

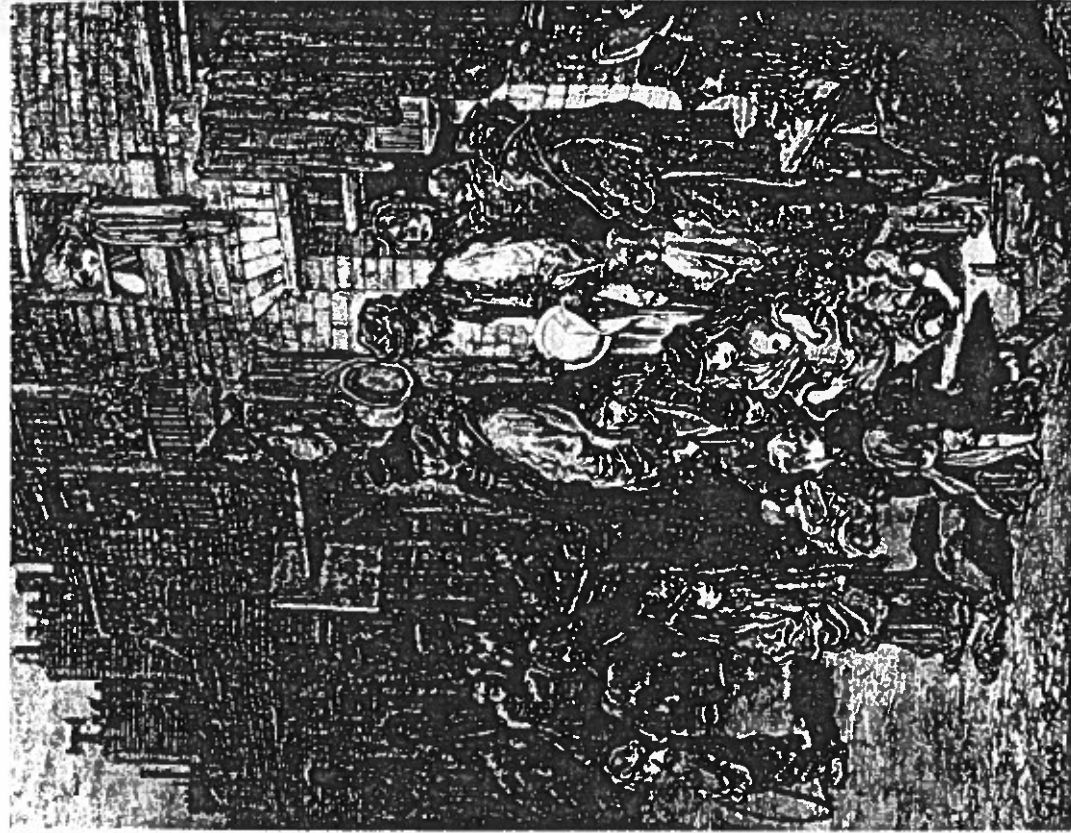
amidst exposure to garbage and raw sewage. These conditions, compounded by heavy industrial pollution, contributed to frequent eruptions of disease, which could spread rapidly. The diverse changes wrought by industrialization were in many cases detrimental to the well-being of the individuals involved, and the cost to society was extremely high (see appendix, Document XI).

POLITICS IN THE AGE OF METTERNICH

The peace settlements of 1815 seemingly calmed the upheaval that had been engendered by the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon. The traditional wealth and power of throne, land, altar, and bureaucracy were for the most part reestablished. On the international scene, the forces of conservatism attempted to maintain the new (restored) arrangement, but the fact of the matter was that the European world had undergone a radical change and its peoples would not readily revert to the ways of the old system. New ideologies of change had made an appearance and paramount among these were liberalism and nationalism. These ideologies were the result of forces that had led to revolution in France, and their impact was far too powerful and too widespread to be contained for very long. Waves of revolution swept Europe during the 1820s and 1830s, and by midcentury it was apparent that the constraints imposed by the Vienna settlement were not strong enough to triumph over the new forces shaking the continent. Unleashed by the Industrial and French Revolutions, these forces made a return to the old order unthinkable.

