the forces of liberalism, & nationalism.
  - Conservative settlements later led to the revolutions of 1848.
The Competing Ideologies

- Reactionary Conservatism – Metternich
  - Based on the work of Edmund Burke
  - Preservation of European monarchies and nobility
  - Only traditional monarchical institutions of gov’t could maintain order
  - Community above the individual
Liberalism

- Classical Liberalism – John Stuart Mill
  - Equality under the law
  - Optimistic about human nature and potential
  - Individuals should be protected from gov’t through a constitution
  - Limited manhood suffrage (not political equality)

- Economic Liberalism – Adam Smith
  - Laissez-faire (equality of opportunity, NOT social equality)
  - David Ricardo – “Iron Law of Wages”
  - Thomas Malthus – “Population Theory”

- Utilitarianism – Jeremy Bentham
  - “Greatest good for the greatest number”

- Significance:
  - Influenced Revolutions in France in 1830 and 1848
  - Became embodied in several constitutions written in German states between 1815-1848
  - Influenced reform measures in Britain during the 19th century
Nationalism

- Certain self-defined people should govern itself with its own historically sanctioned boundaries
  - Eastern Europe: SHARED LANGUAGE!!!
- Oftentimes, supported by liberals
- Father of nationalism: Johann Gottfried Herder
  - Volksgeist – every cultural group has a unique character
Conservative Domination of the 1820s

- Crushed liberal revolutions in Italy and Spain in 1820
- Austria’s leadership of German Confederation led to Metternich’s Carlsbad Decrees
  - Limited the Burschenschaften
- France witnesses succession of Charles X
- Britain’s Rule by the Tories –
  - Corn Laws of 1815
  - Peterloo Massacre of 1819
- Russia puts down the Decembrist Revolt in 1825
However...

Successes found in:
- Greece by 1830
- Latin American Revolutions
  - Why? Britain’s support of their independence
Revolutions of 1830

- Liberal
  - France – “July Revolution” 😊
    - Sparked the other three revolutions!

- Nationalist
  - Belgium 😊
  - Poland 😞
  - Italy 😞
“July Revolution” of 1830

- Radical revolt in Paris forced the reactionary Charles X to abdicate
- Louis Phillippe becomes the “Bourgeoisie King”
  - Constitutional monarchy restored!
- Significance: Sparked the other revolutions of 1830s
  - “When France sneezes, the rest of Europe catches a cold”
Liberal Reform in Britain

- **Religious Reform**
  - Repeal of 1679 Test Act
  - Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829

- **Reform Bill of 1832**
  - Provided suffrage to upper middle class and electoral representation to new industrial cities

- **Corn Laws repealed in 1846**
  - Strength of Anti-Corn Law League
  - Free trade was victorious!!!
The Revolutions of 1848

- Watershed year in 19th century Europe
  - Only Britain and Russia escaped upheaval
    - Britain was too liberal, and Russia was too conservative
- Aims of most 1848 revolutions were:
  - constitutionalism
  - liberalism
  - republicanism
  - greater democracy
  - Nationalism
- Location
  - France – Inspired the outbreak of the other revolutions
  - Germany
  - Italy
  - Austria-Hungary
France: The February Revolution

- Corruption of Louis Phillippe’s government led to resentment of working class and middle class
  - Forced him to abdicated in February 1948
- Provisional Republic established:
  - Conflict develops between liberal middle class and the socialists who favor the working class
French Utopian Socialism

- Proposed a system of greater economic equality planned by the government
  - State control of property
- Count Henri de Saint-Simon – Allow the doers of the IR to lead social reforms
- Louis Blanc – National workshops
- Pierre Proudhon – Property is profit stolen from the worker!
- Charles Fourier – Advocated creation of socialist utopias
“June Days’’ of 1848

- Cause: The gov’t closed the national workshops to cut its losses
- What: Essentially it was an emergence of class warfare within Paris
  - Hugo’s Les Mis is based upon this!!!
- Army was called in by the liberal parliament and the working classes were repressed
  - Called for a constitutional republic with a strong presidency – Louis Napoleon!!!
Constitution of the 2nd Republic

Nov. 1848: The new constitution did the following:

- Universal manhood suffrage
- Bill of Rights (speech, press, religion, assembly, property)
- Rejected socialism
- Unicameral legislature with three-year terms
- Presidency with a four year term.

Louis Napoleon was elected President of France in Dec. 1848, and became emperor in 1851 (Napoleon III).
Germany in 1848

- Intellectuals and professionals in many German states revolted in 1848 in an attempt to gain the liberal concessions that were previously promised by Prussian King Frederick William IV as well as a unified German Federation.

