... where were we?
What does “class” mean in studying nineteenth-century France?

| Marx and Engels | class is defined by “relation to the means of production”
|                 | since France has few factories (compared to Great Britain),
|                 | France therefore has no proletariat (factory working class)
|                 | since France has no proletariat, there cannot be a revolution

| David Landes, economic historian | modernization is defined by industry
|                                 | since France has few factories (compared to Great Britain),
|                                 | France cannot be modern

*France is backward*

France and the Industrial Revolution as historians thought about them, 1940s-1970s/1980s
Proto-industry “traditionally” organized (in households and small workshops) largely, though not exclusively, rural what agricultural communities do in the winter, etc. * market and “export” (away from region) oriented does not create a distinct new class (sell eggs and make lace) requires much lower levels of investment capital is not tied up in buildings and machinery


France didn’t have an “Industrial Revolution”—but it had proto-industry (1970s-1990s)
France didn’t have an “Industrial Revolution”—but it had proto-industry (1970s-1990s)

“putting out” entrepreneur sells raw materials to rural workers (often on credit, which creates bond)

weavers etc. work at home; entrepreneur buys semi-finished work

finishing touches often done in cities

entrepreneur distributes and sells finished goods
“The Partridges”—furnishing silk; designed and made in Lyon, used for palaces in Paris and St. Petersburg

France and proto-industry: silkweavers in Lyon

“Lyon—the Silkweavers’ District”
Gadagne Museum, Lyon

“Croix Rousse”

Metropolitan Museum, NYC
Jacquard loom
Centre National des Arts et Métiers, Paris

Decline of proto-industry: de-skilling of workforce, much of the countryside becomes *more* agricultural
Protests by Lyon silkworkers (*canuts*), November 1831 and March-April 1834

“They had recourse to arms to assist their fellow workers. … By their moderation after their victory, they surprised all of Europe and gave clear evidence of their honesty and respect for law”

“Events in Lyon: Fighting on the Morand Bridge” (1831).

“The Insurgents took over several churches, … and even though the church officials tried to come between the two parties, it was finally necessary to shut the doors and fight in the nave, among the pews, on the altars—a terrible brawl and shocking butchery. … this scene was repeated in Paris, in St Etienne, … even in the most tranquil cities—so easy is it to find people who have nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by such disorders. And what did this handful of thugs, who armed themselves to challenge the laws and the constitution, actually want? The Republic!”

“Horrible Massacre in Lyon” (1834)
“The Republic? What does that mean to them? It’s the anarchy of ambition for some... freedom to pillage people’s property for others. Landowners! Republicans of bygone days... remember the regime that took your harvests, ... the army that took your carts and your horses... It is this regime, or maybe even worse, that they demand… Friends of law and order, let us rally around the flag of the nation and the constitutional throne of 1830.”

Honoré Daumier,
“The Rue Transnonain, 15th of April, 1834”
(lithograph, 1834).

class as political and cultural construction
“Oath taken at Lyon Hôtel de Ville (City Hall), Nov. 1831”

Jacques-Louis David, *The Oath of the Horatii* (1784)

class as political and cultural construction
The cholera is in our midst. Yesterday a man died of it in the rue Mazarine… All the persons stricken by it are members of the lower classes… they are cobblers and makers of woolen blankets. They live in the narrow, dirty streets of the Cité and Notre Dame districts.

*Journal des débats* (28 March 1832).

---

Cholera epidemic deaths (1832)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>approx. 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France overall</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

D.A. Raffet, “Barbarism and Cholera enter Europe”

*La Caricature* (1831).
Realists, Romantics, and Socialists

The “social question” in the 1830s-1840s epistemology and policy

How to know about workers and the poor?

Relation of knowing and representing:
politically, technologically, artistically

Responses:
Conservatives try to recreate “organic” social order based on throne, altar

Liberals (such as François Guizot) emphasize education, self improvement

Socialists argue that social “organization” needs to be changed;
Romantic Socialists: St. Simon; Fourier; Cabet
“Scientific” Socialism (“historical materialism”): Marx and Engels

illustration from Balzac’s 
Père Goriot (1845).
Medicine and the Secrets of Paris

It should be considered as given that all girls who surrender themselves to prostitution have already led a disorderly life for some time. …[there are further causes] … Laziness must be put first among those causes. Their desire for pleasure without work makes many girls leave their jobs, or never look for one. The laziness and sloppiness of prostitutes has become proverbial.

