Announcement about grading

• midterm will not be “take home”; it will be in class, Friday, October 5th. Format:
  6 out of 12 “short answer IDs” (from a list of 25-30 terms to be circulated next Monday)
  1 out of 4 essay questions (from 8 to be circulated)
  2 out of 6 blind “comment on this text or image”

• remember that participation counts for 15% of your grade; come to Friday’s class with something to say about the readings and issues they raise

• remember that if you miss three or more classes, for whatever reason, I can give you an “F” for the course
1848, Springtime of the Peoples

Sites of barricade fighting and sustained popular protest, Jan.-March 1848

new sites of major uprisings and conflict, April 1848-December 1849
1848, Year of Revolution

Revolutionary uprisings across much of central and southern Europe in 1848—specifics differ, but to observers (then and now) looked like a "wave" or "tide" of revolution. Compare 1968 or 1989?

Common to call 1848 revolutions a "failure" (French Second Republic only lasts for two years; King of Prussia refuses to rule over "Germany" as a constitutional monarch; Austrian empire, with Russian assistance, represses Hungarian nationalists; Pope, with French assistance, overthrows short-lived republic in Rome).

But in aftermath of 1848, according to Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (first published Dec. 1848), "a spectre is haunting Europe"—is it the spectre of "communism" or of "nationalism"?
1848, Year of Revolutions

“The February revolution was the beautiful revolution, the revolution of universal sympathy…”*

“The June revolution is the ugly revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing …” *


1848 in France: two revolutions
Background: reform movements and economic crisis under the July Monarchy

February 1848: an accidental revolution

February-June 1848: “The Universal Democratic Social Republic?”
  Optimism, excitement, and idealism
  Provisional Government established universal adult male suffrage
  abolished slavery in the colonies
  funded public works projects in Paris to deal with male unemployment
  promised peace to Europe
  Elections on Easter Sunday for Constituent Assembly: > 50% monarchists
  May 15: radicals led by Barbès and Blanqui try to take over Assembly
  June 22: closing of National Workshops announced (single men to go into
  Army, married ones to re-locate to the countryside)

June Days: protesters versus National Guard, Army, volunteers from the countryside
  3000+ protesters killed (1500 “military” deaths);
  12,000 arrested; 4000 deported to Algeria
Politics, Society, and Revolution, 1830-1848

1830 July Revolution brings Louis Philippe to power

1831, 1834 silkworkers and others protest; freedoms of press, association, speech restricted

1845-1846 economic crisis—last European crisis to begin in agriculture and spread to other sectors of economy

1847 Testes Cubières + Choiseul Praslin scandals; banquet campaign

Feb. 1848 February Revolution: army fires on protesters; barricades built; Louis Philippe flees; provisional government

Trimiolet, "Oh, isn't peace very pleasant…’ [A fiercely patriotic song],” (1840)

Daumier, “Gargantua” (1831)

Reform movements and economic crisis under the July Monarchy
Depiction of Revolution, 1830 and 1848

Horace Vernet, Louis Philippe leaving the Palais Royal in July 1830 (1832)

Delacroix, Liberty Leading the People (1830)

poster, woodblock, announcing Feb. Revolution (Metz)

photo of barricade in front of Church of Madeleine

visual tradition of revolution
June 20, 1789
Versailles

political elite
demands to write a constitution
“no taxation without representation”

July 14, 1789
Paris

ordinary Parisians
looking for weapons
create city-based militia
(National Guard)

1789, 1830, 1848: the uses of a revolutionary tradition
How to have a Revolution: Flags, Slogans, Songs

Berlin (Prussia) in March 1848 (illustration undated)

Wallachians (today=southern Romania) protest Russian rule, 1848

1848: establishing a “revolutionary tradition” across Europe…
From hill to hill, I cast my gaze in vain,
From the South to the North, from sunrise to sunset,
Everywhere I look across the great expanse,
And I tell myself: Nowhere does happiness await me.