  - Prior to 1848, he had created the Zollverein (German Customs Union) to remove internal tariffs and tolls and to stimulate German commerce.
  - The Zollverein united many German states, economically.
Revolution in Berlin

German liberals revolted and forced Fred Will to accept their demands.

The king called a constitutional assembly, the Frankfurt Assembly, to strengthen the German confederation. They couldn’t agree on which German states to include or whether to have a republic or a monarchy.

Austria opposed any sort of constitution for the confederacy.
The Frankfurt Assembly

The assembly finally wrote a constitution which called for a liberal constitutional monarchy.

When they offered the crown of Germany to Frederick, he refused to take it, saying he “wouldn’t accept the imperial crown from the gutter.”

This ended the assembly and any hopes of liberal reform.

Only lasting result: more states joined the Zollverein.
Italy was divided into several small states, most of whom were occupied by foreign powers.

Italian nationalists wanted unification and formed secret societies such as the carbonari and Mazzini’s Young Italy.

The “risorgimento” (revival of nationalist pride) drove the revolution of 1848.
Italy in 1848

Spring 1848: revolts broke out in the Papal states, Tuscany, Naples, and Sardinia, and these rulers granted liberal constitutions.

Lombardy-Venetia revolted against Austria and Naples, Sardinia, and the Pope sent troops to help them. In the process, Sardinia annexed LV, Parma, and Modena.

Other Italian states then withdrew their support of LV and Austria regained control.
The Roman Republic

- When it appeared that Austria was going to defeat any chance at Italian unification and independence, radical revolution broke out in Rome & Sardinia.
- Garibaldi & Mazzini ousted the Pope & proclaimed a democratic republic in Rome. In Sardinia, the king was forced to continue fighting the Austrians.
- The Austrians defeated Sardinia, and Napoleon III sent troops to reinstate the Pope.
Causes for Failure in Italy

- Rural people did not support the revolutions
- Revolutionaries were not united (as was also the case in Germany)
- Fear of radicals among the moderates
- Lack of leadership and administrative experience among revolutionaries
Austria in 1848

- The Austrian empire included a large number of ethnic minorities within its borders. Their individual nationality was suppressed by the empire.
- In the “March Days,” revolts occurred in Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, & Austria itself.
- The revolutions were led by a minority of intellectuals, students, and labor leaders and were not widely supported by the majority of the people.
- The only lasting result was the abdication of Metternich.
In Hungary, Louis Kossuth led a revolt in the Hungarian Diet which made Hungary autonomous while accepting the emperor as the king of Hungary. He outlawed serfdom, forced the nobility to pay taxes, and required public officials to speak Hungarian.

Since Kossuth continued to oppress Slavic minorities in Hungary, Russia helped Austria put down the Hungarian revolt.
Evaluation of Revolutions of 1848

*Though liberalism, nationalism, and socialism made short-term gains, they were largely kept in check by conservatism*

- Why?
  - Landowners and peasants refused to support urban radicals
  - Middle classes came to fear working class radicalism
  - Division among nationalist ethnic groups failed to bring unity to revolutionary movements
  - Conservative leadership took advantage of these weaknesses

*Age of Metternich \(\rightarrow\) Age of Realpolitik*

*Age of Romanticism \(\rightarrow\) Age of Realism*
Romanticism

- Characteristics
  - Emotion over reason
  - Glorification of nature
  - Rejected the Enlightenment
  - Highly nationalistic

- Predecessors
  - Rousseau – the “Noble Savage”
  - Inspired by the French Revolution
  - Sturm and Drang – German “Storm and Stress”
Connection to Politics and Revolution

- Believed in revolutionary movements that would give people more freedom and control over their lives
- Supported nationalism that emphasized cultural traditions and languages of Europe’s varied peoples
Marxism

Founded by Marx & Engels, it was a militant form of socialism which is often called Communism.

Marx and Engels asserted their ideas in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867).

Differed from other forms of socialism because it called for a revolutionary overthrow of the existing system. No accommodation.
Theory of Dialectical Materialism

- History must be interpreted economically.
  - Economic factors shape the institutions of civilization, such as religion & politics.
- “History is a constant series of class struggles” between the exploited & the exploiters.
- Surplus Value: the value of all commodities is a result of the labor put into them.
  - If a worker gets paid less than the labor he put into a product, he is being exploited.
Theory of Dialectical Materialism

- Socialism was inevitable:
  - Capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction!

- Violent Revolution:
  - Class-consciousness will develop, and a spontaneous proletarian revolution will overthrow the bourgeoisie

- Dictatorship of the Proletariat
  - Working men of all countries, unite!!!

