

## THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

1. Organized because of fear of revolution and war
2. Maintain the new status quo
3. Meet periodically in conferences/congresses
4. Four conferences held 1818-1822
  - a. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle 1818
  - b. Congress of Troppau 1820 = Principle of Intervention
  - c. Congress of Laibach 1821
  - d. Congress of Verona 1822

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## Challenges to the “Concert” System:

### The 1820s-1830 Revolutions

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### An Evaluation of the Congress of Vienna

- ❖ The Congress of Vienna was criticized for ignoring the liberal & nationalist aspirations of so many peoples.
- ❖ The leading statesmen at Vienna underestimated the new nationalism and liberalism generated by the French Revolution.
- ❖ Not until the unification of Germany in 1870-71 was the balance of power upset.
- ❖ Not until World War I did Europe have another general war.



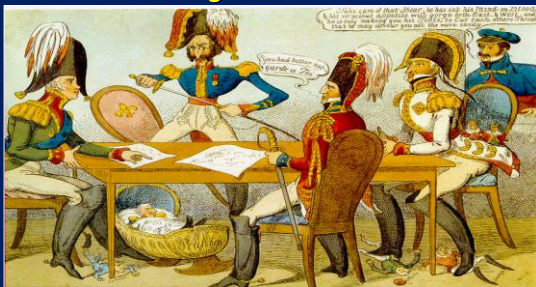
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### The “Concert” of Europe System Established

- ❖ The principle of collective security was established.
  - ❖ The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle [1816]
  - ❖ The Congress of Troppau [1820]
  - ❖ The Congress of Laibach [1821]
  - ❖ The Congress of Verona [1822]
- ❖ Their goal was to define and monitor the **status quo**.

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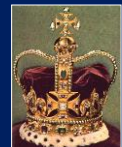
### Congress of Verona



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### 19<sup>c</sup> Conservatism

- ❖ Conservatism arose in reaction to liberalism & became a popular alternative for those who were frightened by the violence unleashed by the French Revolution.
- ❖ Early conservatism was allied to the restored monarchical governments of Austria, Prussia, France, and England.
- ❖ Support for conservatism:
  - Came from the traditional ruling class.
  - Also supported by the peasants.
- ❖ Supported by Romantic writers, conservatives believed in order, society and the state, faith, and tradition.



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## Characteristics of Conservatism

-  Conservatives viewed history as a continuum.
-  The basis of society is organic, not contractual.
-  Stability & longevity, not progress and change, mark a good society.
-  The only legitimate sources of political authority were God and history.
  - They rejected the "social contract" theory.
-  Conservatives believed that self-interests do not lead to social harmony, but to social conflict.
  - Denounced individualism and natural rights.
-  To conservatives, society was hierarchical.

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## Latin American Peoples Win Independence

Spurred by discontent and Enlightenment ideas, peoples in Latin America fight colonial rule.

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## Concert of Europe: Latin America

- During Napoleonic Wars, Spanish control of their colonies weakened, opening the door for rebellion
- The Concert of Europe turns to Latin America after their victories in Spain and Italy to restore order
  - Britain's lack of support breaks the alliance down and prevents effective intervention in Latin America
  - Simon Bolivar and Jose de San Martin lead the fight for Latin Am independence
  - Brits and U.S. (Monroe Doctrine) act together to prevent intervention
    - Spanish colonies gains independence (1824)
    - Brazilian independence from Portugal (1825)

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## 19<sup>th</sup> Latin American Independence Movements



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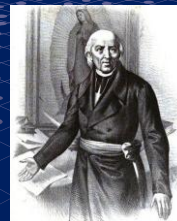
## THE REVOLT OF LATIN AMERICA

- Latin America – controlled by Spain & Portugal
- Simon Bolivar = "the Liberator"
  1. lead independence in Columbia 1819
  2. lead independence in Venezuela 1821
- Jose de San Martín
  1. frees Chile 1817
  2. along with Bolivar frees Peru 1824



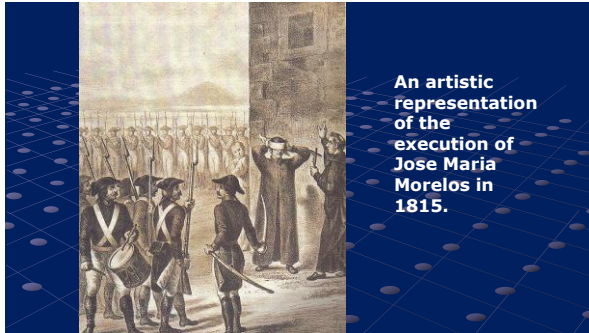
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## Mexico Ends Spanish Rule



- A Cry for Freedom
  - Padre **Miguel Hidalgo**—priest who launches Mexican revolt (1810).
  - 80,000 Indian and Mestizo followers march on Mexico City.
  - **Jose Maria Morelos**—leads revolt after Hidalgo's defeat, but loses.
  - Both Hidalgo and Morelos were executed.

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An artistic representation of the execution of Jose Maria Morelos in 1815.