Misery, often of the most horrendous sort, is also among the factors pushing girls into prostitution…

Vanity, and the desire to shine in sumptuous dresses, is along with laziness, one of the main causes of prostitution. …

Alexandre J.-B. Parent du Chatelet, Public Hygiene, or Reports on the Most Important Questions… (1836).

“Of those born in Paris, a third of them had fathers so uneducated that they could not even sign their own names, and this in Paris! where primary education is so widely available and where literacy is a prime necessity”
New ways of seeing (politically necessary, technologically possible)

Daguerre, Pont Neuf (Paris), 1839 daguerreotype.

Grandville, Another World (Un Autre Monde), 1844.
Chance is the greatest novelist in the world; we have only to study it. French society would be the real author—I would only be the secretary. By drawing up an inventory of vices and virtues, by collecting the chief facts of the passions, by depicting characters, by choosing the principle incidents of social life… I might succeed in writing the history which so many historians have neglected. … I attach to common, daily facts, hidden or obvious to the eye, and to the acts of individual lives, the importance which historians have hitherto ascribed to the events of national public life. … If Buffon could produce a magnificent work by representing in a single book the whole realm of zoology, is there not room for a work of the same kind on society?


How to know about the poor: read a realist novel
Realism and Romance in July-Monarchy literature

Eugène Sue

Honoré de Balzac

Georges Sand

Stendhal (H.M. Beyle)

feuilleton

The Press

Illustration from Sue's *Mysteries of Paris* (1842-1843; this is a later edition)

*Journal of Political and Literary Debates*
“Hot Stuff! Hot Stuff! We must bolster our sales, Bertrand, we must beat the big drum… attack ourselves in the papers, write, reply to ourselves, retort, insult ourselves and, above all, advertise ourselves.”

Daumier, from the “Robert Macaire, journalist” series in *Le Charivari*.

Newspaper Editors during the July Monarchy
Armand Carrel, *Le National*
Emile Girardin, *La Presse*
Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, *La Réforme*
Charles Philipon, *Le Charivari*

Grandville, “How Literature is Made Today”
Workers and Realism in the Visual Arts


How to know about the poor: look at a realist painting
Realists, Romantics, and Socialists

Responses:

Conservatives try to recreate “organic” social order based on throne, altar

Liberals (such as François Guizot) emphasize education, self improvement

Socialists argue that social “organization” needs to be changed;
Romantic Socialists: St. Simon; Fourier; Cabet
“Scientific” Socialism (“historical materialism”): Marx and Engels
The question which divides men today is no longer about political forms, it is a social question: that of deciding whether the spirit of selfishness or of sacrifice is to carry the day; whether society is to be a huge traffic for the benefit of the strongest, or whether each is dedicated to the benefit of all—and above all to the protection of the weak. There are many already who have too much… and there are a greater number who do not, and who want to seize it from them. Between these two classes a struggle is imminent, and it threatens to be terrible. It is between these two armies that we must throw ourselves.

Romantic (“Utopian”) Socialism

“idealistic” understanding of history—change ideas first and then other things will change

new “science” of man to address hearts and minds

social bonds shredded by Revolution, regime changes, industrialization but can be re-created

In the industrial world in which we live, all the discoveries of science are a calamity, first because the machines supplant the laborers who need work to live, and, then, because they are also murderous weapons, furnished to industry which has the right and faculty to use them against all those who do not have this right and power. What does “new machines” mean in the system of competition? It means monopoly, we have proven it. However, in the new system of association and solidarity there are no patents for inventors, no individual exploitation. The inventor will be recompensed by the State and his discovery then placed at the service of all.

European Romantic Socialism in the USA

- Utopia, Ohio (founded by Fourierists, 1844).
- Corning, Iowa and Nauvoo, Illinois (settled by French Icarians, 1849).
- New Harmony, Indiana (as planned by Richard Owen).
- Victor Considérant, Fourierist founder of La Réunion, Texas.
- Utopia, Ohio (founded by Fourierists, 1844).
Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)

“Scientific” socialism based on how people really are, not how they ought to be; people are produced by their circumstances (industry created the proletariat)

Class defined by relation to the means of production; as forms of production change through time, so too do classes

“All hitherto existing history is the history of class struggle”

“dialectics”—change in history is not simple progress: the bourgeoisie overthrows the aristocracy, but that is not the end of class conflict; instead, the bourgeoisie itself becomes a dominant class, oppressing the proletariat

“In every era, the dominant ideas are the ideas of the dominant class”

Marx in London, early 1850s