Conservatism and Intellectual Responses

The archconservatism inherent in the Vienna settlement as personified by Metternich and determination to preserve the status quo came into direct conflict with these new and powerful forces. What was the basis of the ideology of conservatism, which held the leaders at Vienna in its grip? It dated from 1790 when Edmund Burke wrote his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* as a reaction to the radical ideals that the Revolution espoused. Burke maintained that society was indeed a contract, but it was not simply a pact between the state and the living. It was a contract between the state and the dead, the living, and those yet to be born. One generation could not take it upon itself to destroy the partnership; rather, it was the duty of each successive generation to



3.2. A mid-nineteenth century London street scene by Gustave Doré (SEF/ART Resource, New York)

The few hours of the day that could be spent away from the work site promised no relief. Industrial workers lived in a state of urban poverty. The largest portion of their incomes was spent on food that was inadequate for a healthy diet and consisted primarily of bread. The remainder of the wages had to be spent on clothing and housing. The crowded, hastily built tenement structures in which many lived provided barely adequate shelter

preserve it and transmit it to the next. Gradual evolutionary change was acceptable, but sudden change was not. The conservatism of Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) went far beyond that of Burke. Whereas Burke regarded the monarchy as the cement that would hold society together, de Maistre saw it as a divinely sanctioned institution. In his view, only the divine right of kings could ensure order in society and avoid the type of chaos engendered by the French Revolution. Although there existed these differences among conservatives, most held a common body of beliefs. They believed in political obedience and organized religion as a means to a well-ordered society. They hated revolution and would accept neither liberal demands for civil liberties and representational government nor the nationalism that had arisen in the wake of the French Revolution. The well-being of the community took precedence over that of the individual, society must be ordered and organized, and tradition was the best guide to order. After 1815, political conservatism was supported by hereditary monarchs, government bureaucracies, landowning aristocrats, and churches, all of which appeared to be the dominant forces in the era from 1815 to 1848 that came to be known as the Age of Metternich.

Steeped as he was in conservative belief, it was Metternich's contention that he was guided by the principle of legitimacy at Vienna. He believed that the reimposition of peace and order would come from the restoration of legitimate monarchs who would guard traditional institutions. Although this did occur in France, elsewhere it seems that legitimacy as a guiding principle was largely ignored and practical considerations dominated. Foremost among these were territorial arrangements aimed at maintaining a balance of power or an equilibrium among the Great Powers, which now included France. This meant that a balance of political and military forces must be maintained on the continent so that no one power could achieve dominance over the others. These considerations superseded all others, with the result that territories and peoples were transferred between the Great Powers with very little or no regard at all for the wishes of those involved. This orientation was illustrated in the treatment accorded Poland and the compensation granted Austria for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands at the Congress of Vienna. It also resulted in a tension between the forces dedicated to the preservation of the status quo and those determined to bring about change.

Working against the traditional order of political conservatives, monarchs, monarchists, and churches, powerful forces for change manifested themselves in internal upheavals and revolutions directed against the guardians of the status quo within the various regions and countries of Europe. There developed as well responses of an intellectual nature. Liberal-

ism, nationalism, and radicalism were three of these responses. They constituted self-conscious movements in political and social arenas that took deliberate aim at the established order. Liberalism was both political and economic in nature. Politically, it stood for the principles of the French Revolution, especially those of liberty and civic equality. Characteristic of liberalism were written constitutions and parliamentary governments, both revolutionary innovations for that time. Liberals came to hold a basic set of beliefs that included equality before the law, freedom of the press and of speech, and the right to free assembly, as well as freedom from arbitrary arrest. Ideally, for all citizens of all countries, these rights and freedoms should be guaranteed in writing, as in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Religious toleration, separation of church and state, the right of peaceful opposition to government, and the making of laws by a representative assembly elected by qualified voters were all basic to liberal belief.

Many liberals also advocated a form of ministerial responsibility in which ministers were responsible to the elected assembly rather than to the king, thus giving the legislative branch a check on the power of the executive branch. Liberals of the early nineteenth century believed in a limited suffrage only. They did not believe that all people should be entitled to vote, although they felt that all should have equal civil rights. In their minds, the right to vote and to hold office should be restricted to men who met certain property qualifications. Liberals, as middle-class industrialists for the most part, were hostile to absolute monarchy, aristocracy, and the power of the churches, but they did wish to share in the power of the landed classes. They had no desire to extend that power to those below them in the social hierarchy, since liberalism was in no way synonymous with democracy; rather, it was middle class or bourgeois in its orientation.

Economic liberalism embraced the theories of the classical economists and their ideas of *laissez-faire*. Their ideals of freedom and property rights reflected the interests of the bourgeoisie with little regard for the needs and interests of the growing numbers of workers in society.