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## Mexico Ends Spanish Rule

- Mexico's Independence
  - Mexican creoles react; Iturbide (a Mexican General) declares Mexico independent (1821)
  - Iturbide reigns briefly as emperor until March 1823.
  - In 1823, Central America breaks away from Mexico



Agustín de Iturbide

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Iturbide is credited with designing the first Mexican flag. (1821-1823)



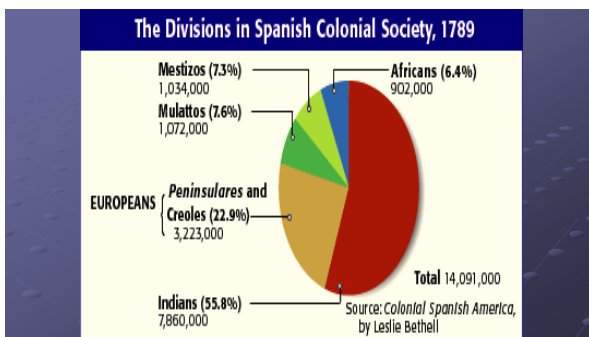
Today's Flag of Mexico  
The tri-color flag is still used, and the presence of the eagle is also used in the modern flag of Mexico used since 1968.

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## Colonial Society Divided

- A Race and Class System
  - Latin America has social classes that determine jobs and authority
    - **Peninsulares**—born in Spain, they head colonial government and society
    - **Creoles**—American-born Spaniards who can become army officers
    - **Mestizos**—have both European and Native American ancestry
    - **Mulattos**—have both European and African ancestry
    - Slaves and Native Americans are at the bottom of society

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## Creoles Lead Independence

- The Spread of Enlightenment Ideas
  - Enlightenment ideas inspire Latin American revolutionaries
- Creole Leaders
  - **Simón Bolívar**—wealthy Creole leads Venezuela in revolution
  - **José de San Martín**—leader of Argentinean revolutionary forces

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**1. Bolivar's 1807 return from Europe by way of the United States allowed him to study the American system of government.**

**2. In 1810, Bolivar went to London to seek support for the revolution in Latin America. At the same time, he studied British institutions of government.**

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### Portraits of Bolivar and San Martin

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### Creoles Lead Independence

- Bolívar's Route to Victory
  - Venezuela declares independence in 1811; Bolivar wins war by 1821
- San Martín Leads Southern Liberation Forces
  - Argentina is independent in 1816; San Martin helps free Chile
  - Bolívar's and San Martín's armies drive Spanish out of Peru in 1824.

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### Brazil's Royal Liberator

- A Bloodless Revolution
  - Napoleon invades Portugal; royal family moves to Brazil (1807)
  - Portuguese court returns to Portugal after Napoleon's defeat (1815)

The Imperial Palace in Rio de Janeiro where King John VI of Portugal had transferred the Portuguese Royal Court to Brazil.

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### Brazil's Royal Liberator

Pedro I of Brazil

- Portuguese prince Dom Pedro stays behind in Brazil
  - Dom Pedro accepts Brazilian's request to rule their own country
  - He officially declares Brazil's independence (September 1822)
- By 1830, nearly all of Latin American regions win independence

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Flag of the independent Empire of Brazil under Pedro I

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### Congress of Europe: Greece

- Greeks rebel against Ottoman rule (1821-1829)
- European powers THIS TIME rally to the cause and intervene to support the rebellion!
- Defeated Ottomans allowed the powers to decide Greece's fate
  - Greece now ruled by a BAVARIAN king (?)
  - Old order restored
- Greek War showed combination of new values of nationalism and liberalism with old values of balance of power as Greece was ruled by foreigners.

Lord Byron, dressed as a Greek. He died of fever en route to fighting in the war for Greek independence.

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### Greek Independence

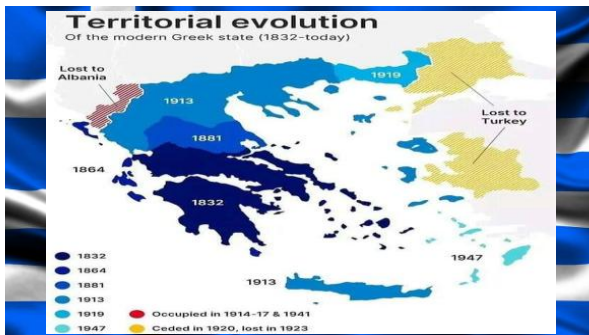
*Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi* by Delacroix, 1827

- The "Eastern Question"
- Hetairia Philike** → a secret society that inspired an uprising against the Turks in 1821.
- Pan-Hellenism
- 1827 → **Battle of Navarino**
  - Br, Fr, Rus destroyed the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet.
- 1828 → Rus declared war on the Ottomans.
- 1829 → **Treaty of Adrianople**
- 1830 → Greece declared an independent nation [**Treaty of London**].

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## THE GREEK REVOLT

1. Greeks revolt against Ottoman control 1821
2. Greek ind. becomes very popular across Euro
3. Brits and French destroy Otto. Fleet 1827
4. 1828 Russia declares war on Otto.'s
5. Treaty of Adriano = ends Russian-Turkish War
6. Ottomans agree to let Russia, France, and Brit.'s decide what to do w/Greece
7. 1830 Greece is declared an ind. Kingdom w/monarchy

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## RUSSIA → THE AUTOCRACY OF THE TSARS

1. Rural – no cities
2. Agricultural – no industrialization
3. Autocracy = one man rule – no parliaments/no constitution/no legal eq.

Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825)

- Defeats Napoleon
- Helps est. the Congress System/Concert of Europe
- Very religious → forms the "Holy Alliance"  
= all monarchs should be good Christians & righteous
- Becomes a reactionary – no change at all allowed
- Aristocratic privilege continues and serfdom for the pez.



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## The Decembrist Revolt, 1825

Russian upper class had come into contact with western liberal ideas during the Napoleonic Wars.

Late November, 1825 → Czar Alexander I died suddenly.

- He had no direct heir → dynastic crisis
  - Constantine → married a woman, not of royal blood.
  - Nicholas → named by Alexander I as his heir before his death.
  - Russian troops were to take an oath of allegiance to Nicholas, who was less popular than Constantine [Nicholas was seen as more reactionary].
- December 26, 1825 → a Moscow regiment marched into the Senate Square in St. Petersburg and refused to take the oath.



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## The Decembrist Uprising - 1825



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## The Decembrist Revolt, 1825

They wanted Constantine.

Nicholas ordered the cavalry and artillery to attack the insurgents.

- Over 60 were killed.
- 5 plotters were executed.
- Over 100 insurgents were exiled to Siberia.

### Results:

- The first rebellion in modern Russian history where the rebels had specific political goals.
- In their martyrdom, the Decembrists came to symbolize the dreams/ideals of all Russian liberals.
- Nicholas was determined that his power would never again come into question → he was terrified of change!



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### The Decembrist Uprising - 1825



Orthodoxy!

Autocracy!

Nationalism!



Nicholas I


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### TSAR NICHOLAS I

- The Decembrist Revolt
- 1. Army officers attempt to overthrow the new Tsar
- 2. Wanted to est. a const. mon & abolish serfdom
- 3. Rebellion is crushed/leaders are executed
- 4. New Tsar Nicholas comes to power

Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855)

- ✓ Strict reactionary
- ✓ Strengthens the gov./secret police
- ✓ Fears revolution
- ✓ The Third Section = the tsarist secret police



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### Revolutionary Movements in the Early 19<sup>c</sup>



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### The 1830 Revolutions



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### France: The "Restoration" Era (1815-1830)

- ❖ France emerged from the chaos of its revolutionary period as the most liberal large state in Europe.
- ❖ Louis XVIII governed France as a Constitutional monarch.
  - ❖ He agreed to observe the 1814 "Charter" or Constitution of the Restoration period.
    - ❖ Limited royal power.
    - ❖ Granted legislative power.
    - ❖ Protected civil rights.
    - ❖ Upheld the Napoleonic Code.



Louis XVIII (r. 1814-1824)

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### The "Ultras"

France was divided by those who had accepted the ideals of the Fr. Revolution and those who didn't.

The Count of Artois was the leader of the "Ultra-Royalists"

1815 → "White Terror"

- Royalist mobs killed 1000s of former revolutionaries.

1816 elections

- The Ultras were rejected in the Chamber of Deputies election in favor of a moderate royalist majority dependent on middle class support.



The Count of Artois, the future King Charles X (r. 1824-1830)

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### France: Conservative Backlash

1820 → the Duke of Berri, son of Artois, was murdered. Royalists blamed the left.

Louis XVIII moved the govt. more to the right

- Changes in electoral laws narrowed the eligible voters.
- Censorship was imposed.

Liberals were driven out of legal political life and into illegal activities.

1823 → triumph of reactionary forces!

- Fr troops were authorized by the Concert of Europe to crush the Spanish Revolution and restore another Bourbon ruler, Ferdinand VII, to the throne there.

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### King Charles X of France (r. 1824-1830)

#### His Goals:

- Lessen the influence of the middle class.
- Limit the right to vote.
- Put the clergy back in charge of education.
- Public money used to pay nobles for the loss of their lands during the Fr Revolution.



#### His Program:

- Attack the 1814 Charter.
- Control the press.
- Dismiss the Chamber of Deputies when it turned against him.
- Appointed an ultra-reactionary as his first minister.

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### King Charles X of France

(r. 1824-1830)

1830 Election brought in another liberal majority.

#### July Ordinances

- He dissolved the entire parliament.
- Strict censorship imposed.
- Changed the voting laws so that the government in the future could be assured of a conservative victory.

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### To the Barricades → Revolution, Again!!



Workers, students and some of the middle class call for a Republic!

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### Louis Philippe → The "Citizen King"

The Duke of Orleans.

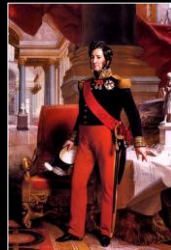
Relative of the Bourbons, but had stayed clear of the *Ultras*.

Lead a thoroughly bourgeois life.

#### His Program:

- Property qualifications reduced enough to double eligible voters.
- Press censorship abolished.
- The King ruled by the will of the people, *not* by the will of God.
- The Fr Revolution's tricolor replaced the Bourbon flag.

The government was now under the control of the wealthy middle class.



(r. 1830-1848)

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### Louis Philippe → The "Citizen King"

His government ignored the needs and demands of the workers in the cities.

- They were seen as another nuisance and source of possible disorder.

July, 1832 → an uprising in Paris was put down by force and 800 were killed or wounded.

1834 → **Silk workers strike in Lyon** was crushed.

