

Barricades in Berlin: Social Unrest, Constitutionalism, and Revolt in 1848

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Figure 1: The Frederic Street Barricade, Berlin, 18 March, 1848

I | Introduction

The year 1848 gripped the continent of Europe and initiated significant historical changes. Prussia was caught in events that one historian named the “year of revolution” and saw the bloodiest uprising of all the countries that experienced revolution in 1848.¹ As can be seen in Figure 1, the protest caused many people to build barricades in an attempt to reduce any further violence. Prussia had one of the most absolutist monarchies of Europe in the nineteenth century, and one of the best militaries with a widely renowned discipline. The military prowess and absolutism was the characteristic of the Hohenzollern Dynasty (r. 1701-1918), from which King Frederick William IV (1795-1861; ruled 1840-1861) of Prussia descended, the king in Prussia’s charge during the revolution.² For Frederick William IV’s authority to be challenged was unheard of, especially from the peasants and lower nobility, the main social strata that took part in the revolution in Berlin. Figures 2 and 3 lends a visual aid to the geographical location of Prussia and its place within Europe. The revolution that started on March 18 with mass protest and bloodshed ended with a constitution imposed by the monarchy on December 5, 1848. This constitution imposed by the monarch appeased the moderate liberals and peasantry, thus effectively destroying the numerical strength the radical liberals possessed at the outbreak of the revolution in Berlin.

To analyze the revolution in Berlin, my paper will address the theoretical response and follow the same pattern as seen in “revolution theory,” which the Revolutions of 1848, particularly in Berlin, follow to the letter. In revolution theory, the process generally proceeds with a call for constitutionalism by the dissatisfaction of citizens with the state, then the radicalization of those revolting, followed by a reactionary force which finally stops or weakens the revolution.³ He uses the French Revolution (1789), the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the English Civil War as the conditions that required for a revolution: the rule of the moderate liberals, the radical liberals who take over, then reactionary forces that are able to take back over the area or country.⁴ Secondly, the events of the revolution that occurred in Berlin will be explored through a socio-cultural and political lens. By doing so I will demonstrate how the events that took place ultimately led to a constitution that the liberals of Prussia strived for. Thirdly, and finally, I will explore the aftermath of the revolution: the establishment of the National Assembly (the Prussian Parliament) and the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly (or Frankfurt Parliament), which was a pan-Germanic parliament that tried to unify Germany. The Frankfurt Parliament attempted to solve overlapping issues that were similar in the German states—reactionary forces that ended the revolution, especially when the king imposed the constitution of 1848. The revised Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia of 1850 remained in force until the unification of Germany in 1871, with slight modification. Through the exploration of the Revolution of 1848 in Berlin this essay will demonstrate that without the revolution obtaining a simple constitution would have been a fruitless endeavor due to the nature of absolutism of the Prussian government during the nineteenth-century.

II | The Lead Up to the Revolution

The antecedents of the Revolutions of 1848 in Prussia ranged from the French Revolution in 1789 to the Napoleonic Wars that led to the Wars of Liberation in 1813, and then

the February Revolution (1848) in France. Historians who study nineteenth-century Germany have attributed France as the direct spark that ignited the 1848 revolution, but more specifically in Berlin.⁵ Along with the French influence that sparked of the revolution in Berlin, social conditions helped to foment the revolution. It was because of this social unrest that the theoretical work of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) was made possible and allows for a more complete mindset of the radical liberals, which was the political ideology of Marx and Engels.⁶ The liberals are broken up into two groups, the moderates and the radicals. The moderates wanted to see some political change and receive a constitution; whereas, the radicals wanted to dramatically change the political structure of Prussia, such as the abolishment of the military and the monarchy.⁷ The writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, hypothesized that a revolution of the proletariat to throw off the yoke of the bourgeoisie was bound to occur in the near future.

Marx and Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in February 1848. Although *The Communist Manifesto* was not widely read by the masses in the mid-nineteenth-century, this book became widely read and discussed in the twentieth-century.⁸ When the manifesto was originally published, it was issued in several languages, including English.⁹ The revolution of 1848 was not exactly the revolution that was envisioned by Marx and Engels, but they, along with other social critics, understood the social conditions that allowed for a revolution and where Marx explains this in his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. In February 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels published their most notable work, *The Communist Manifesto*, a work that hypothesized the coming revolution between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.¹⁰ They refer to the bourgeoisie as “the class of the modern Capitalists, a means of social production and the employers of wage labor.”¹¹ They refer to the proletariat as “...the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live.”¹² The bourgeoisie is the ruling class that exploits the proletariat and is the reason for the misfortunes of this working class. It was, therefore, according to Marx and Engels, who stated that a revolution was the only way the proletariat would unshackle the yoke of the bourgeoisie because “[s]ociety can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.”¹³ This incompatibility is the basis for the revolution of the proletariat that Marx and Engels had envisioned to be on the verge of occurring in the near future.

The problem with the hypothesis by Marx and Engels was that it looked only at the labor relation aspect to the social tension and not the other aspects such as social, other economic points, and political unrest. By missing the mark, Marx and Engels only looked to an undefined, or vaguely defined, future rather than addressing the social concerns of the day.¹⁴ They relied on the presumption that society was class-conscious in terms of oppression and not in hierarchy, which the latter was the view of “class” in 1848 by the majority and became the short term weakness of the manifesto. Although Marx and Engels had little effect toward the revolution in Berlin, it took a revolution in a foreign place and ultimately be the spark to ignite revolutionary fever among Prussian liberals and peasants.

According to Professor Hans J. Hahn, the French Revolution of 1789 had a dramatic influence on the social changes of Europe, especially in the German-speaking areas in which Napoleon later conquered.¹⁵ The revolutionary spirit of France in 1789 was still part of the social memory of Prussians, when Prussia was on the verge of war with France. During the age of Napoleon, Prussia had undergone reforms to help combat the French

emperor and after his defeat, Prussia kept up with these reforms but only for a short period thereafter. The liberals of Prussia hoped in 1848 that the government of Prussia would revert to reforms seen in 1813, in which Prussia had conducted, in response to the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁶ The liberals in Prussia, like the liberals in other German principedoms, generally comprised of the educated, professional lower nobility, and gentry that envisioned a constitution with universal male suffrage and pushed for German Unification, although there was overlap from members of other social classes.¹⁷ Education was expensive and not a luxury of the masses as it is today, only families of wealth, even of little wealth, could afford to send their sons to the universities and acquire an education that could lead to a profession. These liberals tended not to own large pieces of land, if any at all, because they were dependent on princes for their salaries or pensions as civil servants, and did not tend to hold any major national influential political post, the best case being that of parliaments of minor states or in the localities.¹⁸ Prussia at this time was still highly agricultural and industrialization was in its infancy, so wealth was measured by land rights and those who did not possess much land were on the margins of society, unless they possessed governmental careers. This was a time during which hierarchy mattered a great deal because those of noble status were given governmental posts and a meritocracy was not fully implemented into all levels of government. To the liberals, when war was less likely, reform also became unlikely. The only possible avenue toward socio-political change was by the support of the masses and through revolution.

