

Focus Question: What were the goals of the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe, and how successful were they in achieving those goals?

The Voice of Conservatism: Metternich of Austria

THERE WAS NO GREATER SYMBOL of conservatism in the first half of the nineteenth century than Prince Klemens von Metternich of Austria. Metternich played a crucial role at the Congress of Vienna and worked tirelessly for thirty years to repress the “revolutionary seed,” as he called it, that had been spread to Europe by the “military despotism of Bonaparte.”

Klemens von Metternich, *Memoirs*

We are convinced that society can no longer be saved without strong and vigorous resolutions on the part of the Governments still free in their opinions and actions.

We are also convinced that this may be, if the Governments face the truth, if they free themselves from all illusion, if they join their ranks and take their stand on a line of correct, unambiguous, and frankly announced principles.

By this course the monarchs will fulfill the duties imposed upon them by Him who, by entrusting them with power, has charged them to watch over the maintenance of justice, and the rights of all, to avoid the paths of error, and tread firmly in the way of truth. . . .

If the same elements of destruction which are now throwing society into convulsions have existed in all ages—for every age has seen immoral and ambitious men, hypocrites, men of heated imaginations, wrong motives, and wild projects—yet ours, by the single fact of the liberty of the press, possesses more than any preceding age the means of contact, seduction, and attraction whereby to act on these different classes of men.

We are certainly not alone in questioning if society can exist with the liberty of the press, a scourge unknown to the world before the latter half of the seventeenth century, and restrained until the end of the eighteenth, with scarcely any exceptions but England—a part of Europe separated from the

continent by the sea, as well as by her language and by her peculiar manners.

The first principle to be followed by the monarchs, united as they are by the coincidence of their desires and opinions, should be that of maintaining the stability of political institutions against the disorganized excitement which has taken possession of men’s minds; the immutability of principles against the madness of their interpretation; and respect for laws actually in force against a desire for their destruction. . . .

The first and greatest concern for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of the laws, and their uninterrupted action—never their change. Therefore, let the Governments govern, let them maintain the groundwork of their institutions, both ancient and modern; for if it is at all times dangerous to touch them, it certainly would not now, in the general confusion, be wise to do so. . . .

Let them maintain religious principles in all their purity, and not allow the faith to be attacked and morality interpreted according to the social contract or the visions of foolish sectarians.

Let them suppress Secret Societies, that gangrene of society. . . .

To every great State determined to survive the storm there still remain many chances of salvation, and a strong union between the States on the principles we have announced will overcome the storm itself.



Based on Metternich’s discussion, how would you define conservatism? What experiences conditioned Metternich’s ideas? Based on this selection, what policies do you think Metternich would have wanted his government to pursue?

Source: Reprinted from Klemens von Metternich, *Memoirs*, Alexander Napler, trans. (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1881).

The Voice of Conservatism: Metternich of Austria

1. Based on Metternich’s discussion, how would you define conservatism?
2. What experiences conditioned Metternich’s ideas?
3. PERIODIZATION: How did Metternich argue for a new approach to government in reaction to the changes brought on by the French Revolution?

AP European History - Chapter 21 Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

4. HISTORICAL ARGUMENTATION: Construct an argument that Metternich's policies will encourage revolutions throughout Europe. Provide 2 pieces of evidence as proof.

Map 21.1 Europe After the Congress of Vienna, 1815 pg 626

1. How did Europe's major powers manipulate territory to decrease the probability that France could again threaten the Continent's stability?
2. CONTINUITY & CHANGE: How had Europe changed after 1815? What had stayed the same?



MAP 21.1 Europe After the Congress of Vienna, 1815. The Congress of Vienna imposed order on Europe based on the principles of monarchical government and a balance of power. Monarchs were restored in France, Spain, and other states recently under Napoleon's control, and much territory changed hands, often at the expense of the smaller, weaker states.

Q How did Europe's major powers manipulate territory to decrease the probability that France could again threaten the Continent's stability?

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Congress of Vienna

- Met to end Napoleonic wars and to keep France in check.
- Klemens von Metternich -- Austria
- Lord Castlereagh – Great Britain
- Alexander I – Russia
- Principle of Legitimacy & Intervention

Concert of Europe (or Congress System)

- Conservative movement** - lasted from 1815 until the Crimean War of the 1850s
- Arrangements to guarantee enforcement of the **status quo** as defined by the Vienna settlement. Major provisions: Quadruple Alliance, Principle of Intervention, & Principle of Legitimacy.
- Sought to suppress nationalist & liberal revolutions.**

Quadruple Alliance

- Russia, Prussia, Austria and England
- Provided for concerted action to arrest any threat to the peace or balance of power.