- Seething underclass.
- Was seen as a violation of the status quo set down at the Congress of Vienna.



A caricature of Louis Philippe

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## RESTORATION IN FRANCE

- King Louis XVIII (1814-1824)

  1. Accepts the Napoleonic Code
  2. Two house legislature created
  3. Rules as a moderate



King Charles X (1824-1830)

1. Favors the aristocracy and the church → tries to rule as an abs. mon.
2. 1830 king dissolves parl.
3. 1830 France is on brink of another rev.



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## KING LOUIS-PHILIPPE (1830-1848)

1. The "bourgeois monarch"
2. Dresses and acts middle class
3. Only upper middle class get vote
4. Party of Movement + Adolphe Thiers and the Party of Resistance + Francois Guizot

\*the July Revolution = a liberal revolution

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## Belgian Independence, 1830

- The first to follow the lead of France.
- Its union with Holland after the Congress of Vienna had not proved successful.
- There had been very little popular agitation for Belgian nationalism before 1830 → seldom had nationalism arisen so suddenly.
- Wide cultural differences:
  - North → Dutch → Protestant → seafarers and traders.
  - South → French → Catholic → farmers and individual workers.



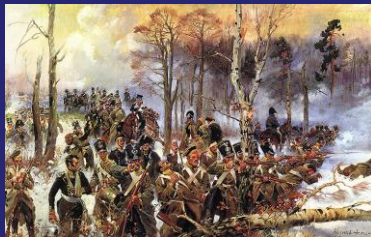
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## Belgian Revolution - 1830



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## A Stirring of Polish Nationalism - 1830



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## A Stirring of Polish Nationalism - 1830

The bloodiest struggle of the 1830 revolutions. The Poles in and around Warsaw gain a special status by the Congress of Vienna within the Russian Empire.

- Their own constitution.
- Local autonomy granted in 1818.

After Tsar Alexander I dies, the Poles became restless under the tyrannical rule of Tsar Nicholas I.

Polish intellectuals were deeply influenced by Romanticism. Rumors reached Poland that Nicholas I was planning to use Polish troops to put down the revolutions in France and Belgium.

Several Polish secret societies rebelled.

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### A Stirring of Polish Nationalism - 1830

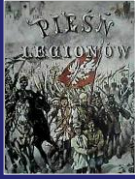
Had the Poles been united, this revolt might have been successful.

- But, the revolutionaries were split into moderates and radicals.

The Poles had hoped that Fr & Eng would come to their aid, but they didn't.

Even so, it took the Russian army a year to suppress this rebellion.

*The irony* → by drawing the Russian army to Warsaw for almost a year, the Poles may well have kept Nicholas I from answering Holland's call for help in suppressing the Belgian Revolt.



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### Europe in 1830



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### The Results of the 1820s-1830 Revolutions?

- The Concert of Europe provided for a recovery of Europe after the long years of Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.
- The conservatives did NOT reverse ALL of the reforms put in place by the French Revolution.
- Liberalism would challenge the conservative plan for European peace and law and order.
- These revolutions were successful only in W. Europe:
  - Their success was in their popular support.
  - Middle class lead, aided by the urban lower classes.
- The successful revolutions had benefited the middle class → the workers, who had done so much of the rioting and fighting, were left with empty hands!
- Therefore, these revolutions left much unfinished & a seething, unsatisfied working class.

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### GREAT BRITAIN – THE RULE OF THE TORIES

- Aristocratic landowners dominated Parliament = the landed gentry
- Two political factions/parties in Parliament = Tories and Whigs
  - Tories – old aristocracy = controlled the govt./didn't want change
  - Whigs – began to gain support of industrial middle class
- Popular discontent 1815-1850 = people not happy
  - economic difficulties
  - the Corn Laws 1815
  - the Peterloo Massacre 1819
  - govt. cracks down on protests
  - no political/electoral reforms

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### Peterloo Massacre, 1819



**British Soldiers Fire on British Workers:**

*Let us die like men, and not be sold like slaves!*



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### INTERVENTION IN THE ITALIAN STATES AND SPAIN

- North = Kingdom of Piedmont
- South = Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
- Central = Papal States
- Lombardy + Venetia in North = contr. by Aust.

\*CARBONARI = secret societies who wanted Italian unity and independence - revolutionaries



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## REPRESSION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

- The Germanic Confederation
- Prussia
  - BURSCHENSCHAFTEN = student societies that wanted a free united Germany
  - KARLSBAD DECREES 1819
    1. imposed by Metternich
    2. cracked down on liberal and nationalist groups/ideas
    3. closed the burshc./censorship/control of univ.
- The Austrian Empire
  1. multinational/multiethnic empire – 11 diff. groups
  2. Ruled by Habsburgs
  3. Emperor + imperial bureaucracy + imperial army + Catholic Church

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## THE HOLY ALLIANCE



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## IDEOLOGIES OF CHANGE

- 1. LIBERALISM
- 2. NATIONALISM
- 3. SOCIALISM

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## LIBERALISM

- LIBERALISM = people should be as free from restraint as possible
- **Two types** of liberalism –
  1. economic liberalism = laissez-faire
  2. political liberalism

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## ECONOMIC LIBERALISM


- Classical economics
- laissez-faire – govt hands off the econ.
  - Free market economics – let supply and demand operate freely
  - Govt has only three roles to play
    - a. national defense
    - b. law and order
    - c. public works/infrastructure
  - In everything else = govt noninterference

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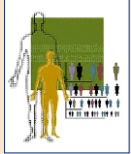
New Ways  
of  
Thinking



### Thomas Malthus



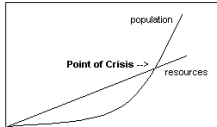

- ❑ Population growth will outpace the food supply.
- ❑ War, disease, or famine could control population.
- ❑ The poor should have less children.
- ❑ Food supply will then keep up with population.