The reforms that the liberals strived for looked very unlikely because of the opposition they faced by Frederick William and his ministry of conservatives. Frederick William was under the mindset of the divine right of kings, where he believed “all of the doctrines of liberalism were pernicious outgrowths of the French Revolution [of 1789], that apocalyptic horror which had disturbed the divine order.”¹⁹ Even with this mentality, the social, economic, and political conflict did not go unnoticed and undiagnosed by Frederick William’s ministers. Frederick William received numerous petitions from his ministers to continue the reforms of 1807-1813 by granting a constitution, a goal of the liberals, and was warned that the general mood of the people wanted such a constitution.²⁰ The petitions by his ministers, however, proved to be problematic because Frederick William expressed that these petitions were on the verge of being treasonous and stated that he would never give Prussia a written constitution.²¹ Although opposed to liberalism, Frederick William had sent mixed messages about his views on liberalism. Frederick William did speak as though he was in favor of reforms and his actions also showed favoritism to the liberal ideals. Frederick William came to the throne in 1840 and in that year he proclaimed that the provincial diets to meet every two years, whereas his father Frederick William III (1770-1840; ruled 1797-1840) only called for meetings every three years, this is where Frederick William IV planted the idea that he favored a representative diet of all the provinces.²² Frederick William IV also relaxed, but did not eliminate, censorship of the press which gave into mass influx of political writings, especially the call for constitutionalism, or at least raised the constitutional question.²³

When the first United Diet assembled in Berlin on April 11, 1847, in his opening address, Frederick William openly expressed his abhorrence toward a constitution and those who pushed for a constitution. In this address, Frederick William stated that,

No power on earth will ever force me to transform the natural relationship...between prince and people into a conventional, constitutional one; neither now nor ever will I permit a written piece of paper to force itself, like some second providence, between our Lord God in heaven and this land, to rule us with its paragraphs and, through them, to replace the ancient sacred loyalty.²⁴

This speech demonstrates that Frederick William was not willing to budge on any constitutional possibility Prussia may have in the future. Frederick William also dictated to the United Diet that they should resist all forms of liberalism because they represented the different estates of the kingdom, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasantry, not to people as a whole; and to give into liberal ideas was un-Germanic.²⁵ This is the point at which the liberals identified that Frederick William had no intention of any constitutional compromise, where any form of progress would have to be accomplished without the help of the king. Frederick William's opposition marks a point when real opposition to the king and his government started to solidify. The liberals just needed a way to funnel societal unrest toward the monarchy—this outlet was not difficult to discover.



Figure 2: The map of Europe that was agreed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and remained the political map with slight modification until 1848.

One event that enabled the liberals to direct the social unrest of the peasantry toward the monarchy and its government was the economic woes compounded by the famine in the years 1846 and 1847 preceding the revolution in Berlin.²⁶ Professor Mike Rapport

explains that in Berlin in 1848, with a population of roughly 400,000 people, there were more than 6,000 paupers on some sort of state assistance, 4,000 beggars, 10,000 prostitutes, and 10,000 vagabonds; Rapport then goes on to estimate that the poor or those living outside the margins of society outnumbered the burghers (established middle class) in Berlin by a ratio of two to one.²⁷ Even though these numbers shed light on the metropolis of Berlin, the percentage was similar, if not worse, for the rural areas of Prussia. This was because of the continuous years of famine in which rural areas depended on the harvests as their main source of income. In the years of 1846 and 1847, Europe faced a mass agrarian crisis because of numerous crop failures, including wheat and other essential crops.²⁸

The most infamous of the crop failures during this period was the Irish Potato Famine, but potatoes also failed in Prussia as well as most of Europe. The price of potatoes had increased so much that in 1847 the people of Prussia took to arms in rebellion, which foreshadowed the events of March 18 and 19, 1848. This outbreak of armed resistance in Berlin, which became known as the “Potato Rebellion,” lasted for three days until order was finally restored by the military.²⁹ During the Potato Rebellion, which happened around the same time that the first United Diet met under Frederick William, the population of Berlin attacked and plundered shops, market stands, and potato merchants, in order to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the high prices and as a means for subsistence.³⁰ Along with the crop failures and famines, the prices of other staple foods increased so much that a German laborer made enough money after a day’s work to purchase two five pound loaves of bread in 1835, but in 1847 the same day’s work only purchased half that amount.³¹

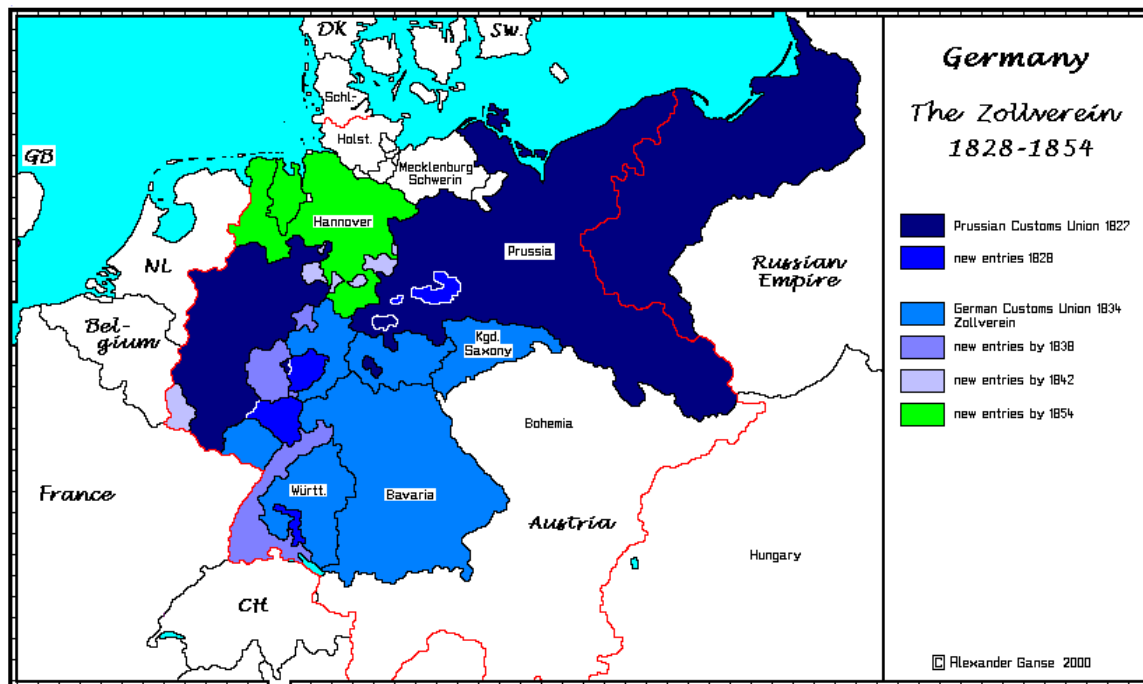


Figure 3: Germany in 1848.

