

英文レジュメ

**J. S. Mill on the French Revolution of February, 1848**

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In the days before the 1848 Revolution, engaged in writing *System of Logic* and *The Principle of Political Economy*, Mill continued to perceive France as the leader in political reform. As he stated in one of his few articles on politics before the Revolution, the strongest tendencies of the world in those times, he believed, were democracy and revolution; meaning by democracy — social equality, under whatever form of government; and by revolution — a general demolition of old institutions and opinions. Both the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution and the proclamation of a French Republic illustrated the truth of his holding out as a model. As in the case of 1830, Mill had enthusiastically supported the republican and socialist aspects of the Revolution. The purpose of this article is to investigate Mill's analysis of the causes of the 1848 Revolution, and of the policies of the Provisional Government and their effects, within the social and political contexts in France. In addition, the author tries to trace the influence of the defeated Revolution upon the development of Mill's social and political ideas.

As impossible here to describe and explain all of these issues, the author can only point out two key lessons of the Revolution and of its failure for Mill's political position.

(1) The first serious lesson of 1848 is that socialism, as a world view and as a radical movement of the labouring class, had emerged as a potent political force. In effect, the course of events of 1848 provided Mill with his first concrete example of the effects of opening up the political arena to socialists. He expected greatly the result of socialist experiment in France, especially of producers' co-operative system. He envisaged, afterwards, the feasibility and desirability of co-operative socialism in both France and England.

(2) Secondly, Mill learned from the 1848 Revolution the possible effects of manhood suffrage upon a largely uneducated electorate. In sharp contrast to the hopes of the Provisional Government which established the extended franchise, the provinces elected the conservatives. The universal suffrage acquired by the force of working people in Paris, as it were, proved to be a weapon of anti-revolution, and the popular election of the president to be a device for dictatorship. (Louis Bonaparte's election in 1848 and the coup d'état of 1851) Acknowledging the complexity of the French peasants' socio-economic position, Mill

extrapolated, in his *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*, from their electoral performance only the need for an educational qualification. Clearly, his turn in a conservative direction on the issue of the franchise and especially on the ballot was not the result of abstract principle. The experience of France, which was the most advanced in the political revolution, was the triggering force.

Although the 1848 Revolution turned out to be premature in both its republican and socialist aspects, however, Mill's staunch support of it in the wake of severe English criticisms revealed the extent to which he accepted revolution as a legitimate mode of change in France.