

Chapter 12

REVOLUTIONS AND THE REIMPOSITION OF ORDER, 1848–1870

12.58 PARIS: THE SPECTER OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

Study Questions

1. Why did revolutions break out in so many different places at once in Europe in 1848? What was the nature of these revolutions?
2. What pressures in the July Monarchy led to the abdication of Louis Philippe? How does the illustration on p. 504 depict the revolution that overthrew him?
3. Describe the composition and policies of the Provisional Government in France after the February Revolution. What division existed within it?
4. Describe the National Workshops that brought unemployment relief.
5. Discuss the background and significance of the June Days of 1848. How did contemporaries react?
6. Why was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected president in December 1848? Describe his subsequent political maneuvers. What were the results?

Key Discussion Sentences

1. The July Monarchy in France was a platform of boards built over a volcano.
2. The Constituent Assembly, elected in April by universal male suffrage throughout France, met on May 4 and immediately replaced the Provisional Government with a temporary executive board of its own.
3. The president and the Assembly at first combined to conjure away the specter of socialism with which republicanism was now clearly associated.
4. The June Days sent a shudder throughout France and Europe.

5. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was supposed to be a friend of the common man and at the same time a believer in order.
6. For twenty years a groundswell had been stirring the popular mind. It was known as the Napoleonic Legend.
7. By 1851, the Second Republic was dead, as were liberalism and constitutionalism.

Identifications

Louis Philippe	Constituent Assembly	<i>Extinction of Poverty</i>
Guizot	General Cavaignac	Legitimists
Lamartine	Chartism	Louis Blanc
Second French Republic	Falloux Law	Labor Commission
<i>Napoleonic Ideas</i>	coup d'état of December 2, 1851	National Workshops

12.59 VIENNA: THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND ITALY

Study Questions

1. Describe the nature of the Austrian Empire in 1848. What was Metternich's attitude toward nationalism and liberal reform in the empire?
2. What revolutionary developments took place in March 1848 in (a) the Austrian Empire, (b) in Prussia and the other German states, and (c) in Italy? What do we learn from the illustration on p. 510?
3. What factors account for the ebbing of the revolutionary tide after June 1848?
4. Describe the victories of the counterrevolution between June 1848 and December 1848. How did division in the ranks of the revolutionaries contribute to their defeat?
5. What new revolutionary developments occurred in the first half of 1849? Explain their outcome.
6. Discuss the changes in attitudes and policies that took place in central Europe and in Italy immediately following the Revolution of 1848. What was Mazzini's role after 1848–1849?

Key Discussion Sentences

1. The Austrian Empire of the Habsburgs included about a dozen recognizably different nationalities or language groups, and its political authority also reached far beyond its borders.
2. In March 1848 the political institutions of central Europe collapsed with incredible swiftness.
3. The revolutions of 1848 failed when the tide turned against the revolutionaries because they lacked a strong social base.
4. In Vienna, Milan, and a few other cities, the working class was numerous and socialist ideas were fairly common, the workers were not as literate organized, or politically conscious as in Paris or Great Britain. They were strong enough, however, to disquiet the middle classes; and especially after the specter of social revolution rose over Western Europe, the middle-class and lower-class revolutionaries began to be afraid of each other.
5. With the failure of the nationalist upheaval of 1848 in central Europe and Italy, reaction or antirevolutionism became the order of the day.
6. Bach insisted on maintaining the emancipation of the peasants, which had converted the mass of the people from subjects of their landlords into subjects of the state.

Identifications

March Days	Prague Congress	Joseph Mazzini
Louis Kossuth	Roman Republic	March Laws
Magyar	Pius IX	Frankfurt Assembly
Count Jellachich	Syllabus of Errors	Charles Albert
Ferdinand I	Francis Joseph	Bach system

Map Exercises

1. Study the map, European Revolutions, 1848, on p. 512. What were the boundaries of the Austrian Empire in 1848? Name the principal subdivisions of the empire. In what other areas of Europe was Austrian political influence dominant? Which nationalities and language groups were within the Austrian Empire in 1848? How were they distributed?
2. Can you locate each of the places mentioned in Section 12.59?