With the price of food doubling, poverty and famine grew more widespread. This also led to further unemployment which resulted in further debts on the population where the poorest were hit the hardest.³² Not only were there agricultural woes, but even the stock market in Berlin fell by five percent in only half a day of trading when the events of the French

February Revolution of 1848 reached the ears of Prussians.³³ These social issues compounded with the knowledge of political change in France gave rise to hope that such change could be possible within Berlin. The mood and social sentiment was ideal for rebellion and nothing could stop the revolution for real social change from occurring in Berlin.

III | The Barricades are Raised

When the news of the French February Revolution reached Prussia, excitement circulated around the Berlin liberals, both moderate and radical. When news reached Berlin on February 28, 1848, that King Louis-Philippe had abdicated his throne, Berliners poured into the streets to see if any more information on the events could be located. The political clubs, where political discourse was discussed, was one of the major outlets for information on France and other major metropolitan areas that were also experiencing revolution.³⁴ Karl Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858), see Figure 4, a liberal writer and diarist who lived in Berlin during the outbreak of the revolution, wrote in his diary that information about current events was so highly sought after that “[w]hoever managed to get his hands on a new paper had to climb on to a chair and read the contents aloud.”³⁵ Not only were the people of Berlin curious about the events occurring elsewhere but people of the surrounding areas around Berlin started to pour in. With the growing number of people in Berlin combined with the social issues at hand and the news of the masses overthrowing the government or parts of the government, clashes of violence were bound to happen and happen they did.³⁶

Vienna, Austria, the capital of the Habsburg Dynasty (c. 11th century – 20th century) also experienced revolution in 1848. The Habsburg Dynasty had historically ruled over the Holy Roman Empire, which encompassed modern-day Germany and the other surrounding areas. The Habsburgs had been, for the most part, unchallenged militarily by a German Prince until the accession of Frederick the Great (Frederick II) of Prussia who had invaded the area of Silesia and took its possession. Vienna was not about to allow a minor state to push it around and fought to keep Silesia, but Frederick the Great was able to defeat Empress Maria Theresa’s army during the three different Silesian Wars.³⁷ Although these actions weakened the absolute hold the Habsburgs had on the Holy Roman Empire, they were still considered a reckoning force in European affairs. Frederick William was a medieval-revivalist and was very devoted to the German leadership of the Habsburgs, where the Holy Roman Emperor maintained nominal power, but Prussia was to contain the real power in the German-speaking states.³⁸ Frederick William’s view of Habsburg leadership was vital to his reaction to the revolutions of 1848 because he was set to take similar counter-revolutionary measures as the Habsburgs.

Vienna experienced the start of their revolution on March 11, 1848, and saw the loss of life, just not on the level that was seen in Berlin. The French February Revolution had more far-reaching impact than just on Prussia; it also impacted the revolutions in Austria, particularly Vienna. When the people heard the news of France, they took to the streets to revolt against the conservative order on March 11. Two days later, on March 13, Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (1773-1859) resigned as Prime Minister of the Austrian Empire, fleeing Vienna.³⁹ Metternich’s resignation have immediate and dire consequences for the conservatives in Prussia, particularly because Metternich was the embodiment of

the conservative order in Europe.⁴⁰ In the view of the liberals of Prussia and the rest of Europe, if Metternich could be forced out of power, then there was almost nothing a ruler could do to keep their position as head of state secure.

When the news reached Berlin that Metternich had stepped down and fled from Vienna, jubilation engulfed the liberals. Varnhagen von Ense, in a March 15 diary entry, claimed that he “was quite shocked at home. After the Count came to me to tell me he was in Vienna and Metternich’s dismissal is required, but with one shot of grapeshot the military seemed champion, but they feared the suburbs.”⁴¹ Varnhagen von Ense was very surprised to hear that the people of Austria had called for the resignation of Metternich, an action that appeared to be remotely unlikely. It was not until the following day, March 16 that Berlin had received credible reports that Metternich indeed did resign and fled Vienna because of the revolution on March 13.⁴² The diary entry for March 16, Varnhagen von Ense writes “that Vienna was in flames, Metternich’s palace is destroyed, the Kaiser has abdicated, the students stormed the arsenal, the citizens are armed, [and] the military is beaten.”⁴³ Frederick William took the news of Metternich’s fall from power and the state of revolution in Vienna as a bad omen and decided to allow for some political concessions.⁴⁴



Figure 4: Karl August Varnhagen von Ense

King Frederick William IV was concerned about the mass protest that was building and the minor violence that ensued after the protests had been occurring for the last couple of days. Varnhagen von Ense highlights this violence in an entry from his diary dated March 15, 1848, that “General von Pfuel admitted that last night too many people have been cut to pieces... people had found a corpse yesterday evening, the blood stains on the road were visible, and they had erected barricades.”⁴⁵ So, to ease the tensions, Frederick William agreed on March 17 to publish royal patents that declared the abolition of censorship and the introduction of a constitution.⁴⁶ On March 18, however, a mass demonstration outside the Palace

Square was planned and it was too late to turn back the crowd. Upon hearing the great news issued by Frederick William, the crowd grew joyful and cheered for their king’s presence.⁴⁷ Frederick William along with his advisors made their way to the balcony that overlooked the Palace Square, where they made their presence. After the king showed himself to the cheering crowd, Prime Minister von Bodenschwingh (1794-1854) stepped forward to address the crowd of Frederick William’s wishes,

The king wishes freedom of the press to prevail! The king wishes that the United Diet be called immediately! The king wishes that a

constitution on the most liberal basis should encompass all German lands! The king wishes that there should be a German national flag! The king wishes that all custom turn pikes should fall! The king wishes that Prussia place itself at the head of the movement!”⁴⁸

Even though, Clark points out, most of the crowd did not hear the speech, pamphlets were circulated and the crowds became euphoric.⁴⁹ Once the joy started to set in, the crowd began to realize that troops were just outside the square and the mood started to change for the worse — unprecedented violence for the Revolutions of 1848 was on the horizon.