The Revolution had only lasted five years, but those are five centuries for France. Never at any period since the beginning of the Christian era, did any country produce such an eruption of ideas, men, talents, catastrophes, crimes, and virtues…Light shone from every point of the horizon at once; darkness fell back; prejudices were cast off; consciences were freed; tyrannies trembled and the people rose. …This deadly struggle for the cause of human reason is a thousand times more glorious than the victories of the armies which followed. It acquired for the world inalienable rights, instead of acquiring for the nation a precarious increase in territory.


H.F.E. Philoppoteaux, *Lamartine in front of Paris Hôtel de Ville, February 1848*

February: Poet-Historian-Revolutionary?
The proclamation of the French republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government in the world. Diversity in forms of government is as legitimate as diversity of character…

If the situation of the French republic in 1792 explained the necessity of war, the differences between then and now explain the necessity of peace. … In 1792, the nation was not united. … At the present time, there are no distinct classes. Liberty has enfranchised all. Equality in the eye of the law has levelled all; fraternity will unite all.

In 1792, France and Europe were not prepared … for the great harmony of nations… But now, reason, dawning everywhere, has given birth to that great intellectual commonwealth, which will be the achievement of the French revolution, and the constitution of international fraternity throughout the globe.

Alphonse de Lamartine (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Manifesto to the European Powers, 4 March 1848.
Frederic Sorrieu, *The Universal Democratic Social Republic: Triumph* (1848)

1848: Optimism and Excitement
We are no longer in 1793! We are in 1848! The tricolor flag is no longer the flag of the Republic. It is the flag of Louis Philippe and the monarchy. It presided over the massacre of the rue Transnonain and is bathed in the blood of the workers. The people raised the red flag on the barricades of 1848, just as they did in 1834…They have received the double consecration of defeat and victory. From this day, this flag is theirs.

Some say it is a flag of blood. It is only red with the blood of the martyrs… Its fall is an insult to the people, a profanation of the dead…. Reaction has already been unleashed…. Workers, it is your flag that is falling. Heed well! The Republic will not delay in following it.

Auguste Blanqui, ‘For the Red Flag’ (1848)
The Republic would be a lie if it only substituted one form of government for another. It’s not enough to change words: things must be changed.

“Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”: this motto that shines from the front of our buildings should not be a vain bit of stage decoration. No silly baubles! We are no longer children. There is no freedom when there is no bread. There is no equality when opulence scandalously exists alongside poverty. There is no fraternity when the worker drags himself to the door of the palace with his starving children.

Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), ‘To the Democratic Clubs of Paris,’ March 1848.

…his sunken and pock-marked cheeks, his ashen lips, his dirty pallor—all gave him the air of something sick and evil, something from another world. He looked like he had just come out of the sewer

Alexis de Tocqueville, Memoirs of the Revolution of 1848; description of Blanqui

1789-1793-1848: Optimism and Antagonism
1848 and the Right to Work

Louis Blanc (socialist) called for creation of a government “Ministry of Progress” to organize work rationally

Blanc put in charge of largely powerless “Luxembourg Commission”

“National Workshops”—150,000 men received food coupons, tiny cash amounts; 12,000 of them did road work

“workshops” and debt payments funded by tax increases (45%)

National Workshops—coupon for 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of bread, good at any baker’s in the 12th arrondissement

February 1848, the beautiful revolution
1848—an urban phenomenon in a rural country?

French population, 1846
35,400,000 total
26,800,000 rural

taxes on land and land transfers=approx. half of July Monarchy’s tax income

largest farms owned predominantly by urban investors; most peasants rented or owned small farms (1/20 the value of larger properties)

Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village* (1851-1852).

1848: elections for the Constituent Assembly.
June Days  Paris; June 22-26, 1848

“I am writing to you, my dear friend, to the sound of cannon and rifle fire after the most terrible day and cruelest night one can imagine. This is not a riot; it is the most dreadful of all civil wars, the war of class against class, of those who have nothing against those who have. I hope that we shall prove stronger; the national guard from surrounding areas are arriving in force, along with line regiments. Yet only God knows what the outcome of this great battle will be. … What is at stake here is not a political form but property, family, civilization—everything, that is, that attaches us to life.”

Tocqueville, June 24, 1848.