Nationalism, another force for change, involved the belief that each nation should govern itself and thus be self-determined. It can be defined as a state of mind arising out of an awareness of being part of a community with common institutions, traditions, language, and customs. The community is regarded as the nation, and the primary loyalty of individuals should be to the nation, rather than to a dynasty, city-state, or other institution. During the eighteenth century, people began to examine their language, history, literature, art, and folklore to understand the essence of their nations, and this

through the works of the German poets and philosophers and in classrooms where they heard lectures on new intellectual and political currents. Metternich moved harshly against the students in the liberal societies (*Burschenschaften*) working toward a free and united Germany. An assembly at Wartburg Castle in 1817 marked the tricentenary of Luther's 95 Theses, and the students used this occasion to burn books written by conservative authors. When one of the students, Karl Sand, assassinated a reactionary playwright, Metternich used this as the excuse he had been waiting for to push through the Carlsbad Decrees (1819). These decrees dissolved student societies, censored the press, and restricted academic freedom. However, they failed to contain the forces of liberalism and nationalism, which underwent steady growth over the next twenty years.

The collection of peoples living in the Habsburg lands under one emperor was diverse. The population was composed of eleven nationalities, with the Germans being the most powerful both numerically and economically and playing the leading role in governing the empire. The landed nobility constituted the most important class as the country was mainly agricultural, and this segment held most of the important positions as army officers, diplomats, ministers, and civil servants. The national groups, especially the Hungarians, who resented their position within the empire worked as a powerful impetus for breaking apart the old system.

Metternich's insistence on the preservation of the status quo was grounded in his fear of the potential for destabilization within the Austrian Empire. The liberal belief that each nationality should determine its own system of government was frightening in the extreme in an empire containing such a diversity of peoples. The emperor, Francis II (r. 1792-1835), refused any slight reforms that Metternich suggested, and so the government trusted in inertia, while the forces of liberalism and nationalism continued to grow.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russia was also primarily an agricultural country. Most of the land was controlled by wealthy nobles, who dominated the civil service and the army officer corps. The land was tilled by serfs, who endured the worst conditions of any class in all Europe. Alexander I gave the appearance of a liberal monarch, but his type of liberalism was strongly influenced by the autocratic tradition of his predecessors, and the nobility resisted any reform. As a result, the serfs were not freed, nor was a constitution formulated, and Alexander, exhibiting strong tendencies toward mysticism and engaged in his struggle with Napoleon, became increasingly removed from ideas of reform. The government reverted to rigid

censorship, and soon opposition expressed itself in the form of secret societies. One such society was the Northern Union. Its members were young men who had been outside Russia with the military campaigns and who, along with a group of Russian intellectuals, saw the need for reform. They advocated a constitutional monarchy and the abolition of serfdom. When Alexander died unexpectedly in 1825, the members of the Northern Union saw their opportunity and revolted, favoring Alexander's brother Constantine over Nicholas, the third brother, who was less liberal. This uprising, known as the Decembrist Revolt (1825), was crushed and the leaders exiled to Siberia or executed. But the revolt so traumatized Nicholas that he was determined to entrench the old order by means of political police to whom he accorded sweeping powers over the people. He became known as the "policeman of Europe" and was famous for his determination that there should be no revolution in either Russia or the rest of Europe.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

Despite the fact that there had occurred several successful revolutions in 1820 and 1830 and that by the latter date the forces of change were making inroads, the conservative order remained dominant in most of Europe in the period preceding 1848. On the continent, by 1830 revolution had succeeded in France, Belgium, and Greece, but in Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, and Spain, it had failed. The forces of liberalism and nationalism, at first involving junior army officers, writers, students, professors and liberal-minded nobles, continued to gain in strength. The other great revolution of those years, the one occurring in industry, brought together other groups of people who were also in the mood for change.