By the beginning of March, the violence had already started. In a protest, the city police, with the help of the army and militias tried to contain the protest. On March 13, several civilians were killed due to clashes with law enforcement, which did not help the tensions between the protestors and the government.⁵⁰ Historian Christopher Clark points out that even though the people were afraid of the troops they were drawn to them because a day in which the people thought that they were praising their king for the concessions that were being made, the sight of the troops alarmed the crowd.⁵¹ The people who gathered, and were densely packed, at the Palace Square in jubilation now believed that they had been deceived by the king and the army. The people were afraid of the presence of the troops because they feared for their lives and at the same time they wanted to stand for the liberties that energized the revolution. These people who believed themselves backed into a corner, turned to resist and taunt the troops, which signaled to the troops that a riot was soon to ensue. The troops had the responsibility to read the Riot Act of 1835 three times out loud when they meet an unruly group of protestors, where they then would charge at the rioters, signaled by a trumpet.⁵²

The densely packed crowd in the Palace Square began to panic and, in an attempt for some to leave to safety, because they knew the situation was going to turn violent, demanded in chant “soldiers out.”⁵³ Those on the edges of the crowd were the most fearful, not only because they were most likely to suffer injury or death if fighting broke out, but they were also particularly fearful that they would be pushed into troops from the people behind them and instigate a fight.⁵⁴ The people on the edges of the crowd that did not want to become entrenched in the conflict but they were also trapped from leaving the square because the troops had the crowd encircled. The situation then started to get out of control and Frederick William changed the command of the forces in Berlin from General Ernst von Pfuell (1779-1866), who was somewhat sympathetic to the revolution, to the more war-hawkish General Karl von Prittwitz (1790-1871) who ordered that the square be cleared immediately by the troops by stating that “an end be put to the scandalous situation prevailing there.”⁵⁵ General von Prittwitz, however, did not want to see any loss of life so the cavalry was to push back at a walking pace with swords remaining sheathed. This peaceful disbursement did not work and the only way the crowd was disbursed was when the cavalry charged at the crowd with sword raised, as if to strike.⁵⁶

This charge by the military not only sparked frustration and riot by the people at the square but also by the people of Berlin who believed that their king, or at least the army, had turned on peaceful protestors who were there cheering for Frederick William. News of the events at the Palace Square had spread like wildfire in Berlin. Barricades started to go up all across the city, Varnhagen von Ense, an eye witness to the events of March 18, said that it was “[s]uggested in my neighborhood to quickly build barricades with zeal, I

saw it all to work....”⁵⁷ These barricades were an attempt by the people of Berlin to keep the troops out and reduce the casualties that were known to happen if the clash continued. Varnhagen von Ense analyzes the situation by noting that “had a civil defense already existed, they would not have allowed the barricades, but for now everybody helped the honorable men and women [build the barricades].”⁵⁸ These rising of barricades were so important to the people that it did not matter the distance of the troops from the barricades that “[i]n sight of the troops they went on with the work undisturbed....”⁵⁹ The people were insistent that these barricades were the only way of protection from an all-out assault by the troops. “Meanwhile, the battle was in full swing elsewhere the tocsin sounded, gunfire and artillery shots rang out from the distance... The mass of troops was clear and they were not allowed to proceed so far as to attack the barricade....”⁶⁰ The troops had amassed their offensive but the people were willing to put up a fight. “While the fighters here are crowded together, by individual bands of infantry and cavalry, but they were rejected by stones, by rifle and pistol shots; the barricade on Behren Street had not been properly filled, and a detachment of infantry was able to penetrate the wall....”⁶¹ When all seemed as bad as it could, it became worse, because this all took place in the afternoon and by the evening and the early morning of March 19 more acts of violence was to be seen.

The evening of March 18 and the morning of the 19 became be a continuous battle for control of Berlin. Again, Varnhagen von Ense records the events of the revolution: “When evening came and it was getting dark, the general battle was only the more violent and terrible. The cannons thundered now regulated in consequence, continually the crack of gunfire was the strongest, the preponderance of the troops seemed not to be doubted anymore.”⁶² The barricades became the focal point for all of the fighting, a pattern seen all across Berlin, with the infantry advancing on the barricades.⁶³ As Varnhagen von Ense noted that the artillery was used during the fighting but it was for the purposes of clearing barricades; the troops also helped in the dismantling of the barricades as well.⁶⁴ Just before midnight on March 18, General von Prittwitz informed Frederick William that most of Berlin was under the military’s control but further advance was be nearly impossible. General von Prittwitz suggested to Frederick William that the troops should be withdrawn from the city and encircle Berlin and bombard the city into submission.⁶⁵ With this tactic the troops seemed to have pushed the protestors back and had cleared the street, it appeared as if the troops were to regain control of Berlin. It became, however, Frederick William’s indecisiveness would prove fatal to the objective of regaining control.⁶⁶

On March 18 and 19, 1848, the revolution hit full steam and more bloodshed was spilt in these two days then all the days of the revolution in Berlin; in fact, in just these two days, more deaths occurred in Berlin than any other state that was experiencing revolution, from its start to its conclusion.⁶⁷ To protect themselves from the soldiers and put up a resistance, the civilians started to build barricades along the narrow roads of Berlin with whatever material they could get their hands on (i.e. tables, chairs, and any other movable objects that could be used as a road block), but this only intensified the situation (see Figure 1 for an illustration of the event). The number of deaths in these two days ranged from 400 (300 civilians and 100 soldiers and officers) to 900 (800 civilians and 100 soldiers and officers).⁶⁸ The reason the death toll of military personnel is consistent is because the Prussian military was known for their discipline and organizational skills and thus the muster list was have been able to identify the exact number of deaths, whereas the civilian death toll is harder to determine because there was no way of determining the number of

civilians in Berlin like there was for the military. Either way, the bloodshed was great and the events of March 18 and 19 were more like a mini-war than a revolution, when comparing that of the other countries experiencing the revolutionary fever, in reference to the death count in such a short period of time.



Figure 5: Alexanderplatz, Berlin March 18, 1848.