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### THOMAS MALTHUS

- ESSAY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION
- POP ALWAYS GROWS FASTER THAN FOOD SUPPLY
- GOVT SHOULD NOT HELP POOR AND HUNGRY PEOPLE
- MISERY AND POVERTY ARE THE LAW OF NATURE






Malthus' Basic Theory

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### DAVID RICARDO

- PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
- HIGHER POPULATION = LOWER WAGES


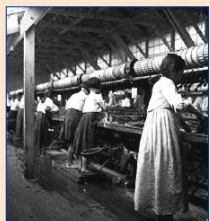



David Ricardo  
1772-1823

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### David Ricardo

- ❑ "Iron Law of Wages."
- ❑ When wages are high, workers have more children.
- ❑ More children create a large labor surplus that depresses wages.

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### POLITICAL LIBERALISM

1. CIVIL LIBERTIES
2. LEGAL EQUALITY
3. RELIGIOUS TOLERATION
4. RIGHT TO PEACEFUL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVT
5. REPRESENTATIVE GOVT = PARLIAMENTS/LEGISLATURES
6. LIMITED VOTING RIGHTS – ONLY PEOPLE W/PROPERTY
7. CONSTITUTIONS
8. LIMITED GOVT – FAVORED CONSTIT MON

\*LIBS. DID NOT BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY = TOO DANGEROUS!

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### 19c European Liberalism

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## Origins of 19<sup>c</sup> Liberalism

- The word was first used when the term was adopted by the Spanish political party, the *Liberales*, in 1812.
- The roots of liberalism came from two very different traditions of English & French political thought.
  - England
    - John Locke
    - Adam Smith
  - France
    - Jean Jacques Rousseau
    - Francois Guizot

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## John Locke

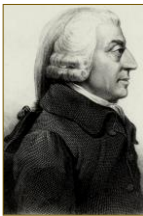
- Contract theory of government.
  - Regarded the state as a human construction, established by an original contract.
- Limited, constitutional government.
  - Civil society of free men, equal under the rule of law, bound together by no common purpose but sharing respect for each other's rights.
  - Doctrine of natural rights.
  - Links private property with individual liberty.



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## Adam Smith

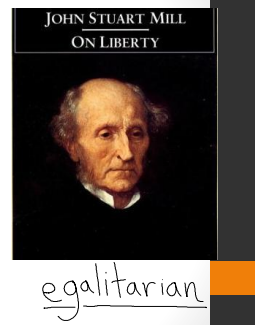


- His *Wealth of Nations* adds an economic dimension.
- He merged Locke's ideas of civil society with economic theory.
  - Free trade economics.
  - Saw the "invisible hand" where a benevolent God administered a universe in which human happiness was maximized.

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## JOHN STUART MILL

1. English political philosopher
2. Author of *On Liberty* 1859
3. Most important advocate of liberalism
4. Supporter of women's rights and educ for women



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## John Stuart Mill

- ☞ John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a British philosopher and political economist.
- ☞ He built on Jeremy Bentham's concept of utilitarianism by arguing that some forms of happiness are more valuable than others.
- ☞ Mill is known for his ideas about liberty and the power of the society over the individual.
- ☞ He developed the "harm" principle, which states that each individual has the right to act as he wishes, so long as these actions do not harm others.
- ☞ Mill supported abolitionism, women's rights and suffrage, compulsory education, the public ownership of natural resources, and equal taxation.



Women could not vote in England until 1928

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## John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

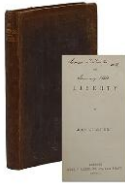
- Wrote works on logic and metaphysics, history and literature, economics and political theory.
- Learned Greek at 3; Latin a bit later.
- By 12 he was a competent logician.
- By 16 he was a trained economist.
- A utilitarian:
  - *The greatest happiness for the greatest number.*
- Wrote *On Liberty* in 1859.



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## On Liberty (1859)

- Government might be antagonistic to the causes of individual freedom.
- The sole purpose of government is "self-protection."
- Government may only coerce others in self-defense.
- We should maximize human development for a more equal society:
  - Mill favored a more open administration.
  - Organized interest groups.
  - Workers cooperatives
    - Workers would own the factories and elect the managers.
  - Tax wealth.
  - Redistribution system of wealth:
    - Confiscation of excess profits
    - Abolish the wage system.
- Emancipation of women.
  - Supporter of women's rights and education for women



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## Classical Liberalism in England

- Important legislation:
  - Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.
  - Reform Act of 1832.
  - Factory Act of 1833.
  - Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

**WHY are these Liberal?**

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## Classical Liberalism in France

- Dilemmas faced by French liberals:
  - How to 'end' the French Revolution?
  - How to reconcile order and liberty in a nation torn apart by civil war?
- These problems called for a rethinking of Liberalism.