- Creation of a classless society:
  - “From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.”
## Conservatism

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<th>France</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Austria</th>
<th>Italy</th>
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<td>1815-1830</td>
<td>• Peterloo Massacre, 1819</td>
<td>• Return of Bourbon monarchy</td>
<td>Carlsbad Decrees (Prussia), 1819, related to Metternich’s values</td>
<td>Ruled by Metternich; reactionary</td>
<td>Largely dominated by Austria</td>
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<td>• Corn Laws, 1816</td>
<td>• “White Terror”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830-1848</td>
<td>(moved toward liberalism)</td>
<td>(moved toward liberalism)</td>
<td>Failure of Revolution of 1848-49 (Frankfurt Parliament); nationalism was politically impotent</td>
<td>Defeat of Kossuth in Revolution of 1848; nationalism was politically impotent</td>
<td>Austrian defeat of Revolution of 1848-49; nationalism was politically impotent</td>
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<td>1871-1914</td>
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<td>Bismarck: Gap Theory <em>Kulturkampf</em></td>
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*Includes Concert of Europe: 1815-1848*
# Liberalism

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<td>1815-1830</td>
<td>• Jeremy Bentham, utilitarianism (&quot;greatest good for the greatest number&quot;)&lt;br&gt;• Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829</td>
<td>• Jewish rights, 1791&lt;br&gt;• Constitutional monarchy under Louis XVIII (moderate at first but becomes more conservative)</td>
<td>Liberal university protests (crushed by Carlsbad Decrees)</td>
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<td>1830-1848</td>
<td>• Reform Bill, 1832&lt;br&gt;• Factory Act, 1833&lt;br&gt;• Slavery abolished in empire, 1833&lt;br&gt;• Poor Law, 1834&lt;br&gt;• Mines Act, 1842&lt;br&gt;• Repeal of Com Laws, 1846&lt;br&gt;• 10 Hour Law, 1847&lt;br&gt;• Chartists&lt;br&gt;• Whigs, Earl Grey</td>
<td>• July Revolution, 1830; Louis Phillipe&lt;br&gt;• State Constitution, 1830&lt;br&gt;• February Revolution, 1848&lt;br&gt;• June Days Revolution, 1848; Louis Blanc; Louis Napoleon&lt;br&gt;• Universal male suffrage, 1848</td>
<td>• Zollverein, 1834&lt;br&gt;• Frankfurt Parliament, 1848 (failure)</td>
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<td>State Constitution (Sardinia/Piedmont) 1848</td>
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<td>1848-1871</td>
<td>John Stuart Mill, <em>On Liberty</em>, 1859</td>
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<td>Prussia: universal male suffrage, 1850</td>
<td>State constitution, 1849 (Hungary in 1867)</td>
<td>• Liberal constitution 1861 (71)</td>
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<td>1871-1914</td>
<td>• Reform Bill, 1867 (Disraeli)&lt;br&gt;• Representation of People Act, 1884 (universal male suffrage) (Gladstone)&lt;br&gt;• (Women get suffrage in 1918 &amp; 1928)</td>
<td>• Liberal Empire of Napoleon III, 1852-71&lt;br&gt;• 3rd Republic: 1871-1940</td>
<td>• State constitution, 1871&lt;br&gt;• Universal male suffrage 1871&lt;br&gt;• Jewish rights, 1871</td>
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<td>1848-1871</td>
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<td>Unification, 1871; Bismarck</td>
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<td>Defeat in Franco-Prussian War</td>
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<td>1871-1914</td>
<td>• Jingoism, Congress of Berlin, 1878 • Disraeli pro-imperialism</td>
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<td>Imperialism: Berlin Conference, 1886 (Bismarck moves away from belligerence in the Berlin Congress of 1878—Honest Broker of the Peace)</td>
<td>Language issue: German, Hungarian, Czech</td>
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<td>Utopian socialists: Saint-Simon, Fourier</td>
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<td>1830-1848</td>
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<td>• Louis Blanc: national workshops, 1848</td>
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<td>• Proudhon, “What is Property?” 1840</td>
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<td>1848-1871</td>
<td>1848, Engels and Marx, <em>Communist Manifesto</em></td>
<td>Bismarck cuts a deal with the Lassalleian Socialists.</td>
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<td>1871-1914</td>
<td>• Fabian Society, 1883; Socialism by democratic, non-violent means, favored by upper and middle-classes, intellectuals and authors.</td>
<td>Socialists gain seats in Chamber of deputies under Jean Jaures, 1905-14</td>
<td>• First welfare state in Europe, 1880s</td>
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<td>• Labour party, Keir Hardie</td>
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<td>• SPD largest party by WWI</td>
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Welfare state: early 20th century (prior to WWI)