News of the uprising in Berlin caused revolution in other cities around Prussia and depending on the social-economic factors entailed different demands by the people in these areas. Some of the protests called for political reforms of a constitution and civil liberties but others were directed at factories and other areas where industrialization was undermining wage labor and the unemployment rate was high.⁶⁹ Had the revolutions in Prussia solely been about class warfare as was seen in the highly industrialized areas of Prussia, Marx and Engels would have been very content because their vision of the proletariat rising to overthrow the bourgeoisie would be fulfilled.

This revolution in Berlin was not just chaos and angry people without direction, there were goals or objectives that the people of Prussia were protesting, one of the most important issues that the liberals called for was a constitution and unification of Germany.⁷⁰ The constitution that was called for during the revolution (1848) granted later in the year, whereas the unification of Germany did not occur until 1871. For the liberals, the constitutional question was the only way to liberate the people of Prussia; they called for universal male suffrage, a Prussian Parliament to meet regularly, and a declaration of the rights of the Prussian citizen.

IV | The Constitution on the Most Liberal Basis

After the violence of March 18 and 19, 1848, King Frederick William IV gave into the revolution and did not want to involve himself in the same reactionary methods as other kingdoms, particularly that of Austria, which had turned its cannons onto the cities that were revolting and bombarded them into submission. He was too proud of his ancient capital and wanted to minimize the damage that was to occur and wanted to minimize the blood spilled.⁷¹ Frederick William had ordered the soldiers out of Berlin by an address to the revolutionaries in Berlin by requesting “[r]eturn to peace, clear the barricades that still stand..., and I give you my Royal Word that all streets and squares will be cleared of troops, and the military occupation reduced to a few necessary buildings.”⁷² This became the single most humiliating event of the Prussian army since its defeat to Napoleon in 1806 but, nonetheless, Frederick William had given in, for now so he could seize back control without raising too much alarm and risk reigniting the revolution. This humiliation remained within the officer corps of the Prussian military, who characterized the old conservative order, and became the motivating force behind the counter-revolution later in the year. Also, a possible explanation as to why the military, predominantly the officer corps, remained loyal to Frederick William was that during the time of the revolution Prussia and Austria were involved in a war with Denmark in an attempt to conquer lands from the Danish king.⁷³ Frederick William and his ministers then left Berlin to Potsdam, a city just a few miles south-west of Berlin, to deal with the revolution and appointed a provisional government, the United Diet, which acted as a quasi-parliament.⁷⁴ Under this new government, a Civil Guard, filled by royalists, was established to act in the place of the withdrawn army to preserve the peace of Berlin. It was under the National Assembly, formerly the United Diet, that Frederick William took back control of his kingdom.

As Frederick William retreated to Potsdam on March 25, he met with his military advisors and declared that “I have come to speak with you, in order to prove to the Berliners that they need expect no reactionary strike from Potsdam.”⁷⁵ Frederick William also declared to his military leadership that he “never felt freer or more secure than under the protection of his citizens.”⁷⁶ This was detrimental to the prestige of the Prussian army and, of course, not the whole truth, because for now Frederick William appeared to separate himself from the military and align himself to the revolutionary cause. However, the military failed to realize that Frederick William had not truly given up on them because his concessions were merely verbal.⁷⁷ This stance by Frederick William was seen as genuine, especially when he appointed the liberal Gottfried Ludolph Camphausen (1803-1890) as head of a new ministry along with other liberals that were adamant constitutionalists who admired the British governmental system.⁷⁸ The Camphausen ministry became head of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly replaced the United Diet as the national parliamentary apparatus of the Prussian government in May, 1848. At the beginning of April, the Second United Diet was called by Prime Minister Camphausen where they passed laws that called for an election to constitute the National Assembly functioned as a unicameral body of about 400 members.⁷⁹ These elections were considered very liberal for an absolutist Prussia because in May, when the election were to be held, these elections were by universal male suffrage, as long as he was over twenty-four years of age, lived in the same place for a minimum of six months, and was not on any form of public assistance.⁸⁰ Although this

election is considered very liberal, the election process is partly a misnomer in comparison to the contemporary ideals of electoral systems. Instead of electing representatives to go to the National Assembly directly, these elections worked more like an electoral college, where the voter elected people who then in turn choose people to go to the National Assembly. The May Elections, as it became known, was very liberal for the fact that about one-sixth were artisans or peasants, a fact the Clark points out was by far a greater percentage than was seen in the Frankfurt or the Viennese parliaments.⁸¹

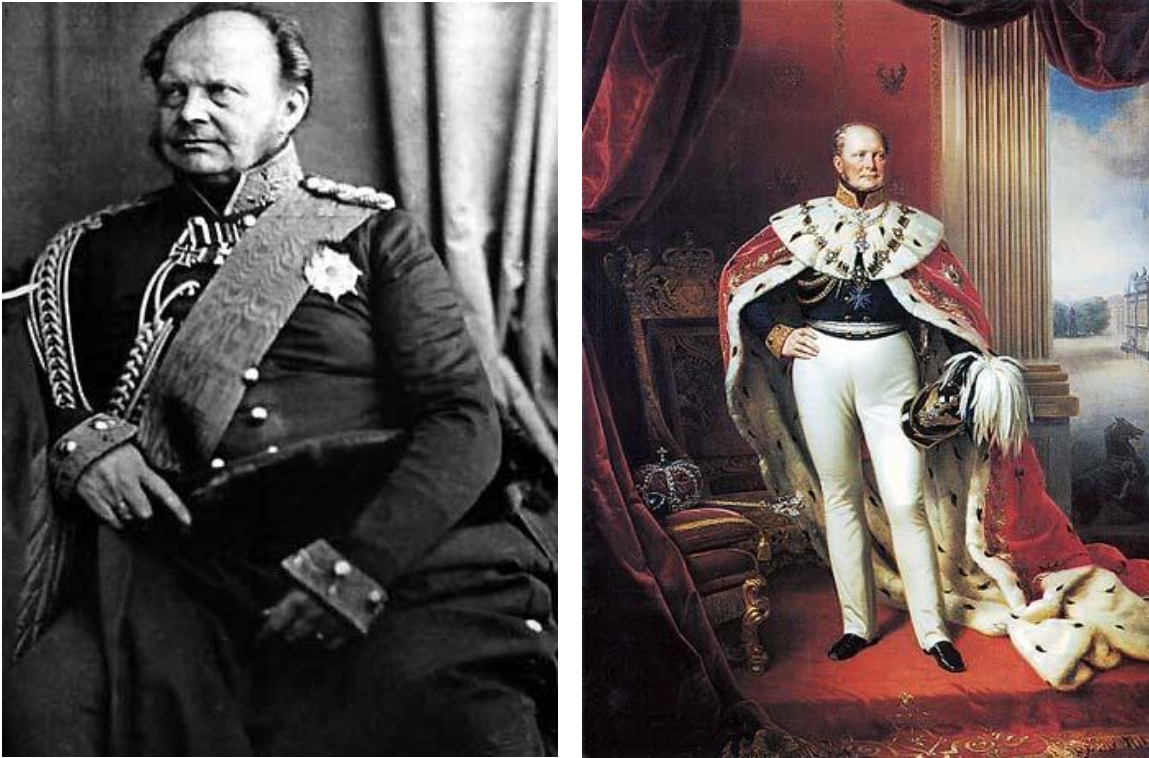


Figure 6: Frederick William IV of Prussia.