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## Jean Jacques Rousseau

- His *Social Contract* and theory of the "general will" demonstrates an alternative origin of Liberalism.
  - Men must resolve problems through our capacity to choose how we ought to live.
- *Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains.*
- *Humans are essentially free, but the 'progress' of civilization has substituted subservience to others for that freedom.*



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## Rousseau & Totalitarianism

- The "General Will" → a strong and direct form of democracy.
  - Only possible in a relatively small state?
  - Is Rousseau promoting collective tyranny?
- Rousseau rejected representative democracy.

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## Francois Guizot

- He 'deconstructed' the French Revolution, and distinguished between "Moderate Liberalism" and extremist Jacobinism.

- **GOOD Ideas**
- **BAD Implementation**



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### “Moderate” Liberalism

1. Favored the idea of the sovereignty of the people, but...
  - Government should rest on the organized consent of at least the most important sections of the community.
  - An extension of the franchise to include all men of property.
    - Exclude the working class!
2. A good constitutional monarchy was the best form of government.
3. Valued liberty more than equality.
  - Confidence in man's powers of self-government and self-control.
  - Freedom of the press.
  - Free right of assembly.
4. Written constitutions.

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### “Moderate” Liberalism

5. Economic policies:
  - Laissez-faire economy.
  - Free trade.
  - Lower tariffs.
  - Against the right of the working class to organize into unions.
6. The general progress of humanity would emerge from the growth of wealth and from science and inventions.
7. Established churches & the landed aristocracy were obstacles to the advancement of civilization.
8. Orderly change by legislative process.
9. A dislike of wars, conquests, a standing army, and military expenditures.
10. Hated the idea of revolution!

87



### Guizot Accepts the Charter from Louis Philippe



88



### Challenges to Liberalism

- From above → the conservative upper class.
- From below → socialism/Marxism.
- From organized religions.
- From militarism and imperialism.
- From economic upheavals:
  - Irish Potato Famine [1845-1852].
  - Great Depressions [1873-1896].



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### The Utilitarians: Jeremy Bentham & John Stuart Mill

- ▣ The goal of society is the greatest good for the greatest number.
- ▣ There is a role to play for government intervention to provide some social safety net.

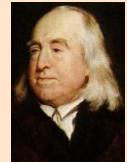


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### Jeremy Bentham

- ▣ Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was an English philosopher and social reformer.
- ▣ He is known for his concept of utilitarianism, the belief that a person's actions have moral value (utility).
- ▣ The utility of a person's actions should bring happiness and pleasure to society.
- ▣ Bentham supported animal rights, the separation of church and state, freedom of expression, the abolition of slavery, equality for women, and free trade.



"Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think..."  
From *The Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789)

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91



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### Quarry Bank Mill

- Quarry Bank Mill was built by Samuel Greg in Cheshire, England, in 1784.
- Greg used unpaid child apprentices from workhouses as his labor.

Above: Apprentice House, Workhouse Children  
Below: Samuel Greg, Power Loom

- Greg, like many other industrialists in Manchester, England, was a Utilitarian.
- The children were provided with education and medical treatment.
- Greg hired Dr. Peter Holland, the first doctor to be employed by a mill in England.
- The mill still operates today.

**Utilitarianism:** The belief that one's actions should bring happiness or pleasure to society

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### The Workhouse

- The workhouse was a place where people went who could not support themselves.
- Homeless people and the insane were sent to workhouses by local authorities.
- Orphans, as in Charles Dickens' novel *Oliver Twist*, were also sent to workhouses.
- Conditions in the workhouses were purposely harsh, in order to encourage people to leave and find work.
- Little money was provided to maintain workhouses.
- People did unpaid work in exchange for food and shelter. People were fed gruel, soup, bread and cheese.
- Many children from workhouses were apprenticed to mine owners and textile mills, where they worked for no wages.

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### NATIONALISM

- People are part of community – they share
  - 1. common institutions
  - 2. traditions
  - 3. language
  - 4. culture and customs

The community makes up a "nation" → people should be ruled by their own people

Nationalism was a threat to the order and balance of power established at the Congress of Vienna

95

### EARLY SOCIALISM

- Equality of social conditions = economic equality
- Cooperation better than competition
- Early socialists – UTOPIAN SOCIALISTS
- Against private property
- Against ind. capitalism
- Favored new forms of social organization
- Better society makes better people


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### Utopian Socialism and Anarchism


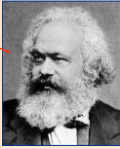
- The word "socialism" was first used in discussions of the Association of All Classes of All Nations, formed by Robert Owen in 1835.
- Owen believed that the state could develop good conduct in individuals.
- Karl Marx referred to Owen's ideals as "utopian socialism."
- Josiah Warren, a member of the New Harmony Society, wrote that the community did not work because its members lacked personal freedom and private property.
- Warren helped to develop the concept of American individualist anarchism.

**Socialism:** The state is responsible for production and the welfare of the people.

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### The Socialists: Utopians & Marxists

- ▣ People as a society would operate and own the means of production, not individuals.
- ▣ Their goal was a society that benefited everyone, not just a rich, well-connected few.
- ▣ Tried to build perfect communities [utopias].

