

History B357-Spang

Modern France: Society, Culture, *Politics*

29 September 2008

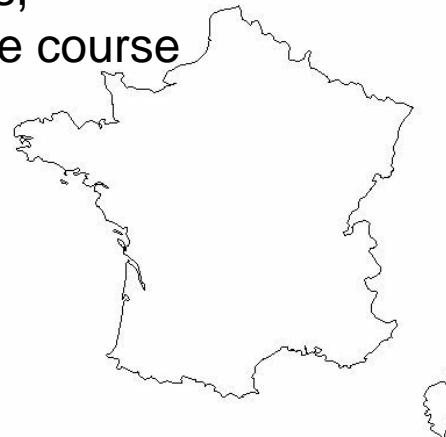
The 1848 Revolution(s)



Hôtel de Ville (City Hall),
Paris

Announcement about grading

- second short assignment (was to be due this Friday) has been **cancelled**; that 5% of your grade will now be attached to your grade for *either* participation, the midterm, the final paper, or the final exam—whichever is the highest grade
- remember that participation counts for at least 20% of your grade; come to Friday's class with something to say about the readings and issues they raise
- remember that if you miss four or more classes, for *whatever reason*, I can give you an "F" for the course

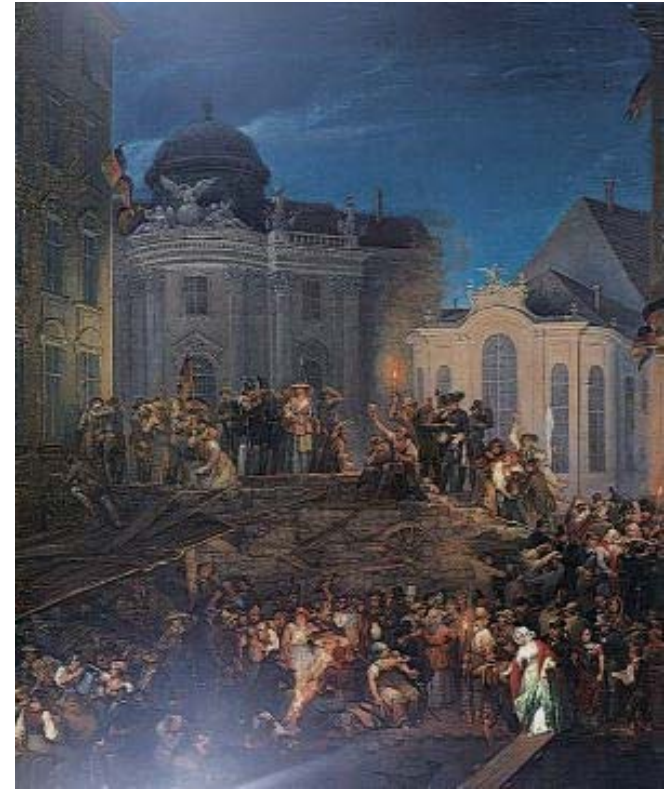


The 1848 Revolution in France—European Context

Revolutions 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”?



Ziegler, *Barricades on Michaeler Square*
(Vienna, 1848)

Politics, Society, and Revolution, 1830-1851

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

April 1848 elections for Constituent Assembly

May 1848 Blanqui and radicals storm the Assembly

June 1848 “the June Days”

Dec. 1848 presidential election

Dec. 1851 military coup creates Second Empire



Trimolet, “Oh, isn't peace very pleasant...’
[A fiercely patriotic song],” (1840)



Daumier, “Gargantua” (1831)



Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People* (1830)

Depiction of Revolution, 1830 and 1848



poster, woodblock, announcing Feb. Revolution (Metz)



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



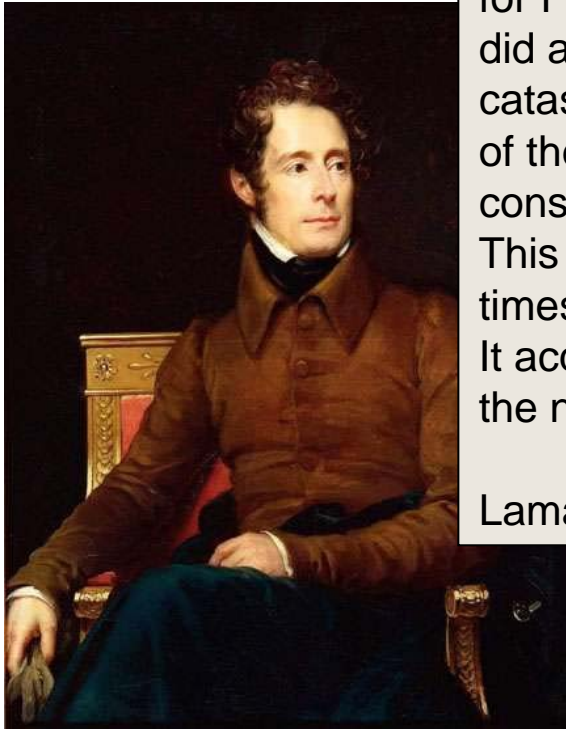
photo of barricade in front of Church of Madeleine, facing the Invalides



Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People (1830)*

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.