Early Socialism

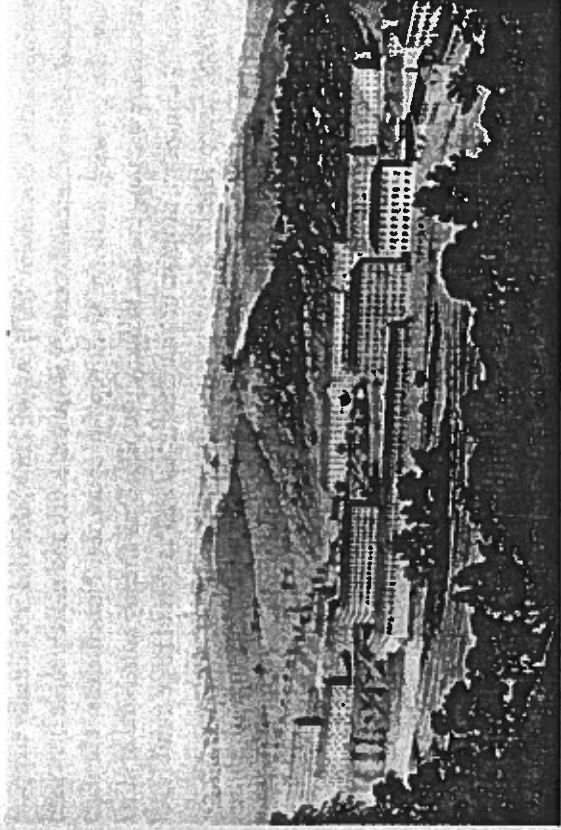
The problems resulting from industrialization produced a rapid expansion of a fledgling political theory that had appeared early in the nineteenth century. This theory, called socialism, reflected a certain optimism that there could be an improvement in living and working conditions for members of the expanding industrial working class. This early socialist theory supposed that cooperation was superior to competition and more natural to humans. Such idealism later earned for them the title, bestowed by Karl Marx, of "utopian" socialists. They believed that man was not fundamentally evil, but ultimately perfectible and that

most of the misery suffered by humankind was the result of an economic system that made some rich and many poor. They were against private property and the competition inherent in early industrial capitalism, and they looked for ways to change the existing system so that a better human environment could be achieved.

In France, Henri Saint Simon (1760–1825) was one of these early utopian socialists. His goal was to organize all of society into a cooperative community where industrial and scientific technology would be utilized to coordinate society for the benefit of all, and in the final analysis all government would be eradicated. Saint Simon's fellow countryman Charles Fourier (1772–1838) advocated the formation of voluntary associations for the purpose of cooperative living. His detailed plan called for the organization of “phalansteries,” in which all aspects of daily work would be shared among the inhabitants, but his plan was never tested. Although he waited patiently everyday at noon in his favorite Parisian cafe for many years, a benefactor willing to finance his experiment never did appear. Again in France, Louis Blanc had another vision for a better world, and his belief that governments should bear some responsibility for a better society required government assistance as essential to the resolution of social problems. He felt that competition was responsible for many of the economic evils of the time, and he called for cooperation in utilizing workshops to produce goods. The money for these could be provided by the state, but they would be owned by the workers who would operate them, and in this way cooperation, rather than competition, would be the basis for the new economic system.

Robert Owen (1771–1858), a British industrialist, also believed that the best in human nature would mature within a cooperative environment. Beginning in 1800, at New Lanark in Scotland, he implemented this vision, and the result was a flourishing, healthy community. In New Harmony, Indiana (1825), however, the same dream was to wither and die. The inability of individuals to subordinate self-interest and to look to the welfare of the whole community buried Owen's hopes for a new and better world.

The utopian socialists all recognized the need to change the situation of women within society and brought forth a variety of suggestions for realizing this goal. The Saint-Simonians favored equality in both the workplace and at home. Fourier's plan gave men and women equal job and educational opportunities; men would participate in household tasks and in the rearing of children. Flora Tristan, also in France, envisioned the liberation of both women and workers. In a crusade to bring these two oppressed segments of society together for the benefit of both, she traveled and wrote extensively on



3.4. New Lanark Mills where Robert Owen developed his model community (Image Select/Art Resource, New York)

the topic, but with little result. However laudatory their vision, the utopian socialists were largely ignored by their contemporaries.

In 1848 Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) published *The Communist Manifesto*, which laid the foundation for subsequent socialist thought. Marx and Engels believed that human history was the record of mankind's confrontation with physical nature in an effort to produce the goods necessary for the human race to survive. The process leading to this production defines the structures, values, and ideals of a society. According to Marx and Engels, conflict has been a constant between the class that owned and controlled the means of production and those who worked for them. The only way to alleviate the social and economic ills would be through revolution, which is the inevitable outcome of the growth and development of capitalism. This theory was certainly based on an extremely pessimistic view of society as it existed and of the likelihood for change within it. It embraced the idea of controlled violence as a means to societal change. Marx predicted that the workers would eventually rise up and overthrow those who controlled the means of production. With the ringing words of *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx exhorted the workers to rise against those who enslaved them. “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!”