Conservatism

- Arose in reaction to liberalism and became a popular alternative for those frightened by the violence, terror and social disorder of the French Revolution.
- Embodied most by **Metternich of Austria**
- Support by traditional ruling classes & peasants who still formed majority of the population
- Believed in order, society and the state; faith and tradition

Post-war Conservative Repression (1815-1820)

- Metternich in Austria and German Confederation
- Multi-ethnic composition of Habsburg Empire meant liberalism and nationalism were potentially more dangerous than in other countries.
- Liberalism and nationalism highly vocal and visible in universities in first half of 19th century
- Karlsbad Decrees** (1819) by Metternich; cracked down on liberalism in universities and drove liberalism and nationalism underground.

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Conservative England

- Tories (who had defeated Napoleon) still in control.
- Corn Law of 1815**: halted importation of cheaper foreign grains.
- “Peterloo Massacre”** of 1819 led by Lord Liverpool
 - Pro-liberal crowd listening to anti-Corn law rhetoric attacked by police.
 - Press brought under more firm control and mass meetings abolished.

Conservative France

- King Louis XVIII, shift from moderate to conservative
- Governed France as a Constitutional Monarch – most liberal large state on the continent.
- 1815, thousands of former revolutionaries murdered by royalist mobs (“White Terror”)
- 1829, heir to the throne murdered and royalists used incident as pretense to further crack down on liberalism.

Russia: Decembrist Uprising (1825)

- Alexander I (1810-1825) initially favored Enlightened despotism but after 1815 grew increasingly reactionary. His death led to a power vacuum.
- Nicholas I assumed the Russian throne after death of Alexander I.
- Decembrists (junior military officers): upper-class opponents of the autocratic Russian system of gov’t, who supported popular grievances among Russian society. Failed in their revolt.
- Nicholas became Europe’s most reactionary monarch
- Intellectuals developed two opposing camps in this period:
 - Slavophiles believed that Russian village (the *mir*) culture was superior to that of the West.
 - Westernizers wanted to extend the “genius of Russian culture” by industrializing and setting up a constitutional gov’t.

Greek Revolution (1821-1829)

- Concerned the **“Eastern Question”**: Which European countries would fill the void in the Balkans resulting from the decline of the Ottoman Empire?
- England, France and Russia accepted Greece’s Christian appeal and joined into a united force that defeated combined Turkish and Egyptian naval forces.
- Treaty of Adrianople (1829): recognized Greek independence.
- Significance: 3 out of 5 members of Concert of Europe supported nationalism signaling a shift from united conservatism to nationalistic self-interest.**

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: What were the main tenets of conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, and utopian socialism, and what role did each ideology play in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century?

Liberalism

- Political liberalism:
 - reformist and political rather than revolutionary in character
 - individuals entitled to seek their freedom in the face of tyranny.
 - humans have certain natural rights and governments should protect them.
 - rights are best guaranteed by a written constitution, with careful definition of the limits to which governmental actions may go (e.g. Declaration of Independence; *Declaration of the Rights of Man*)
 - republican form of gov't.
 - Democrats more radical than liberals; more willing to endorse violence to achieve goals.

Liberalism in Economics

- Adam Smith in *Wealth of Nations*** (1776): advocated economic individualism
- laissez-faire*: opposed gov't intervention in social and economic affairs, even if the need for action seemed great to social critics and reformers Most productive economy was one that allowed for the greatest measure of individual choice—"invisible hand" of the self-regulating market.
- Severely opposed to mercantilism
- David Ricardo: "iron law of wages"**: plentiful supply of workers would keep wages low, to the detriment of the working class.
- Thomas Malthus**: believed human population would eat itself out of existence.
- Utilitarianism**: founded by **Jeremy Bentham**
 - Utility of any proposed law or institution based on "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

John Stuart Mill

- On Liberty*** (1859): classic statement on liberty of the individual. Argued for "absolute freedom of opinion"
- Later argued for women's rights: *On the Subjection of Women* (1867)

Impact of Liberalism

- Involved in the various revolutionary movements of the early 19th century
- Embodied in over ten constitutions secured between 1815 and 1848 in states of the German Confederation.
- Influenced reform measures in Britain governments from 1830s into 20th century.
- Inspired German student organizations and impacted Prussian (and later German) life.

Critical Thinking:

What are the characteristics of a free market regulated by natural laws?

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Nationalism

- Sought to turn cultural unity into self-government
- Common language, history and traditions would bring about unity and common loyalties.
- Creates the “us vs. them” or “we vs. they” mentality
- Immediate origins were in the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)

- Regarded as father of modern nationalism
- Believed every people is unique and possesses a distinct national character—*Volksgeist*— which has evolved over many centuries.