In the process of resignations by the liberal ministers, from May to November, at the head of the National Assembly, Frederick William slowly started to replace them with more conservative ministers. Under the Camphausen ministry, Camphausen had tried to ensure that Prussia remained on liberal principles but he ran into bitter struggles with Frederick William and his group of conservative advisors, known as the camarilla. At many points the Camphausen tried to limit Frederick William's personal command of the army where he responded forcefully in draft attempts of crafting a constitution.⁸² The National Assembly under Prime Minister Camphausen had produced a hastily drawn constitution, where Frederick William became very unhappy. Frederick William responded by including amendments to the draft constitution where he was king by God's grace alone, going back to his adamant belief in the divine right of kings, he also included that he had exclusive command of the army, and this constitution was more of an agreement between him and his people rather than rule through the sovereign will of the people as some of the moderate and radical liberals wanted to believe.⁸³

At the end of May and through June, 1848, the radical liberals believed that their strength had increased and started to strive for more bold measures because of their growth

in numbers. The more moderate liberals started to see that they were losing public support as well. In the constitutional settlement, the radical liberals proposed the entire abolishment of the military and the setting up of the *Völkswehr* or the popular militia, which believed would be the best way in assuring the public's safety.⁸⁴ Frederick William saw these proposals and made the amendments mentioned above. With this troubled climate in the National Assembly of wanting more than Frederick William was willing to give, Camphausen resigned on June 20, 1848. Camphausen realized that the moderate liberals did not constitute a majority in the National Assembly that he foresaw.⁸⁵ Although these propositions never pass under Frederick William's eyes, these proposals indicated a split between the moderate liberals and the radical liberals left a big enough gap for Frederick William to drive a wedge and reassert his control over Prussia.

Camphausen was replaced by Rudolf von Auerswald (1795-1866) as Prime Minister of the National Assembly and David Hansemann (1790-1864) remained as the Finance Minister from the Camphausen ministry.⁸⁶ Both Auerswald and Hansemann understood the mood in the National Assembly but were fearful that disclosure of Frederick William's true views might lead to further radicalization by its members.⁸⁷ Frederick William had no confidence in the National Assembly as long as they still pursued the campaign against the army.⁸⁸ Under the Auerswald ministry of the National Assembly a new draft of the constitution was issued where it limited Frederick William's ability to block legislation passed in the National Assembly and pushed for the *Völkswehr*, but this only led to polarization within the National Assembly and the constitutional question remained unanswered.⁸⁹

In an attempt for the radical liberals to gain some concession with the military, Julius Stein (c. nineteenth century) proposed a motion within the assembly that required the officers and troops within the army to conform to the constitutional values that the National Assembly was still working on.⁹⁰ Stein's proposal was in response to a clash between the troops in the town of Schweidnitz that resulted in the death of fourteen civilians on July 31, 1848.⁹¹ The scene was contentious between the National Assembly and Frederick William when Stein's proposal passed with an overwhelming majority. Then the Assembly passed a resolution on September 7, 1848, that forcefully demanded that the government, namely the Frederick William, to immediately implement Stein's proposal.⁹² This struck a nerve with Frederick William wherein he threatened the National Assembly with restoring order of Berlin by force. Not wanting to become more involved in the conflict between the National Assembly and the king, Auerswald and Hansemann resigned, which Frederick William accepted on September 10, 1848.⁹³

General von Pfuel replaced Auerswald as Prime Minister to the surprise and delight of the liberals. General von Pfuel had been sympathetic to the revolution even though he did not always agree with the revolutionaries' goals. What also played into the fact of excitement to his appointment was that General von Pfuel was a good choice because out of the entire pool of qualified conservatives Frederick William had to pick from, General von Pfuel was not a hardline conservative. General von Pfuel, however, was not a successful mediator between the National Assembly and Frederick William.⁹⁴ So, on November 1, General von Pfuel resigned as Prime Minister and Count Frederick William von Brandenburg (1792-1850) became the new Prime Minister of the National Assembly.⁹⁵

This move by Frederick William for re-control of his kingdom is illustrated when he appointed Count von Brandenburg as minister of the National Assembly on November 1. The Count von Brandenburg was the king's uncle, the former commander of the VI

Corps in Breslau, and this nomination was favored by the conservative circles in Prussia, especially that of the camarilla, which marks the beginning of the reactionary movement in Prussia.⁹⁶ On November 9, Brandenburg appeared before the National Assembly and declared that it was to be disbanded until November 27. In the meanwhile, on November 11 martial law was declared in Berlin so the Civil Guard was disbanded, radically liberal newspapers were banned, and political clubs closed.⁹⁷ Surprisingly after the events of March 18 and 19, the people of Berlin did not seem to care for this counter-revolutionary action by Count von Brandenburg because the lack of any real protest was being acknowledged in Berlin.⁹⁸ It seemed that popular support for the revolution started to shift because of the absence of any real action by the National Assembly. Frederick William had successfully driven the wedge between the National Assembly and the people of Prussia. Then on November 27, when the National Assembly reconvened, Brandenburg had dispersed the Assembly again but he did not give a date of reconvening, to which on December 5, the National Assembly was formally dissolved on the same day that Frederick William issued, and imposed, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia. Prussia was now a constitutional monarchy, an absolutist constitutional monarchy, where little had changed for Frederick William's position.