12.60 FRANKFURT AND BERLIN: THE QUESTION OF A LIBERAL GERMANY

Study Questions

1. What were the major obstacles to German unification?
2. Describe Prussia in the years before 1848. In what ways was Prussia illiberal? In what ways was it forward-looking?
3. What position did Frederick William IV take when revolution broke out in Prussia? Explain the status of the revolution by the end of 1848.
4. How did the origins of the Frankfurt Assembly contribute both to its strength and to its weakness? Of what significance was its desire to retain non-German peoples?
5. What were the characteristics of the members of the Frankfurt Assembly?
6. Explain the decisions that the Frankfurt Assembly reached on the nature of the new Germany, and the outcome of the assembly's proposals.
7. Why did Frederick William IV's plan for a German union fail? What kind of constitution did Prussia itself receive in 1850?
8. What general observations may be made about the failure of the German unification movement of 1848?

Key Discussion Sentences

1. The Frankfurt Assembly attempted to bring a unified German state into being which would also be liberal and constitutional.
2. The members of the Frankfurt Assembly, with a handful of exceptions, were not revolutionary.
3. The most troublesome question facing the Frankfurt Assembly was not social but national.
4. The Frankfurt Assembly became fatally dependent upon the Austrian and Prussian armies.

5. In 1848 liberal nationalism failed to produce a unified constitutional state in Germany, and a less liberal kind of nationalism soon replaced it.
6. The Constitution established a single parliament for all the miscellaneous regions of Prussia and divided the parliament into two chambers.

Identifications

Frederick William IV

Little Germans

Zollverein

Prussian constitution of 1850

Great Germans

Declaration of the Rights of the German People

Prussian Assembly in Berlin

Forty-eighters

Map Exercises

1. Study the map, European Revolutions, 1848, on p. 512. How did the delegates at the Frankfurt Assembly differ over the boundaries of the Germany they wished to unify? Explain the position taken by (a) the Great Germans and (b) the Little Germans. What proposal was finally agreed upon?
2. Where did most of the outbreaks of revolution occur in 1848? Why were revolutionary events concentrated in urban centers in central and Eastern Europe? Why did revolution not occur in Western Europe?
3. Can you locate each of the places mentioned in Section 12.60?

12.61 THE NEW EUROPEAN “ISMS”: REALISM, POSITIVISM, MARXISM

Study Questions

1. What were the accomplishments, failures, and indirect consequences of the Revolution of 1848?
2. Explain how the concepts of materialism, realism, and positivism emerged in the mid-nineteenth century.
3. Analyze the intellectual and political reorientation that took place after 1848. How was the realism reflected in (a) literature and the arts, (b) attitudes toward science, (c) religion, (d) basic philosophical thought, and (e) new attitudes in domestic and international affairs? How does the illustration on p. 524 reflect the new realism?

4. Describe the principal sources of Marxism. How did Marxism dramatize the existing conditions of the working class?
5. How did Marx explain the nature of capitalist crises and depressions? Explain the nature and the significance for Marx of dialectical materialism. How did Marx's views differ from those of Hegel? What does the portrait of Marx on p. 528 suggest about Marx's life and career?
6. Summarize the picture of the past, present, and future offered by Marxism. What were the implications for the working class of the existing war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat?
7. Why did many people find Marxism appealing? Why did others not find Marx's outlook convincing?

Key Discussion Sentences

1. The most immediate and far-reaching consequence of the 1848 revolution or their failure was a new kind of intellectual and political realism.
2. Positivism in a broad sense, both in its demand for observation of facts and testing of ideas, and in its aspiration to be humanly useful, contributed to the growth of the social sciences as a branch of learning and as an intellectual foundation for the belief in historical progress.
3. Although Marxism began to be a historical force in the 1870s, it grew out of the 1840s and reflected the conditions of that period.
4. Marxism may be said to have merged French revolutionism, the British Industrial Revolution, and German philosophy.
5. One of the advantages of Marxism was its claim to be scientific.
6. Some elements of Marxism stood in the way of its natural propagation.