Socialism

- Desire to reorganize society to establish cooperation and a new sense of community.
- Increasing misery of working classes disturbed liberal thinkers (Bentham and Mill), who proposed a modification of *laissez-faire* economics.
- Liberal practices in politics (republicanism) and economics (capitalism) seemed to promote selfish individualism and the fragmenting of society.
- Not until the 19th century did issue of social justice gain broad intellectual base and greater support.

French Socialism

- Early **French Socialists** proposed a system of greater economic equality planned by the government (sometimes called **Utopian Socialists**)
- Count Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825)**
 - Proper social organization would require the “parasites”— the court, aristocracy, lawyers, churchmen—to give way to the “doers”—leading scientists, engineers, and industrialists.
 - Sought public works projects and establishing investment banks.
 - Every social institution should have as its main goal improved conditions for the poor.
- Louis Blanc (1811-1882)**: more practical approach than other early French socialists.
 - Urged workers to fight for universal suffrage and to take control of the state peacefully.
 - Gov’t should set up workshops and factories to guarantee full employment.
- Flora Tristen (1803-1844)** female utopian socialist & feminist.
Worker’s Union (1843)

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: What forces for change were present in France, Great Britain, Belgium, Poland, and Italy between 1830 and 1848, and how did each nation respond? What were the causes of the revolutions of 1848, and why did the revolutions fail?

Revolutions of 1830: sparked by wave of liberalism and nationalism

France: July Revolution (1830)

- A radical revolt in Paris forced reactionary Charles X to abdicate his throne.
 - Louis Philippe** (r. 1830-1848) of Orleans family became new king under a constitutional monarchy; known as the "Bourgeoisie King"
 - France now controlled by upper-middle class Bourgeoisie bankers and businessmen (in effect, a return to narrow liberalism of 1815)
 - Impact of July Revolution: sparked a wave of revolutions throughout Europe.
- * (Hugo's *Les Miserables* based on this)

Italy (1831-32)

- Northern Italy — saw outbreaks of liberal discontent.
 - **Giuseppe Mazzini** and his secret revolutionary society – Young Italy
 - The Carbonari: secret nationalist societies advocated force to achieve nat'l unification
- Austrian troops under Metternich's enforcement of the Concert of Europe's philosophy crushed the disorganized revolutionaries.

Prussia

- Established an economic union of 17 German states, the Zollverein, which eliminated internal tariffs and set the tone for greater union.

Reform in England

- Queen Victoria** (r. 1837-1901): period of her reign known as "Victorian Era"
- Led by reform-minded Tories
- Abandoned Congress System, reformed prisons and criminal code, allowed membership in labor unions, established efficient metropolitan police force ("Bobbies")
- Religious Reform:
 - granted full civil rights to Roman Catholics.
- Whigs asked by new king George IV to form a new government (1830)
- Whigs heavily supported by middle class

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Reform in England

- Reform Bill of 1832** (spurred by cholera epidemic)
- Sought to increase number of voters from 6% of population to 12%.
- Sought to eliminate underpopulated electoral districts (“Rotten Boroughs”) and replace them with representation from new manufacturing districts and cities
- Labor Reform:
 - Factory Act of 1833**: forbade child labor under age of nine
 - Slavery abolished in British West Indies, 1833
 - Poor Law, 1834**: required healthy unemployed workers to live in workhouses.
 - 10 Hour Act, 1847**: limited work hours for women and children to 10 hours per day
- Chartists**:
 - universal male suffrage
 - secret balloting
 - no property qualifications for members of Parliament
 - salaries for member of Parliament
 - equal electoral districts
 - annual elections for Parliament
- Significance: although movement failed all its ideas adopted in late 19th and early 20th c.
- Corn Laws repealed, 1846

Revolutions of 1848

- Challenged conservative order & led to breakdown of Concert of Europe**
- 1848 revolutions influenced by romanticism, nationalism, socialism, and liberalism, as well as economic dislocation and instability.
- Only Britain and Russia avoided significant upheaval
- Resulted in end of serfdom in Austria and Germany, universal male suffrage in France, parliaments established in German states (although controlled by princes & aristocrats), stimulated unification impulse in Prussia and Sardinia-Piedmont.
- Last of liberal revolutions dating back to the French Revolution

France

- “February Revolution”**
- Working class and liberals unhappy with **King Louis Philippe** who opposed electoral reform; King forced to abdicate
- Second French Republic**: led by liberals allied w/ bourgeoisie
- Louis Blanc**: socialist thinker who led working classes.
 - national workshops**: created to provide work for the unemployed
 - Reforms: abolished slavery in the empire, 10 hr workday in Paris, abolished death penalty

Critical Thinking:

Political Cartoon Analysis: Text pg 643
What does the portrayal of Louis-Philippe communicate?