This new constitution had a little bit of everything that the moderate liberals and people of Prussia, as a whole, were content with. Professor Gordon A. Craig notes that at the onset of the constitution, it repudiated all signs of popular sovereignty and reaffirmed the principle of the divine right of kings, monarchy.⁹⁹ This new constitution was revised into, sometimes what is considered a different, constitution on January 31, 1850, which is the version that remained in effect, with minor alteration thereafter, until German unification in 1871—spear-headed by Prussia. One reason that the moderate liberals were satisfied with the constitution was that it ensured equality of all citizens which states in Article 4 that “[a]ll Prussians shall be equal before the law. Class privileges shall not be permitted. Public offices, subject to the conditions imposed by law, shall be uniformly open to all who are competent to hold them.”¹⁰⁰ This article is significant because these were some of the reforms that the liberals were attempting to attain. In the Reforms of 1807-1813, the military had instilled a form of meritocracy in its ranks but governmental posts were still comprised of those from the nobility. The constitution also granted the freedom of religion which stated that the “[f]reedom of religious confession of association in religious societies . . . , and the common exercise of religion in private and public, is guaranteed.”¹⁰¹ Three articles dealing with censorship were included in the constitution as a result of the revolution: Article 27 that allowed for the freedom of speech, Article 29 that allowed for the freedom of assembly, and Article 30 that allowed for the freedom of association.¹⁰² Although this constitution did not give the liberals everything that they wanted and was not “of the most liberal basis” as the king had promised on March 18, 1848, they were fine with what they received in the constitution because it was more than they had back in the early months of 1848.

Interestingly, several years later, in 1851, Marx wrote a set of treatises, analyzing, to his dissatisfaction, the revolution of 1848. In these treatises Marx acknowledges that the revolution of 1848 was not the one he had envisioned in *The Communist Manifesto*. Marx notes that “[t]he ‘powers that were’ before the hurricane of 1848 are again the ‘powers that be’ . . .”¹⁰³ This is a powerful phrase because it demonstrates that the proletariat was not successful in the down fall of the bourgeoisie. These treatises continue to recollect the

events of 1848 through Marx's class conscious lens. Marx died, without witnessing his vision of a proletariat overthrow of the government that occurred in Russia in 1917.

V | Conclusion

The revolution was over and Frederick William emerged the victor because he was able to regain control of Berlin and the rest of Prussia by imposing a constitution to his liking, rather than to the specific liking of the moderate and radical liberals, gaining a true upper hand and imposing a constitution on him. Value judgments such as winners and losers in revolutions are often difficult to assess, especially since each side came away with something. For the liberals, slight victory was achieved because they did receive a constitution at the end of 1848, even though it did not contain the full ideas that they had envisioned to incorporate into the constitution. As for Frederick William, he was able to hold on to his absolutist role, if somewhat weakened, by usurping the liberals and even more so for the radical momentum by imposing a constitution on Prussia. The population of Prussia, as a whole, seemed to be pleased with the outcome of the revolution, namely the constitution, and was not willing to continue the revolution, the people that were the main fighting force behind the revolution. In the end, this revolution was not the revolution that Marx and Engels had envisioned when they felt the social, political, and economic tensions of the people of Prussia was about to boil over; nor the hopes of the liberals be fully realized. Although change did occur, it was Frederick William that was able to control the path in which the change occurred.

The revolution of 1848 followed the pattern that Professor Crane Brinton predicted using his model. The liberals of both sides used the social conditions to direct the unrest to put political pressure upon the king. When the moderate and radical liberals received concessions from Frederick William, the moderate liberals gained power until the radical liberals were able to gain a majority in the National Assembly. These radical liberals pushed more than Frederick William was willing to give and caused the counter-revolution by Frederick William and his reactionary forces thus putting an end the revolution

Frederick William in 1849 was be offered the crown as Emperor of Germany but he refused by declaring to the Frankfurt Assembly delegates that,

I am not able to return a favorable reply to the offer of a crown on the part of the German National Assembly [meeting in Frankfurt], because the Assembly has not the right, without the consent of the German governments, to bestow the crown which they tendered me, and moreover because they offer the crown upon condition that I would accept a constitution which could not be reconciled with the rights of the German states.¹⁰⁴

Although Frederick William was not willing to accept the crown of Emperor of Germany, his brother and successor William I of Prussia was willing and did take the crown after the victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The unification of Germany became a major priority by the liberals in the Frankfurt Assembly and was the lasting legacy of the Revolutions of 1848 on all of Germany.

Notes

¹ Mike Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2008). Rapport states this in his title and explores the revolutions that swept across Europe as not a singular event but a multi-faceted event that was different in the objectives and the outcomes for each country that experienced revolution.

² Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (1955; reprint, London: Oxford UP, 1964), 136. The dates given for the rule of the Hohenzollern Dynasty are when Frederick I became “king in Prussia,” which started the dynasty’s royal rule. However, the dates can be debated because the Hohenzollern Dynasty had been the Elector of Brandenburg since roughly 1100 C.E. Since it was heretical, it was technically a dynasty, however, this research project does not focus on the Hohenzollern Dynasty itself, therefore, the date of royal assertion is given.

³ Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1938, Reprint; New York: Vintage Books, 1957), 277. It was in discussion of the English Civil War and the trial of Charles I that Professor Susan Amussen mentioned “revolution theory.” This how it was first brought to my attention and has proven so helpful with this thesis because had I never discovered this term and this paper may have been lacking, in certain aspects.

⁴ Ibid. A page number is not given because there is no single page for this information but rather it is an outline of the structure of Brinton’s argument to the process of revolutions.

⁵ Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 57; Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2001), 46; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 468.

⁶ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (1945; repr., London: University Paper Backs, 1964), 71.

⁷ Ibid., 60. Marx and Engels even though they considered themselves as socialists or communist.

⁸ Paul Brians, “Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *The Communist Manifesto* (1848),” in *Reading About the World*, http://public.wsu.edu/~brians/world_civ/worldcivreader/world_civ_reader_2/marx.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

⁹ Ibid. This weakens the point that Marx and Engels were influential in the Revolutions of 1848, but the mention of them is to demonstrate one fragment of the liberal ideology within Prussia, and the rest of Europe, and how they were able to identify that a revolution was nearing and only part of their theory would remain true to the 1848 Revolutions.

¹⁰ Although in the version of *The Communist Manifesto* being used for reference spells the author Frederick Engels as Friedrich, the German spelling, but for consistency of this essay, Friedrich will be Anglicized to Frederick unless being quoted, in notes, and the bibliography.

¹¹ Friedrich Engels’ first note in the 1888 edition in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1888; repr., New York: Barnes & Nobel Classic, 2005), 7. Although this is the 1888 English translated edition by Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* was originally written in German in 1848.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 19.

¹⁴ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 57.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1. Here Hahn does make the point of French influence and draws the logical conclusion but for purposes of length and direction of this thesis, we are not going to explore this route other than that it is one proposed starting point of the events of 1848 in Prussia.