Identifications

Realism

Dictatorship of the proletariat

Capital

Gustave Flaubert

Condition of the Working Classes in England
Socialism
Surplus value
Realpolitik
Opportunism
Communist Manifesto

Positivism
Auguste Comte
Utopian socialism
Dialectical materialism
Friedrich Engels
Young Hegelians

12.62 BONAPARTISM: THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, 1852–1870

Study Questions

1. Discuss political institutions and political life in the Second Empire.
2. Describe French economic growth under Napoleon III. What gains did working people make in these years? How do the illustration on p. 533 and its caption convey his plans for rebuilding Paris?
3. Explain Napoleon III's attitude toward free trade. Of what significance were the 1860s for the development of free trade in Europe?
4. What kind of opposition to Napoleon III developed? What caused the ruin and downfall of the Second Empire?
5. Why has Napoleon III been considered an omen of the future?

Key Discussion Sentences

1. There is no doubt that Napoleon III became dictator on a wave of popular acclaim.
2. The times were exceedingly favorable for expansion, for the discovery of gold in California in 1849, and in Australia soon afterward, together with the newly organized credit facilities, brought a substantial increase in the European money supply, which had a mildly inflationary effect.
3. Napoleon III claimed to bring together mass democracy, intelligent government, and economic prosperity.
4. Napoleon III held that forms of government were less important than economic or social realities.

5. It was as a great social engineer that Napoleon III preferred to be known.
6. It is enough to say that in 1870 the Second Empire went the way of the First, into the limbo of governments tried and discarded by the French.

Identifications

Baron Haussmann	<i>Crédit Mobilier</i>	Right of “limited liability”
Saint-Simonians	Free trade treaty of 1860	Socialist emperor
Suez Canal	Liberal Empire	

GENERAL ESSAY QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 12

1. What common objectives were sought by the revolutionaries in Europe in 1848? To what extent were they successful? How did the outcome lead to the new realism seen in people’s attitudes?
2. How were the ideas of Marxism derived from (a) the French Revolution, (b) social and economic conditions of the time, and (c) German philosophy? What relationship did Marxism have to earlier and later forms of socialism?
3. In what sense may Louis Napoleon Bonaparte be considered the first modern dictator? Discuss (a) his coming to power and (b) his rule as Napoleon III.

GENERAL DISCUSSION PASSAGES FOR CHAPTER 12

1. The fundamental problem of the century, the bringing of peoples into some kind of mutual relationship with their governments—a political aspiration that drew on diverse strands of nationalism, liberalism, constitutionalism, and democracy—remained unconsidered by the responsible authorities of central Europe e. (p. 509)
2. The mid-nineteenth century failure to produce a democratic Germany became one of the overshadowing facts of modern European history. (p. 515)
3. The fate of Germany (and also the later history of Europe) lay in the fact that the German Revolution of 1848 came at a time when social revolutionaries had already begun to declare war on the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie was already afraid of the lower classes. (p. 517)
4. It was the worker or artisan, not the professor or respectable merchant, who in unsettled

times actually seized firearms and rushed to shout revolutionary utterances in the streets. Without lower-class insurrection not even middle-class revolutions have been successful. (p. 517)

5. In international affairs *Realpolitik* meant that governments should not be guided by ideology, or by any system of “natural” enemies or “natural” allies, or by any desire to defend or promote any particular view of the world; but that they should follow their own practical or strategic interests, meet facts and actual situations as they arose, make any alliances that seemed useful, disregard ethical theories and scruples, and use any practical means to achieve their ends s. (p. 523)
6. Young Hegelians believed that the promise of the French Revolution had not yet been fulfilled, because social and economic equality as well as a true political equality should follow the civil and legal equality already won. (p. 524-525)
7. The *Communist Manifesto* called a committee of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the people. Religion was a drug to keep the worker quietly dreaming upon imaginary heavenly rewards. (p. 526)
8. Marx gave emphasis to the primacy of material conditions, or the relations of production, which included technology, inventions, natural resources, and property systems. It is the relations of production that determine what kind of religions, philosophies, governments, laws, and moral values are accepted. (p. 527)
9. Marxism brought together ideas that were scientific, historical, philosophical, political, and apocalyptic. (p. 529)
10. Had the old Europe not gone to pieces in the twentieth-century wars, and had Marxism not been revived by Lenin and transplanted to Russia, it is probable that Marx’s ideas would have been gradually domesticated into the general body of European thought and that much less would have been said about them in later years in Europe or elsewhere. (p. 530)
11. Not until the twentieth century, when dictators sprouted all over Europe, did people begin to recognize that the authoritarian Louis Napoleon had been an omen of the future rather than a bizarre reincarnation of the past. (p. 534)