Lamartine, *History of the Girondins* (1847).



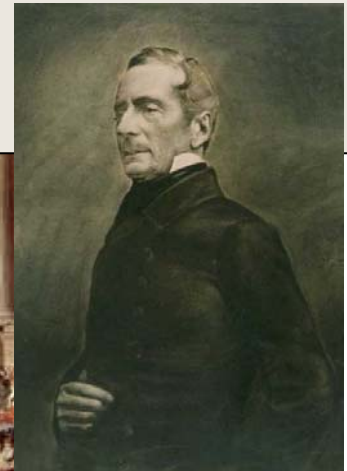
F. Gerard, *Alphonse de Lamartine* [1790-1869], (1831).



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

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.

Lamartine, from 'Isolation,' *Poetic Meditations* (1820).



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...

Nations, like individuals, have different ages; and the principles which rule them are successive phases. Monarchy, aristocracy, constitutional and republican rule: these forms of government express the different degree of maturity in the genius of nations. ... It is merely a question of time. A nation ruins itself by anticipating its hour of maturity...

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)

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)



Right to Work and the Organization of Labor

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 placed at the service of all.

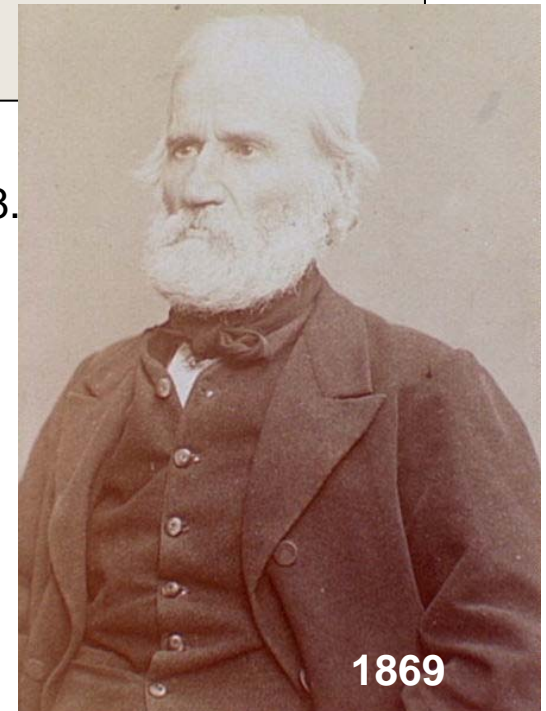


Louis Blanc, *Organization of Labor* (1840).

The Republic would be a lie if were to be only the substitution of 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



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).



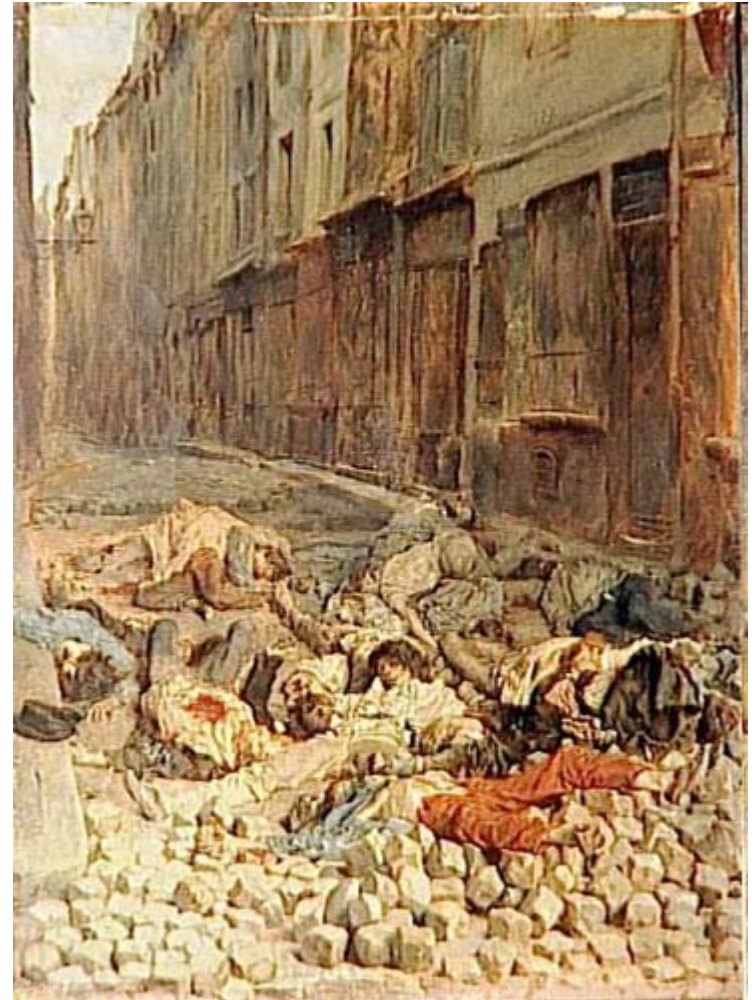
urban centers of activism in 1848

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.



E. Meissonier, *The Barricade, Souvenir of Civil War* (1848)
originally entitled *June*