¹⁶ Ibid., 50.

¹⁷ Taylor, *The Course*, 69.

¹⁸ Ibid., 70.

¹⁹ Craig, *The Politics*, 86.

²⁰ Ibid., 87.

- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 439.
- ²³ Craig, *The Politics*, 86.
- ²⁴ Fritz Hartung, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* [*German Constitutional History of Fifteenth-Century to the Present*] (Leipzig, 1922), 151. Found in Craig, 88.
- ²⁵ Craig, *The Politics*, 88.
- ²⁶ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 51.
- ²⁷ Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 35; Vagabonds are people of no particular occupation but were able to find work. Vagabonds were a problem in European society because it did not allow for stability, one of the cornerstones of civilization in the European view.
- ²⁸ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 51-2.
- ²⁹ Craig, *The Politics*, 91.
- ³⁰ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 456.
- ³¹ Craig, *The Politics*, 52.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 468.
- ³⁵ Karl Varnhagen von Ense, “Darstellung des Jahres 1848” (written in autumn of 1848), in Konrad Feilchenfeld (ed.), *Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. Tageblätter* (5 vols., Frankfurt/Main, 1994), vol. 4, *Biographien, Aufsätze, Skizzen, Fragmente*, pp. 685-734, here p. 724, found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 468. The diary of Varnhagen von Ense has proved very helpful to historians because not only did he record the events of the revolution in Berlin but he was also from the same social and intellectual class as the liberals that pushed the revolution forward.
- ³⁶ Taylor, *The Course*, 70-1.
- ³⁷ The Third Silesian War actually took part amidst the Seven Years War, or the French and Indian War.
- ³⁸ Taylor, *The Course*, 66.
- ³⁹ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 47.
- ⁴⁰ Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 58.
- ⁴¹ Karl Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher aus dem Nachlass Varnhagen's von Ense* [Diaries From the Estate of Varnhagen von Ense], Vol 4, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1862), 282. Since Varnhagen von Ense’s diary is in German and my German is weak, I attempted, with the help of translation aids, to capture the spirit of what he had written by using as many exact translatable words as possible. My translations may not be perfect but I attempted at portraying Varnhagen von Ense’s words honestly and fairly.
- ⁴² Craig, *The Politics*, 97.
- ⁴³ Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 284.
- ⁴⁴ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 471.
- ⁴⁵ Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 282.
- ⁴⁶ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 470.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 472.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 469.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid., 470.
- ⁵³ Ibid., 472.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Quote by Prittwitz was found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 472. Clark did not cite the source where he found this quote so instead I am citing Clark as the original source.
- ⁵⁶ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 472.
- ⁵⁷ Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 290-91.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., 291.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 292-93. A “tocsin” is referred, in this sense of the meaning, as an alarm bell or a warning signal.

⁶¹ Ibid., 293.

⁶² Ibid., 293.

⁶³ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 473.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 473-4

⁶⁶ Taylor, *The Course*, 74.

⁶⁷ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 475.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 475; Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 93-4. Each authors account is given respectively above, with Clark accounting 400 and Hahn accounting for 900 deaths.

⁶⁹ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 475-6

⁷⁰ Since the constitutional aspect is the focus of the 1848 revolution in Berlin, German unification is only briefly mentioned in this essay as a way to demonstrate that there were other motivations to the revolution. For more information on German Unification look at these sources: Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2006), chapters 15 and 16; A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (1945; reprint, London: University Paper Backs, 1964), chapters 6 and 7; Geoffery Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), whole book; and Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), whole book.

⁷¹ Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 77.

⁷² Karl Ludwig von Prittwitz, *Berlin 1848. Das Erinnerungswerk des Generalleutnants Karl Ludwig von Prittwitz und andere Quellen zur Berliner Märzrevolution und zur Geschichte Preussens um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin 1848 the Lieutenant General Karl Ludwig Prittwitz and other sources to destroy the Berlin March Revolution and the History of Prussia in the mid-19th

Century], ed. Gerd Heinerich (Berlin, 1985), 259, found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 474.

⁷³ Craig, *The Politics*, 116.

⁷⁴ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 96.

⁷⁵ Prittwitz, 440-1. Found in Clark, 477.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Craig, *The Politics*, 107.

⁷⁸ Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 97; Craig, *The Politics*, 108.

⁷⁹ Craig, *The Politics*, 110.

⁸⁰ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 478.

⁸¹ Ibid. The Frankfurt Parliament was a pan-German parliament in response to the revolutions in the Germanic areas that pushed for German unification and other pan-Germanic issues.

⁸² Craig, *The Politics*, 109; Clark, 479.

⁸³ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 479.

⁸⁴ Craig, 111. The term “Volkwehr” can be translated into different terms but all meaning roughly the same thing. The German word “volk” literally translates into “folk” or “people” and it would not be wrong to refer to the “Volkwehr” as the people’s militia.

⁸⁵ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 479. Craig, *The Politics*, 115.

⁸⁶ Craig, *The Politics*, 115.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 480.

⁹⁰ Ibid. Information on birth and death of Julius Stein was not available during research, however, multiple sources mention his proposal but other than that not much else is recorded on him, that I was able to find.

⁹¹ Ibid.

- ⁹² Ibid. Kingdom of Prussia,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 5:8 (1894), 27
- ⁹³ Craig, *The Politics*, 116.
- ⁹⁴ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 480-1. ¹⁰¹ Ibid., title 2, art. 12. Found in Ibid., 28.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., 481. ¹⁰² Ibid., title 2, art. 27; title 2, art. 29; title 2, art. 30. Found in Ibid., 31-2.
- ⁹⁶ Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 481. ¹⁰³ Karl Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848*, ed. Eleanor Marx Aveling, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), 1.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ⁹⁸ Craig, *The Politics*, 120. ¹⁰⁴ Fordham University, “Modern History Source Book: Documents of German Unification, 1848-1871,” <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/germanunification.asp> (accessed on October 4, 2012)
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., 121.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia*, title 2, art. 4. Found in Fredrick William and James Harvey Robinson, “Supplement: Constitution of the

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Figure 1: http://www.age-of-the-sage.org/history/1848/revolution_of_1848.html

Figure 2: <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/germany/ger18491866.html>

Figure 3: http://bibliograph.ru/Biblio/E/ense_kav/ense_kav.htm

Figure 4: <http://marbellamarbella.es/2010-12-06/marbella-to-berlin-alexander-platz/>

Figure 5: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_William_IV_of_Prussia

Figure 6: http://www.preussenchronik.de/bild_jsp/key=bild_zentner69.html