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

France (Cont)

- April elections for new Constituent Assembly resulted in conflict between liberal capitalists and socialists
- Workers attempted to create a revolutionary republic after Blanc was dropped from assembly.
- “June Days” Revolution**
 - Cause: gov’t closed national workshops
 - Marked beginning of class warfare in France
 - Workers sought war against poverty and redistribution of income.
 - Barricades put up in streets to oppose gov’t forces General Cavaignac: assumed dictatorial powers & crushed revolt (10,000 dead)
 - Victory for conservatives
- Election of 1848: Louis Napoleon** defeated Cavaignac
- 1852: Louis Napoleon consolidated power and became **Emperor Napoleon III**

German States

- Revolutions inspired by 1848 revolutions in France
 - Liberals demanded constitutional government and a union or federation of German states.
 - Grossdeutsch vs. Kleindeutsch
 - Frederick William IV rejected liberal constitution; imposed conservative one that guaranteed royal control of gov’t (lasted until 1918).
- Frankfurt Parliament** (May, 1848)
 - Liberal, romantic, & nationalist leaders called for elections to a constituent assembly, from all states in the German Bund, for the purpose of unifying the German states.
 - Sought war with Denmark to annex Schleswig & Holstein; Prussia declared war on Denmark
 - Presented constitution for a united German federation
 - Selected Prussian King Frederick William IV as emperor; he declined claiming “divine right of kings”
 - Failure of Prussia and Austria to support unification movement resulted in its collapse
- Frederick William’s attempt to unify Germany ended in failure
 - Austria demanded Prussian allegiance to the Bund (that Austria dominated)
 - Prussia dropped plan to unify Germany, leaving Austria as dominant German state in the Bund.
 - Prussia would seek revenge in 1866 (Austro-Prussian War)

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Italy

- Italian nationalists and liberals seek to end foreign domination of Italy
 - Milan, Lombardy and Venetia expel Austrian rulers
 - Bourbon rulers in Sicily and Naples defeated (Kingdom of Two Sicilies)
 - Sardinia-Piedmont declared war on Austria
 - Giuseppe Mazzini** established Roman Republic in 1849 protected by **Giuseppe Garibaldi**
- Failure of revolutions in Italy result in conservative victory:
 - Austrian crushes Sardinia-Piedmont; regains Lombardy and Venetia
 - French troops take back Papal States
- Causes for failure:
 - Rural people did not support revolutions
 - Revolutionaries not united (as was also the case in Germany)
 - Fear of radicals among moderates
 - Lack of leadership and administrative experience among revolutionaries.

Austria

- Habsburg empire was vulnerable to revolutionary challenge
 - Ethnic minorities sought nationalistic goals: Hungarians, Slavs, Czechs, Italians, Serbs, Croats, and others. (More non-Germans than Germans lived in the empire)
 - Austrian gov't was reactionary; liberal institutions were non-existent.
 - Social reliance on serfdom doomed masses of people to a life w/o hope.
 - "February Days" in France sparked rebellion for liberal reforms.
- Vienna
 - Louis Kossuth** (1802-1894) Hungarian (Magyar) leader demanded independence
 - Czechs and three northern Italian provinces declared autonomy.
 - Austrian empire collapsed; Metternich fled
 - Serfdom abolished
 - Revolutionary gov't failed to govern effectively
 - Habsburgs restored royal absolutism
- Prague Conference** developed notion of **Austroslavism**: constitution and autonomy within Habsburg empire.
 - Pan-Slav Congress failed to unite Slavic peoples in the empire.
 - Austrian military ultimately occupied Bohemia and crushed rebellion

Critical Thinking:

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Austria (cont)

- Hungary
 - Louis Kossuth led Hungarian independence movement
 - Hungarian armies drove within sight of Vienna.
 - Slavic minorities resisted Magyar invasion and Hungarian army withdrew
 - Austrian and Russian armies defeated Hungarian army.
 - Hungary would have to wait until 1866 for autonomy.

Critical Thinking:

Focus Question: How did European states respond to the increase in crime in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?

The New British Police: "We Are Not Treated as Men" (pg 648)

1. What were the complaints of the British constables?
2. What was the main issue that the complaints raised?
3. Why might it be said that the development of police forces is a defining characteristic of Western Civilization in modern times?
4. SYNTHESIS: What did the constables' complaints have in common with the grievances of laborers you read about in Chapter 20?