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### EARLY SOCIALISTS

**CHARLES FOURIER**

1. French utopian socialist
2. Phalansteries
3. cooperative/communal living
4. everyone lives and works together

**ROBERT OWEN**

1. British cotton manufacturer
2. created model communities which paid workers well, housed, and educated them
3. New Lanark – Scotland/New Harmony – Indiana

**LOUIS BLANC**


1. French utopian socialist
2. social problems could be solved by govt assistance
3. "Workshops" created and financed by govt but owned and run by the workers themselves

**FLORA TRISTAN**

1. female utopian socialist
2. combined socialism and feminism

99

### Robert Owen (1771-1858)




**Utopian Socialist**

"Village of Cooperation"


100

### Robert Owen and Socialism

- ▣ Robert Owen (1771–1858) was a Welsh social reformer.
- ▣ He was one of the founders of socialism and the cooperative movement.
- ▣ Owen based his philosophy on three fundamental ideas:
  1. He believed that society is responsible for human development.
  2. He was firmly against religion because it made men weak-minded.
  3. He was against the factory system of production.
- ▣ In 1825 Owen put his socialist ideas to work by creating two cooperative societies: one at Orbston, near Glasgow, England, and one at New Harmony, Indiana, which was known as the New Harmony Society.
- ▣ Within two years both communities failed.




**New Harmony, as Envisioned by Owen**



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### ROBERT OWEN

1. Rich wealthy cotton entrepreneur
2. Social reformer
3. Cooperation is better than competition
4. Helps form the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union 1834
5. GNCTU worked/planned strikes to demand 8 hour day
6. Effort failed → GNCTU collapses



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### Original Plans for New Harmony,

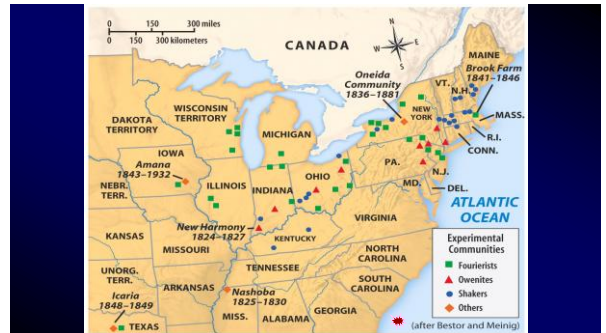



**New Harmony in 1832**

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**Karl Marx 1818–1883**

Philosopher, social scientist, historian and revolutionary, Karl Marx is regarded by many as the most influential economic and social thinker of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

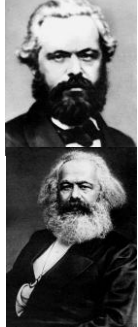
*He writes his work, thinking he will change industrial England – remember they are 100 years ahead, but actually his writings would go on to influence a FUTURE revolution – Watch for it!*



106

**Karl Marx**

- Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–1883) was philosopher and political economist.
- Marx introduced the world to the ideas of communism.
- He believed that capitalism, filled with social turmoil and injustice, would naturally fail, and would be replaced by a classless society called communism.
- In 1848 he and Friedrich Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*, stating, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."
- According to Marx, communism would develop after the impoverished workers of world, called the proletariat, came together and revolted against the ruling bourgeoisie (wealthy merchants and industrialists).



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**YO MAMA'S SO CLASSLESS**

**SHE COULD BE A MARXIST UTOPIA**

**History teachers get it ;)**

108

**REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN**

- The Whigs come to power in 1830
- The Reform Act of 1832
- The Poor Law of 1834
- Repeal of the Corn Laws
  1. anti-Corn Law League
  2. headed Richard Cobden & Richard Bright
  3. liberals wanted "free trade"

109

## THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

1. Old Regimes survive
2. Forces of liberalism/nationalism grow
3. Liberalism/nationalism explode into revolution in 1848
4. The Revolutions of 1848 begin in France
5. Revolution spread all across Europe

110

## Chronology of Uprisings

1. German Confederation Wartburg Festival & *Burschenschaften* (1817-1819): FAILED
2. England Peterloo Massacre (1819): FAILED
3. Spain (1820-1823): FAILED
4. Italy part 1 (1820-1821): FAILED
5. Greece (1821-1830): SUCCESSFUL
6. Russian Decembrist (1825): FAILED
7. France July Revolution (1830): SUCCESSFUL
8. Belgium (1830-1839): SUCCESSFUL
9. Poland (1830-1831): FAILED
10. Italy part 2 (1831-1832): FAILED

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## The Revolutions Of 1848

“The Springtime of Peoples”

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*The turning point at which history failed to turn.*

--- George Macaulay Trevelyn [1937]

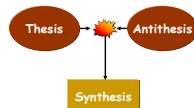
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George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel [1744-1803]

### Historicism

- G The "Hegelian Dialectic"
  - History advances through conflict.
  - One phase of history creates its opposite [ex: absolutism to democracy].



114



### Pre-1848 Tensions: Long-Term

- G Industrialization
  - Economic challenges to rulers.
  - Rapid urbanization.
  - Challenges to the artisan class.
- G Population doubled in the 18<sup>th</sup>
  - Food supply problems → **Malthus**
- G Ideological Challenges
  - Liberalism, nationalism, democracy, socialism.
- G Romanticism
- G Repressive Measures
  - **Carlsbad Decrees** [Prus.]
  - **Six Acts** [Eng.]
  - Secret police created in many European states.

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**Pre-1848 Tensions: Short-Term**

- G Agricultural Crises
  - Poor cereal harvests
    - \* prices rose 60% in one year.
  - Potato blight → Ireland
    - \* Prices rose 135% for food in one year!
- G Financial Crises
  - Investment bubbles burst → railways, iron, coal.
  - Unemployment increased rapidly [esp. among the artisan class].



Working & middle classes are now joined in misery as are the urban and agricultural peasantry!



117

**Prince Metternich**



1815: *We have redrawn Europe's map for eternity.*



118

**Not Really: Centers of Revolution in 1848**



119

**No Coherent Organized Revolutions**

- G Many different reasons for revolutionary activities.
  - Reactions to long- and short-term causes.
- G Competing ideologies in different countries.
- G Different revolutionary leaders, aims, and goals in different countries.
- G Some countries had no revolutions:
  - England.
  - Russia.



120

**FRANCE: The Giant Sea Snake?**



*The giant sea-snake, like many that have appeared in 1848. (Illustration Zeitung, Leipzig, no. 287, 30 December 1848, 436)*



121

**FRANCE**



122

### Louis Philippe, "The Pear," 1848



123

### Prince Louis: *Not Too Steady!*



Victor Hugo & Miguel de Girardin try to raise Prince Louis upon a shield. [Honoré Damier's lithograph published in *Charavari*, December 11, 1848].



124

### The February Revolution

- G Working class & liberals unhappy with King Louis Philippe, esp. with his minister, **Francois Guizot** [who opposed electoral reform].
- G Reform Banquets used to protest against the King.
  - **Paris Banquet** banned.
  - Troops open fire on peaceful protestors.
  - Barricades erected; looting.
  - National Guard [politically disenfranchised] defects to the radicals.
  - King Louis Philippe loses control of Paris and abdicates on February 24.



125

### Alphonse Lamartine

- G A poet & liberal, he believed in the "Rights of Man."
  - To vote, to free speech, to property, & to a secular education.
- G Declared a new **Provisional Government**.
  - Conservatives & liberals are suspicious of republicanism.
    - Reminiscent of the Reign of Terror.



126

### Louis Blanc

- G A Social Democrat.
- G He believed in the "Right to Work."
  - **National Workshops**.
    - Provide work for the unemployed.
- G Financial Crisis
  - Flight of capital.
  - Stock market crashes [55% decline].
  - New 45% increase of taxes on the peasants.



127

### The Coalition Splits: Mar.-May

- G The conflicts between liberals & socialists over:
  - The timing of elections to the Constituent Assembly.
  - The costs of government social programs.
    - Did they violate *laissez-faire*?
  - The question of whether you could have liberty for all men and still have a system based on private property.
- G Growing social tensions between the working class & the bourgeois middle class regarding:
  - The nature of work.
  - The right to unionize.
  - Pay levels.



128

### April Elections

- G Resulted in a conservative majority in the National Assembly.
  - They began debating the fate of social programs [like the National Workshops].
- G The conservative majority wanted the removal of radicals like Blanc from the government.
  - In early June, the National Workshops were shut down.
    - This heightened class tensions!



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### The "June Days"

- G Worker groups in Paris rose up in insurrection.
  - They said that the government had betrayed the revolution.
    - Workers wanted a redistribution of wealth.
  - Barricades in the streets.
- G A new liberal-conservative coalition formed to oppose this lower class radicalism.



130

### Paris: To the Barricades Again!



131

### The 2<sup>nd</sup> French Republic (1848-1852)



The Republic  
by  
Jean-Leon Gerome

- G General Louis Cavaignac assumed dictatorial powers & crushed the revolt.
  - 10,000 dead.
  - A victory for conservatives.
- G Nov., 1848 → a new constitution provided for:
  - An elected President.
  - A one-house legislature.



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### President Louis Napoleon

- G The December election:
  - The "law and order" candidate, **Louis Napoleon Bonaparte**, defeated Cavaignac.
  - This was a big shift in middle class opinion to the right!
- G The New President:
  - Purged the govt. of all radical officials.
    - Replaced them with ultra-conservative and monarchists.
  - Disbanded the National Assembly and held new elections.
    - Represented himself as a "Man of the People."
  - His government regularly used forced against dissenters.



133

### 1851 Coup d'Etat



- G President Louis Napoleon declared a hereditary **2<sup>nd</sup> French Empire**.
- G A national plebiscite confirmed this.

## YET ANOTHER FRENCH REVOLUTION

- The February Revolution 1848
  1. bad economy
  2. unemployment
  3. scandal and corruption in govt
  4. govt refuses to extend the franchise
  5. protest banquet sparks revolution
  6. King Louis-Philippe abdicates
  7. France is a republic now
  8. universal male suffrage
  9. Louis Blanc pushes for “national workshops”

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## THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC

1. Est. after the Feb. Rev./Rev. of 1848
2. No monarchy → France is a republic
3. Universal male suffrage
4. Single house legislature
5. Elected president
6. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte → nephew of big Nap. → elected 1<sup>st</sup> pres. of 2<sup>nd</sup> Repub.

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