The New British Police: "We Are Not Treated as Men"

THE NEW BRITISH POLICE FORCES, organized first in London in 1829, were well established throughout much of Britain by the 1840s. As professionalism rose in the ranks of the forces, so did demands for better pay and treatment. In these two selections, police constables make clear their demands and complaints.

Petition for Higher Pay by a Group of Third-Class Constables (1848)

Men joining the Police service as 3rd Class Constables and having a wife and 3 children to support on joining, are not able properly to do so on the pay of 16/8d. Most of the married men on joining are somewhat in debt, and are unable to extricate themselves on account of rent to pay and articles to buy which are necessary for support of wife and children. We beg leave to state that a married man having a wife and 2 children to support on joining, that it is as much as he can do upon 16/8d per week, and having to remain upon that sum for the first 12 to 18 months.

Complaints from Constables of D Division of the London Metropolitan Police

We are not treated as men but as slaves we englishmen do not like to be terrorized by a set of Irish Sergeants who are only lenient to their own countrymen we the D division of Paddington are nearly all ruled by these Irish Sergeants after we have done our night-Duty may we not have the privilege of going to Church or staying at home to Suit our own inclination when we are ordered by the Superintendent to go to church in our uniform on Wednesday we do not object to the going to church we like to go but we do not like to be ordered there and when we go on Sunday nights we are

asked like so many schoolboys have we been to church should we say no let reason be what it may it does not matter we are forthwith ordered from Paddington to Marylebone lane the next night—about 2 hours before we go to Duty that is 2 miles from many of our homes being tired with our walk there and back we must either loiter about the streets or in some public house and there we do not want to go for we cannot spare our trifling wages to spend them there but there is no other choice left—for us to make our time out to go on Duty at proper time on Day we are ordered there for that offense another Man may faultlessly commit—the crime of sitting 4 minutes during the night—then we must be ordered there another to Shew his old clothes before they are given in even we must go to the expense of having them put in repair we have indeed for all these frightful crimes to walk 3 or 4 miles and then be wasting our time that makes our night 3 hours longer than they ought to be another thing we want to know who has the money that is deducted out of our wages for fines and many of us will be obliged to give up the duty unless we can have fair play as to the stationing of us on our beats why cannot we follow round that may all and each of us go over every beat and not for the Sergeants to put their favorites on the good beats and the others kept back their favorites are not the best policemen but those that will spend the most with them at the public house there are a great many of these things to try our temper.



What were the complaints of the British constables? What was the main issue that the complaints raised? Why might it be said that the development of police forces is a defining characteristic of Western civilization in modern times?

Source: From Clive Emsley, *Policing and Its Context, 1750–1870* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1983).

AP European History - Chapter 21 *Reaction, Revolution, and Romanticism, 1815-1850*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: What were the characteristics of Romanticism, and how were they reflected in literature, art, and music?

Characteristics

- Emerged as a challenge to Enlightenment rationality = emotion over reason
- Emphasized sentiment & individualism
- Rejected the Enlightenment view of nature as a precise harmonious whole as well as deism.
- Rejected Enlightenment view of the past which was counter-progressive to human history
- Encouraged personal freedom and flexibility
- By emphasizing feeling, humanitarian movements were created to fight slavery, poverty and industrial evils.

Forerunners of Romanticism

- Rousseau:** most important (*Social Contract*, 1762); believed society and materialism corrupted human nature
- Kant:** Accepted rationalism of the Enlightenment while preserving belief in human freedom, immortality, & existence of God.
- Romanticism inspired by French Revolution

Novels & Poetry

- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832):** wrote very emotional & sentimental novels; stories about rejected, tragic figures
- Victor Hugo (1802-1885):** *Hunchback of Notre Dame; Les Miserables*
- William Wordsworth (1770-1850):** believed one could learn from nature that was alive & sacred

Music 653

- Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1826),** classical framework, elements of Romanticism with uncontrolled rhythms, *Ninth Symphony*
- Richard Wagner (1813-1883)** German composer, theatre director, and conductor who is primarily known for his operas ("music dramas")

Art 651-653

- Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825),** French Revolution, portraits of Napoleon
- Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840),** landscapes with natural details, "nature manifestation of divine life", use spiritual eye, *The Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog*
- Eugene Delacroix (1796-1863),** passion for color, "a painting should be a feast to the eye", *Liberty Leading the People*
- J. M. W. Turner (1775-1855),** nature & landscape & seascapes, conveyed moods not realistic, *Rain, Steam, and Speed-The Great Western Railway*

Critical Thinking: