



### CHAPTER III

## LOUIS PHILIPPE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

[1830-1848 A.D.]

The revolution of July suddenly frustrated the repressive policy of the great powers, and was the commencement of a new era in the liberties of Europe. It gave an impulse to the revolution in Belgium; to the insurrection in Poland; to the democratic constitutions of Switzerland; to political reforms in several of the states of Germany; and to parliamentary reform in England. Its influence was felt in Italy, in Spain, and Portugal; in Hungary, and in the Slavonic provinces of Austria. And, even beyond the bounds of Europe, it reached from Egypt and Syria, in the east, to South America, in the west. The period of reaction was now closed, to be succeeded by the progressive development of constitutional freedom. — SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY.

PLACED as Louis Philippe was between the past and the future, between the ancient monarchy crumbled without hope of return and the republic brought forward, then adjourned, his position was complex and his spirit contradictory. He was at the same time a prince at heart and a bourgeois in form; revolutionary by his memories, and reactionary, or at least stationary, from the fear which these very memories inspired in him, as well as by his royal memories.

"King-citizen," promenading Paris in round hat and with an umbrella, not only by calculation, but by taste as well, he was at the same time a descendant of Louis XIV — the issue of the brother of Louis XIV, on the male side; he descended on the female side from the Grand Monarch himself and Mme. de Montespan. He had kept from Voltairianism sentiments of humanity and religious scepticism, but nothing more from that great breath of the eighteenth century which had for a moment animated his youth and inspired the entire life of La Fayette.

One of the men who did most to enthrone Louis Philippe was Thiers, who had defined the constitutional monarchy in the phrase, "It reigns but it does not govern." The new king never accepted this maxim and aspired from the first day to rule in all things, less from any theory of monarchy than from a passion for affairs, big or little, and above all from a conviction

[1830 A.D.]

of the superiority he fancied he held over his ministers, even when he had before him a Casimir P rier or a Thiers. He could not even delegate authority as Napoleon did and Charles X wanted to do. It was necessary then that he govern by address and by artifice, not by imposing and ordering, but by reducing and dividing, by subalternising his ministers and gaining his parliamentary majorities by interesting groups and individuals. Such a policy was incompatible with sincerity towards persons and things; incapable of violating the laws, Louis Philippe used all his skill to contract the laws and to undermine free institutions. These dangerous tendencies, however, manifested themselves but gradually.<sup>c</sup>

## STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND FIRST ACTS OF THE REIGN

Although the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil which were destined in the end to overturn it were beginning to germinate. The state of the working-classes, especially in the great towns, which had rapidly degenerated since and in consequence of the first revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous reform agitation in that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the production of luxuries—that is, the immense majority of the working-classes—to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewellers or the printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nimes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, while the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling, for even at the low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable both threw numbers of workmen out of employment and fearfully augmented the general consternation.<sup>d</sup>



LOUIS PHILIPPE  
(1773-1850)

The first acts of the reign of Louis Philippe were prudent and modest. He modified and completed the ministry which he had formed during his

lieutenant-generalship. He called Molé to take charge of the foreign affairs and Broglie to the ministry of public instruction. The other ministers remained. Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Bignon were members of the cabinet of ministers without portfolios. There was no president of the council, neither Laffitte nor Casimir Périer accepting this high post. This ministry included very opposite tendencies.

The chambers, in accord with the government during the month of August, voted certain measures which were the natural result of the July Revolution. Political condemnations from the time of the restoration were annulled. Aid and recompense were voted for the July combatants; for the wounded and for the families of the dead. The Panthéon, which under the empire had become the church of Ste. Geneviève, was restored to the destination given it in 1791, which was to receive the remains of great men. The double vote was suppressed, also the great electoral colleges, or departmental colleges, which the restoration had founded as citadels of the aristocracy to control the electoral bourgeoisie.

However, difficulties were beginning for the new government. Commercial affairs had weighed heavy before the Revolution; they became, as we have seen, worse after it. The working-classes were surprised and angry to find themselves more unhappy the day after than on the eve of the "great days" which owed so much to their courage and devotion. They gathered together in the streets and on the squares to command the government to procure for them diminution of labour or increase of wages. The less enlightened wanted to break the machines which, they said, suppressed the employment of their arms.<sup>c</sup>

#### SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS

Although mischievous to society (the return and repose of which they delayed) and troublesome to the authority which as yet wanted the power to repress them, these palpable irregularities would have signified little, if beyond and above street demonstrations, other causes of disorder, older and more deeply rooted, had not taken possession of many minds. The revolution of July had not confined itself to the overthrow of a dynasty, and the modification of a charter: it had given rise to pretensions and hopes, not alone in the political party who desired for France a form of government opposed to monarchy, but in all the schools, and in every sect, through all the varied divisions of life, whether prominent or obscure, who were dreaming of another state of social organisation quite distinct from that which France had received from her origin, her Christian faith, and her fourteen ages of political existence.

Besides the republicans — and divided between a desire to join and to separate from them — the Saint Simonians, the Fourierists, the socialists, and the communists, much opposed to each other in principle and unequal in strength, as in intellectual power, were all in a state of ambitious effervescence.

The secret societies of the Restoration had transferred themselves into revolutionary clubs, thus combining the remains of silent discipline with the extravagant enthusiasm of unbridled speech. There at daily and public meetings, all events and questions, whether of principle or incidental occurrence, were warmly discussed. All designs, hopes, and dreams were boldly investigated. The entire government, the monarchy, the chambers, the magistracy, the administration, were attacked with undissembled violence. Their total overthrow was unreservedly proposed. Working-people and

[1830 A.D.]

youths, casual passers-by, entered into these places of assembly as to a public spectacle, enjoying their audacious license; and round the leaders of these old republican, Bonapartist, socialist, or other associations, advocates of the popular party were grouped, ready to declare against the existing authorities, which from day to day they were in the habit of hearing insulted and denounced as enemies.<sup>e</sup>

The chamber of deputies voted a credit of five millions for public works, one of thirty millions to make advances to commercial houses. Disturbances at home and abroad united to prevent the resumption of affairs. These alarms were confirmed by the continued low state of public funds. Four of Charles X's ministers, among them Polignac and Peyronnet, had been arrested and confined at Vincennes. The expectation of their trial agitated people's minds.<sup>1</sup>

Foreign affairs caused the most lively anxiety. Louis Philippe and the men who surrounded him realised that the counter action of the July Revolution would inevitably make itself felt abroad, and that the new régime would not subsist in France if it permitted the Holy Alliance to recommence, in respect to the French, what the Restoration had done in Spain. The English minister was the first to announce an intention to recognise the new government in France, on condition that it respected existing treaties. Public opinion in England had been very sincere and active in favour of the July Revolution. Prussia and Austria also, in spite of the displeasure and anxiety of Metternich, had received the communications of the new government, properly although with reserve. The great question was the attitude which Russia would take. Against all expectation Nicholas repulsed Louis Philippe's advances rudely, almost brutally. When to his great regret England, Austria, and Prussia had recognised the new government, he consented to keep relations of peace and friendship, but he refused to give the title of "brother" to the king of the French, and recalled his ambassador.<sup>c</sup>

Belgium had separated itself from Holland and offered itself to France, but was refused in order not to excite the jealousy of England. Spanish refugees wanted to attempt a revolution in their country. They were arrested at the frontier in order not to violate international rights, even with a prince who was a secret enemy. Poland, delivered for a short period by a heroic effort, called to the French. Was it possible to save her by arms? As she herself said in the midst of her great sufferings: "God is too high and France is too far." Only isolated assistance was sent, which did not prevent Warsaw from succumbing. Its fall found a sad echo in the heart of France.

The approach of the trial of the ministers was causing a fermentation in Paris. Guizot and Broglie retired from the ministry, their demission entailing that of Molé, Louis and Casimir Périer. Laffitte at the urgent insistence of the king accepted the task of forming a new ministry (November 2nd, 1830).<sup>f</sup>

#### LAFFITTE'S MINISTRY

On the 15th of December the ministers of Charles X were tried. La Fayette took every precaution to preserve order. Taken from Vincennes to the Luxembourg they defended themselves before the chamber of peers,

[<sup>1</sup> The populace demanded the death of those who, by signing the ordinances, had brought on the Revolution, and were therefore indirectly the cause of so many deaths. But even La Fayette opposed this, being generous enough to wish their escape, especially because they were his enemies. This also caused a dissension in the cabinet. — MÜLLER.]

being represented by their advocates, Martignac, Hennequin, Sauzet, and Crémieux.

For three days, from the 18th to the 20th of December, the mob besieged the Luxembourg, accusing the government of treason. Paris was terrified. La Fayette tried to negotiate with the ringleaders. On the 20th the inner court of the Luxembourg was forced and the peers were obliged to suspend their sitting. By the 21st the riot had become more formidable. Before pronouncing sentence, Montalivet, minister of the interior, went at the head of the detachment which reconducted the prisoners to Vincennes. The sentence, read at ten o'clock in the evening, condemned the ministers to imprisonment for life. On account of the "clemency" of this verdict a new riot occurred on the 22nd, which was suppressed by the national guards and the troops.<sup>h</sup>

At the moment when these new tumults burst forth the chamber of deputies was busily engaged in discussing the bill for the organisation of the national guards. This bill naturally brought into question the position of La Fayette. After a long debate the chamber adopted the article suppressing the functions of commandant-in-general of the national guards of the kingdom (December 24th). Without delay La Fayette sent in his resignation to the king, who resolved to accept it.<sup>e</sup>

On the 22nd of January, 1831, there was a riot among the students at the Sorbonne against the academic council assembled to forbid collective demonstrations. The 13th of February a memorial service was held in St. Germain-l'Auxerrois in memory of the assassination of the duke de Berri; there the legitimists made an imprudent demonstration in honour of the duke de Bordeaux. The crowd, thoroughly roused, pillaged the presbytery, profaned the church, and committed many acts of vandalism. In the evening the republicans promenaded carrying arms. Dupin was threatened in his house. The 14th saw the archbishop's palace pillaged. There were fresh scenes of vandalism: the archbishop's country house at Conflans was sacked; the church of Bonne Nouvelle was pillaged, and several public buildings were attacked. Baude, prefect of police, and Odilon Barrot, prefect of the Seine, were perfectly inert. Their complacent proclamations only touched the counter-revolutionists and the legitimists. The *fleurs-de-lis* were torn down everywhere, and the scenes of anarchy were not limited to Paris.

Those who loved order, and had hailed the government as a saviour, began to doubt its strength and even its will. On the 17th of February Delessert denounced the negligence and weakness of the ministry in the chamber. There was yet time to act vigorously against the plotters of sedition, and prevent civil war. Baude and Odilon Barrot made a very poor defence and criticised the retrograde methods hitherto pursued. Guizot wanted the government to free itself from all illegal pressure, and to act in harmony with the chamber, putting itself at the head of society and not at the tail, renouncing a popularity both impossible and compromising. Laffitte still avoided expressing his opinion, and contented himself by replacing Baude and Odilon Barrot by Vivien and Bondy. His position personally became more and more false; even the other ministers acted without him.

The risings continued; strikes spread; credit was low. Laffitte obtained on the 5th of March two hundred million special credit with difficulty; but the chamber refused him a vote of confidence. His friends persuaded him to retire, and he was, moreover, obliged to do so owing to pecuniary embarrassments and the losses sustained by his banking house.<sup>h</sup>

One of the direct causes of Laffitte's fall was his position on the Italian question, the minister wishing to aid an insurrection against Austria which

[1831 A.D.]

was on foot there. But the king was even more unwilling to intervene for the independence of Italy than he had been to interfere in the affairs of Belgium. The king had gone behind the back of his minister and made an agreement with Austria, on learning of which Lafitte resigned March 9th, 1831.<sup>a</sup>

## CASIMIR PÉRIER AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1831-1832 A.D.)

Casimir Périer, the new minister, had been endowed with a gift at the same time very striking and almost universally appreciated, namely a force of character which amounted almost to heroism. President of the chamber before he became prime-minister, he was the man of the majority. His policy may be very briefly summed up: order at home maintained by such means as were authorised by the charter and the law; peace abroad, without sacrificing in the slightest degree the honour of the nation; in foreign affairs three great questions claimed the attention of the French government—Belgium, Poland, and Italy. When Casimir Périer was called upon for a statement of his policy before the chambers, he said: "The principle already laid down of non-intervention is the one we will adopt," and his actions verified his words.

In 1831 the centre of Italy was occupied by the Austrians on the pretext of overcoming revolution. On the 2nd of February the conclave proclaimed Gregory XVI sovereign pontiff. In order to pacify men's minds, the European powers addressed a memorial to the pope in which they pointed out such reforms as seemed to them likely to appease the dissatisfaction of his subjects. The pope refused to pledge himself, so secret societies were again formed and rebellion broke out anew. Gregory XVI appealed to the Austrians for help. Austria by granting it violated the principle of non-intervention.

Casimir Périer, in the name of France, protested in a way that might have brought about war; on the 7th of February a French fleet carrying a line regiment left Toulon and arrived on the 22nd within sight of Ancona. The troops landed during the night and the town was taken. The pope, indignant, cried, "Such an attempt has not been made against the holy see since the time of the Saracens." The government made known its intentions. It would protect the holy father even against attacks from within, but it would not suffer Austria to rule in his states; to the foreign ambassadors, who in the name of public justice called upon him for an explanation, Casimir Périer replied, "It is I who defend the rights of Europe at large. Do you think it is easy to keep the peace and insist on the observance of treaties? The honour of France must be maintained." The pope soon agreed to what he was powerless to prevent. Austria did not pick up the gauntlet which had been thrown down. The Austrian troops evacuated the legations and, on the 24th of October, 1833, the French soldiers set sail for France.

Poland had attempted in 1830 to release herself from the iron grasp of Russia. The institutions granted by the czar Alexander and guaranteed by Europe in 1815 had fallen one by one under the persistent attacks of the Russian government. When the emperor Nicholas came to Warsaw to be crowned in 1829, he refused to revoke the measures of which Poland complained. In the evening of the 29th of November, 1830, at a signal given by means of two fires, an insurrection broke out in Warsaw and the Russian army retired. But the Poles were divided amongst themselves, and the emperor of Russia took advantage of the time wasted by them. A desperate battle, lasting for two days, did not shake the determination of the Poles,

who resisted the Russians for several months. In the meantime they claimed help from the western nations, especially from France, who made them understand that they must not expect any support from her arms. At the same time France reminded Russia of the sacredness of treaties, and proposed to act as a mediator. She begged the other European nations to succour the Poles, but without result.

After the disaster, all she could do was to open her arms to the exiles. This she did eagerly, and gave an asylum to ten thousand Polish refugees. In the streets the mob constantly cried: "Poland forever!" and pursued with this cry the great administrator.<sup>f</sup>

Casimir Périer was the only man capable of controlling the situation and of directing what was called the party of the opposition. But he was not inclined to make himself the tool of anyone. He had demanded, together with the presidency of the council, the ministry of the interior. He declared that he intended to preside actively over the council and that the king should not be present. He thought that where responsibility is located, there should also be the power of action. He was resolved to practice the principle laid down by Thiers in *Le National* before the Days of July: "The king reigns, but does not govern."<sup>c</sup>

He plainly stated two things: that he wished legal order and that he would consequently fight the republicans and legitimists to the death; that he would not precipitate France into a universal war, and consequently that he would make all sacrifices to the peace of the world, which were compatible with the honour of the country. This language sounded proud; action confirmed it.<sup>f</sup>

Dom Miguel in Portugal had treated two Frenchmen outrageously. A fleet forced its way through the straits of the Tagus, hitherto considered impregnable, and anchored at three hundred *toises* from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbled themselves, and a just reparation was made. The Dutch had invaded Belgium: fifty thousand Frenchmen advanced thither and the Dutch flag gave way.

In the interior the president of the council followed with the same energy the line of conduct he had laid down for himself. Legitimists agitated the departments of the west. Mobile columns extinguished the revolt. The working-classes of Lyons, incited by too severe suffering, but also by agitators, had rebelled, inscribing on their banner this sad and sinister device: "Live in working or die in fighting." After a frightful *mêlée* in the city itself, they were disarmed and order appeared re-established on the surface. Grenoble in its turn ran with blood.<sup>c</sup>

In Paris the different parties were not wanting in energy. Two legitimist plots broke out—first, that of "the Towers of Notre-Dame." Six individuals secreted themselves in the bell-tower of the cathedral to ring the tocsin and thus give the signal for insurrection. They were arrested and imprisoned. The following month a new conspiracy was discovered, that of the "rue des Prouvaires." The agent Poncelet had managed to enrol twenty-five hundred men in Paris. At a given moment these men were to rise and carry off the royal family by force. They were arrested in rue des Prouvaires. However, the government was attacked by the papers of all parties with an ever-increasing bitterness. In speaking of Frenchmen M. de Montalivet used the word "subjects," and someone cried: "What about the minister?" and a deputy added: "Men who make kings are not subjects."

Soon after this the overwhelming anxiety caused by a terrible epidemic of cholera absorbed the thoughts and attention of the whole nation. The

[1832 A.D.]

scourge, which came originally from India, had already spread all over the Old World from China and Russia to England. It spread from town to town and from capital to capital defying all efforts to arrest its progress. It broke out in Paris on the 26th of March, 1832, raged for a hundred and eighty-nine days and carried off nineteen thousand persons.<sup>1</sup> It spread through twenty-seven departments. Casimir Périer had visited the hospital with the duke of Orleans; two days afterwards he was confined to his bed. His health had for some time been feeble, and he died on the 16th of May after severe and protracted suffering. When Louis Philippe heard of his death he said to one who was present: "Casimir Périer is dead: is it a blessing or a misfortune? The future will show." The king was not always quite comfortable with such an imperious minister.<sup>4</sup>

## LOMÉNIE'S ESTIMATE OF CASIMIR PÉRIER

No man better understood or did more to maintain representative government than Périer. That is to say he thought the government should be carried on under an open sky, so to speak, and always under the eyes and control of the country. It has been truly said of him that he governed from the tribunal, and that he was sometimes indiscreet in his fear of not being sufficiently frank. No statesman ever had a stronger sense of the duties or of the rights appertaining to responsibility and the exercise of power. He wished the throne to be respected and to be worthy of respect as the chief magistracy of the kingdom, but he wished it to remain inviolable and strictly within its own exalted sphere, ruling over parties without mixing in them.

An open enemy of what has since been called personal government, Périer was no less hostile to emergency laws; he refused them, with equal firmness before the entreaties of his friends and the representations of his enemies. His courageous confidence in public opinion always made him look on the common law energetically administered as the only instrument which could be suitably employed by the "government of July." "Our system of home policy," he would say, "is to make the laws of the land our constant rule of action, to support the government by restoring to it the power and unity which it lacks, to reinstate and tranquillise all sorts of interests, by giving them guarantees of order and stability, to respect the laws and to draw from our legislative system and the moral strength which arises from it, all our methods of action and of influence; it is in short never to consent to form a party government and, while keeping a strict watch over any intrigues that may be woven in secret, never to yield to the temptation of crushing the vanquished; for, in so doing, victory is dishonoured."

In his dealings with other nations the language and behaviour of the statesman of the 13th of March were always worthy of France. He desired peace but he would not have sacrificed either the interests or honour of his country to preserve it. He would not rashly enter upon a quarrel but when once he had declared himself he never drew back, and when he considered the moment for action had arrived, he acted quite independently without the sanction of anyone else. Thus he entered Belgium entirely on his own initiative and without waiting for the conference of London to authorise him in doing so. Thus he blockaded and took the port of Lisbon, without troubling himself about the dissatisfaction of England. It was thus that in order to convince Austria that she had better retire from the Roman states he could find no better way than forcing an entry into Ancona and establish-

[<sup>1</sup> In the whole of France it counted 120,000 victims in 1832.c]



ing himself there. Thus it was in short that he was capable, with a vivacity which was characteristically French, of reducing to silence a Russian ambassador who dared to speak to him about the "decisions" of the emperor.

To sum up: whatever judgment we may form of the political career of Casimir Périer, it would be impossible for any unprejudiced person to fail to recognise in him two valuable qualities which essentially distinguished him, namely: energy and loyalty.<sup>1</sup>

#### SUCCEEDING MINISTRIES

Montalivet replaced Casimir Périer in the office of minister for home affairs, but not in the presidency of the council. Louis Philippe did not care to share the power with a viceroy. Laborious, intelligent, gifted with a fine sense of honour, unimpulsive, courageous as he was merciful and easy-tempered, the king was impressed by his own superiority, and wished to direct the government himself, and to establish what he called his 'system.' He was too inclined to attribute the merit of success to himself. For a long time he sought to place at the head of the cabinet a president who would inspire confidence in foreign nations, and to induce orators to enter who could defend his politics victoriously before the chambers. His ideas led to the resignation of Sébastiani and Montalivet, looked upon as court followers; the formation of the ministry of October 11th, composed of Marshal Soult the president, with Broglie, minister of foreign affairs, Thiers, home secretary; Guizot, minister of education. Humann, minister of finance, Admiral de Rigny, Barthe, and d'Argout; and the creation of sixty-two new peers.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile society had been moved to its lowest depths by the partisans of Saint-Simon and of Fourier, who demanded another social order. They themselves still played the part of mere apostles of peace, but the insurrection at Lyons had shown that among the proletariat there was a whole army ready to apply their doctrines. The national guard energetically defended the monarchy, when, in consequence of the obsequies attending the funeral of General Lamarque, the republicans gave battle behind the barricades of St. Merry on the 5th and 6th of June. This check arrested their party for some time. A month later (July 22nd, 1832) the death of Napoleon's son, the duke of Reichstadt, relieved the Orleanist dynasty of a redoubtable rival and the marriage of Princess Louise with the king of the Belgians seemed to give it an added support.

Another pretender also lost her cause. The duchess de Berri, who had landed secretly on the coasts of Provence with the title of regent, was come to stir up civil war in the west, in the name of her son Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendéans or royalists of the Loire (Chouans) in existence. The new ideas had made way there as elsewhere, and more than elsewhere even. "Those people are patriots and republicans," said an officer charged to combat them. A few nobles, some refractory persons, few peasants responded to the call. The country, overrun with troops, was quickly pacified, and the duchess, after wandering for a long time from farm to farm, entered Nantes, disguised as a peasant. This adventurous attempt showed the weakness of the legitimist party. To complete its ruin Thiers, who was at that time minister, instituted an active search for the duchess.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Müller says that she was betrayed to the authorities by a Jew named Delz who was paid 500,000 francs. "Her relative Louis Philippe was relieved from his predicament as to her disposal by her giving birth to a daughter whose paternity she could not satisfactorily explain. She was allowed to go to Palermo and the legitimists ceased for a time to be willing to risk their heroes and heroines on the slippery ground of France. They fixed their only hope on a general reaction."]

[1832-1834 A.D.]

Discovered on the 7th of November and imprisoned at Blaye, she was obliged to confess to a secret marriage which made any other attempt of the same kind impossible for the future.

The capture by French soldiers of the citadel of Antwerp which the Dutch refused to give up to the Belgians put an end to the critical situation from which war might result at any moment (December 23rd, 1832). The occupation of Arzeu, of Mostaganem, and of Bougie confirmed the French occupation of Algeria, and these expeditions to the border of the Schelde and on the shores of the Mediterranean brought some glory to French arms.

In Portugal, Dom Miguel, absolutist prince, had been dethroned in the interests of Donna Maria, who gave the people a constitutional charter. In Spain, Ferdinand VII was on the point of death, excluding from the crown, with the abolishment of the Salic law, his brother Don Carlos, who was sustained by the retrograde party. Thus the whole peninsula escaped from an absolutist party at the same time.<sup>f</sup>

In the discussion on the budget of 1833 the opposition combated the idea of raising detached forts round Paris, "making a Bastille of it." In such an act they saw a danger to liberty. The revolutionists appealed to the national guard and the working-classes, and prepared to celebrate the July anniversary. The plot was unearthed by the police, who seized the stores of arms and arrested several heads of sections. Later on, nearly all the accused were acquitted because the plot had been without result. The acquittments led to deplorable results. The republicans organised strikes. On October 23rd, the *Société des droits de l'homme* published a manifesto in *La Tribune* and put themselves under the patronage of Robespierre.

The new session opened December 22nd, 1833. The republicans who had signed the *Tribune* manifesto were called upon to declare themselves. New repressive laws were passed: one, 17th February, 1834, against street-criers; this was followed on the 24th by a rising, which was promptly suppressed. On March 25th a severe law was issued against associations. Not more than twenty persons were to meet. The cognisance of political offences committed by them belonged to a jury; that of infractions of the law to the ordinary tribunals, and attempts against the safety of the state to the chamber of peers. The opposition vainly brought all their forces to weaken these provisions, but the majority was a strong one and obtained a decisive triumph. A law was passed against the fabrication or storing of arms and ammunition. The government was henceforward armed with every possible means of resistance, and yet these were not called emergency laws.<sup>h</sup>

The Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed April 22nd, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon, and Madrid, promised to the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the sure support of two great constitutional countries, against the ill-will of the northern courts. In France these promises even led to some effect. To sustain the young queen Isabella, in case of need, against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists, an army corps of fifty thousand men was organised at the foot of the Pyrenees.<sup>f</sup>

#### FIESCHI'S INFERNAL MACHINE AND THE "SEPTEMBER LAWS"

For some time rumours of plots against the king's life had been in circulation. There was, so to speak, a presage of evil in the air. The public was uneasy. The republican and legitimist newspapers attributed these reports

to the police; but they had too real a foundation. The police had not invented conspiracies, but had prevented many; nor it was said in France and abroad that there would be an attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe during the annual review of July 28th. This might have no other origin than the thought of the opportunity that this day offered to the king's enemies; but from July 26th to 27th, the rumours grew more distinct; the police was warned that an infernal machine had been constructed, and that the blow would be struck near the boulevard du Temple; they made diligent search but without success. It was most imprudent to pass the troops in review on the boulevards, where an unexpected attack would be so easy, rather than in the Champ de Mars.

The information by which the police had been unable to profit was unfortunately not imaginary. At the moment when the royal procession reached the boulevard du Temple, on the spot where the Jardin Turc then was, the king perceived a puff of smoke burst forth from beneath the shutters of a house on the boulevard. He quickly exclaimed to one of his sons who was beside him, "Joinville, that is intended for me."

A loud detonation was heard, the roadway was strewn with slain and wounded; more than forty people fell. Among the dead was Marshal Mortier, who had escaped so many battles to perish, murdered in Paris, by a blow intended for another. With him were killed a general officer, superior officers of the army and of the national guard, some old men and women. Five other generals were wounded. The horses of the king and the prince de Joinville had been struck, but the projectiles whistled around the king and his sons without touching them.

In the midst of the universal terror, Louis Philippe said composedly, "Now, gentlemen, let us proceed." And he finished his progress amongst the acclamations of the national guard and the indignant populace. The police hastened to the spot whence the explosions had proceeded; it proved to be a small house of mean appearance, No. 50, boulevard du Temple. They found here a machine composed of twenty-four gun-barrels arranged like organ-pipes. There was no one in the room; but, in a neighbouring courtyard, a man who had descended from the roof, by means of a rope, was arrested. He was covered with blood and mutilated — he had been wounded by his own machine, several of the gun-barrels having burst. He said his name was Girard, but it was soon discovered that he was a Corsican, called Fieschi.

The public feeling was one of horror at this outrage, which as in the case of the first infernal machine directed against Bonaparte had indiscriminately struck so many victims whilst attempting to reach the intended one. The reaction produced was profitable to the king, whose brave composure was praised. The population took part with emotion in the solemn obsequies of the dead, which were held on July 28th. Then followed the same consequences as after the assassination of the duke de Berri; free institutions paid for Fieschi's crime, as they had paid for that of Louvel. On August 4th, in imitation of the royalist ministry of 1820, Louis Philippe's ministers presented to the chamber of deputies a number of restrictive and reactionary laws.

After the catastrophe which had just terrified Paris and France, it was not to be wondered at that all possible precautions should be taken to protect the king's person against hatreds which were manifested in so terrible a manner, but far more than this was intended. The bills interdicted not only all offensive allusion to the king's person, but all discussion regarding his claims to the throne, and the principle of his government. It was forbidden to

[1835 A.D.]

assume the name of republican, and to express a desire for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons. The number of votes necessary for the condemnation of accused persons was reduced from eight to seven out of twelve in the jury; it was the simple majority instead of the two-thirds. The offences of exciting hatred or contempt of the king's person, or of his constitutional authority, were in these bills made crimes liable to be brought before the court of peers. The penalties were increased in extravagant proportions. Terms of imprisonment were much lengthened and fines were raised from ten thousand to fifty thousand francs. In proportion as the penalties were increased the difficulty of escaping them was augmented not only by changes in jurisdiction, but by the introduction of a flood of new definitions.

The deposits required of newspapers were considerably increased. All the illustrations and engravings were submitted to preliminary authorisation, that is to say, to the censorship. Some republican artists of much talent had made caricature a perfect implement of war against Louis Philippe and against all men of the *Juste Milieu*; they had far surpassed the English in this style of polemics, the sharpest and most incisive of all. The new laws broke this weapon in their hands.

The constitutional opposition resisted energetically; it felt that the government of July, by seeking to exaggerate its actual strength, was risking its future. There was deep emotion in the assembly when Royer-Collard, the aged head of the doctrinal school, recalled to constitutional principles his disciples, Broglie and Guizot. He worthily crowned his career by his grand and austere defence of legitimate liberty. One seemed to have gone back to the Restoration, and it was the doctrinaires and one of the liberal parties who replaced Villèle and Peyronnet.

Dupin, with less haughtiness, but plenty of common-sense and logic, also supported the cause of press and jury. But all in vain. The majority was maddened by Fieschi's attempt, and voted for everything; even increasing the terms proposed. The chamber of peers followed the chamber of deputies. There also, however, eloquent protests were made; Villemain, Guizot's former and celebrated colleague at the Sorbonne, made a brilliant but ineffectual defence of liberty. The laws against press and jury were termed the "laws of September," because the decisive vote took place on the 9th of that month. The republicans called them the "Fieschi laws."<sup>c</sup>

#### THE RISE OF THIERS AND GUIZOT

Amongst the prominent possibilities for ministerial power two were specially prominent—Guizot and Thiers. Guizot was a Protestant and a native of Nîmes. He was still quite young in 1815, but had already occupied important positions. At first an enthusiastic royalist, the extremist members of his party had driven him to join the opposition. As a professor of history he had won the applause of his pupils. His mind was dry but powerful; as a writer he was stiff but dignified; in the tribune the ideas he expressed were methodically formulated and his style was cold and haughty; in public life he maintained an attitude of proud severity. Since Royer-Collard had grown too old for public functions Guizot had been the leading man of the "theoretical politicians." This name was given at the Restoration to a party of men whose power consisted more in their talents than in their number (a wag had said that the whole party could sit on one sofa). The name did not imply that they were consistently attached to the same

theories for long together, but there was a certain sententiousness in their language which justified the title.

Guizot was the historian and the theoretical exponent of the policy whose statesman had been Casimir Périer. He had founded a historical and philosophical system on the power given to the upper middle class, that is to say on the most ephemeral of expedients. His past life and his opinions constituted him the most conservative of the Orleanist party.

Thiers was just the reverse; at that time he was young and modern; a little rotund man, with a peculiar face already adorned by the traditional spectacles, sparkling with wit and vivacity, very supple minded, clever in adapting himself to circumstances, understanding or at least in touch with everything, drawn to the people by the poverty of his early life and by his ardent enthusiasm, imbued with the history of the empire, an ardent admirer of military exploits and of strong measures, he presented, during six years of uninterrupted rivalry, the strongest possible contrast to Guizot.

Guizot and Thiers both became members of the same government that of the 11th of October, 1833. This ministry passed through many vicissitudes, was modified several times, and had many different chiefs.

The marked feature of all succeeding combinations, the union of Guizot and Thiers, disappeared in 1836. For a short time Thiers was alone. But the king had made a plan of his own, and on the 15th of April, 1837, as we shall see, he made Molé prime minister. Molé's chief merit in the king's eyes was that he was ready to do as he was told; in short, he acknowledged the king as his master. The idea of a personal government made men of all shades of opinion, and even those who were bitter rivals, unite against the new minister. Thiers, Guizot, and the man who wished to bring the new régime back to the traditions of the Revolution of 1830, Odilon Barrot, formed a coalition which included men of every party who had united with all those who had taken leading parts in the government of July. Molé tried to make himself popular. He set free political prisoners, and resolved to grant the amnesty which everyone, as everyone always does, had declared to be impossible, but which everybody, and this too is a common occurrence, applauded as soon as it was accomplished. The amnesty reflects credit on the Molé ministry, but it did not save it. It succumbed in 1839 beneath the repeated attacks of its opponents.

The latter split up into sections immediately after their victory. A crisis which seemed interminable supervened. For two months, abortive measures and manœuvres which became the laughing-stock of the newspapers perpetually proclaimed the inefficacy of the government. It was only when, during an insurrection, the sound of firing was heard, that a ministry was formed in which neither of the leaders of the party had a place. This was the last expedient of the reign. Soon, after so many short ministries, there was to be one which was too durable and which was to put an end to the existing state of things.

The struggle between Thiers and Guizot occupied the closing years of the reign. On the 1st of March, 1840, Louis Philippe decided to request Thiers to form a government. In doing this the king acknowledged himself defeated: first because Thiers was most intolerant of the king's interference in affairs of state, and secondly because he represented the boldest element, the section which was most nearly allied to the Left benches, of the Orleanist party. Louis Philippe resigned himself, not without misgivings, to this state of things, and Guizot agreed to absent himself from the debates in the chamber, and even to serve under his rival by accepting the embassy in London.

[1834-1840 A.D.]

And what was Thiers going to do that would not have been done by a docile instrument of the king? He gave up all the reforms, and all the principles in whose name he had just made such a determined opposition. The minister's language was different, his relations with the left benches were dissimilar, but the policy was the same. Thiers began by refusing either to change anything in the repressive laws made during the previous ten years, or to undertake any electoral reform. One or two hundred thousand rich men would continue to vote and to govern, to the exclusion of the ten million citizens; and, in order to keep the latter in subjection, all the weapons which had been forged during the government of July for the maintenance of authority were preserved.

Outside the kingdom Thiers did nothing more; indeed he could do nothing. The fact was it was difficult enough for him to get the king to accept him at all. Unpopular and feeling his position continually threatened at the Tuileries, he dared not act. He governed, but was paralysed by opposition.

Only two measures were prepared by him, and he had not time to carry them through. He formed the plan for the fortification of Paris, a plan which was variously regarded by different parties. The liberals looked upon it as a military precaution against foreign foes; the court as a means of subduing Paris in case of need. The events of 1870 sufficiently proved that, from a national point of view, Thiers was right. The plan was revived by Marshal Soult during the next ministry and was sanctioned. Thus, thirty years later, Paris was able to defend herself.

With Thiers, too, originated the idea of bringing back the remains of Napoleon I in triumph from St. Helena and placing them in the Invalides. Thus more warlike ideas, which would have given France a prouder position amongst the nations of Europe, but which were held in check by the king, and which the minister found himself obliged to abandon one after another, were all merged in a sort of funeral procession in honour of the conqueror who, in the name of France, had dictated laws to the whole world. We may now review in some detail the ministries from 1836 to 1840, first noting the war with Abdul-Kadir.<sup>a</sup>

#### WAR WITH ABDUL-KADIR

In the province of Oran a new power had arisen, one very dangerous to the French, that of a young Arab chief, full of courage and intelligence, the descendant of a family which exercised a hereditary religious influence. Abdul-Kadir presented himself to the Moslem tribes as being the man whom the prophet Mohammed had destined to deliver them from the "Rumis" (Christians). General Desmichels, who commanded at Oran was imprudent enough to treat Abdul-Kadir as an equal and to recognise him as the emir, the prince of all the Moslems of that country (February 25th, 1834). French authority thus imposed Abdul-Kadir on those very Moslems who till then had not wished to submit to him. He was not content with dominating the province of Oran, where the French occupied only a few points; he presumed to establish his lieutenants even in the province of Algeria.

A rupture was inevitable; and, at the battle of the Macta, a small French force commanded by General Trézel disengaged itself only with great difficulty and loss from the midst of large numbers of Arabs united under Abdul-Kadir (June 26th, 1835). The French government decided finally to send into Africa General (later Marshal) Clausel, accompanied by the duke of

Orleans. Marshal Clausel took the offensive against Abdul-Kadir, scored a victory at Mascara, the residence of the emir, and occupied Tlemcen (November, 1835-January, 1836). These were the two principal cities of the province of Oran.

The marshal, however, had not received sufficient forces; Abdul-Kadir might continue the war, and, on the other hand, the bey of Constantine, who ruled in the east of Algeria and constituted another independent power in that region, was defying and harassing the French. Clausel returned to Paris to ask for reinforcements. It was during the ministry of Thiers, who had understood the necessity of putting an end to half-measures. He would have enabled Clausel to act on a large scale. Unfortunately he fell and his successors did not inherit his broad views. Clausel did not have at his disposal all the resources which he thought necessary to make an attack upon Constantine. There was necessity for it, however, if all authority in the eastern province was not to be lost. The weather was bad, the season advanced. Clausel decided nevertheless to risk the expedition.

The marshal set out from Bona November 8th, 1836, with a small force of less than nine thousand men, including some native auxiliaries. He arrived before Constantine on the 21st, after having crossed the Little Atlas with great difficulty in the midst of winter rains which made this rugged country almost impassable. As Ahmed Bey was unpopular, it had been hoped that the Kabyle and Arab tribes would join the French. But upon seeing the numerical weakness of the French, they remained on the side of the bey and the French troops saw them upon their flanks while the city was defended by a strong garrison well provided with artillery. The ground was so soft that it had not even been possible to bring up the light field-guns on this kind of isthmus.

A double attack failed. Provisions and even munitions were growing scarce. Retreat became inevitable. It was forty leagues to Bona and the French troops must cross the mountains harassed by thousands of Arab horsemen. The Arabs tried to destroy the rearguard, where a weak battalion of the 2nd light cavalry was protecting the ammunition wagons loaded with the wounded. The Arab cavalry threw themselves in a body upon this handful of men. The commandant Changarnier gave orders to form a square and resolutely await the multitude of enemies. The fire of two ranks at pistol range covered the ground with men and horses. The Arabs were thoroughly tired of the charge and contented themselves henceforth with sharpshooting at a distance. This incident made the military fortune of the commandant Changarnier.

Marshal Clausel conducted the retreat to Bona with much vigour and skill. The ministry, with which he was not in favour, made him bear all the responsibility of this defeat and recalled him. They appointed General Damrémont to succeed him, but returned to the bad system of having a general at Oran who was independent of the governor of Algiers. General Bugeaud, who had the reputation of an energetic officer, was sent to Oran; there was reason to hope that he would dispose of Abdul-Fadir. But he allowed himself to be entangled in the diplomatic schemes of the Arab chief and signed a new treaty with him worse than that of his predecessor, Desmichels. In return for a vague acceptance of the sovereignty of France, Bugeaud recognised Abdul-Kadir as emir, not only of nearly the whole of the province of Oran, but of the province of Titery, intermediate between the provinces of Oran and Algiers; he even conceded to him a part of the territory of Algiers. Abdul-Kadir's authority extended then beyond Medea,

[1836-1837 A.D.]

to the last chain of the Little Atlas, above Blida, in fact) into the Metidja itself. The wretched Treaty of the Tafna thus meant a precarious peace which gave the emir the means and the time to organise a strong opposition. The governor of Algiers at least made use of it to operate in the province of Constantine and repair the losses of Clausel; for it had been felt to be impossible to remain quiet under this blow.

General Damrémont had not a much larger force than Clausel — 10,000 men altogether; but he set out much earlier in the season, well provisioned and equipped with siege guns. The army arrived before Fort Constantine in the best of condition on the 6th of October. The autumn rains had begun. Unprecedented efforts were necessary to drag the cannon up Coudia-Aty. The breach, nevertheless, was opened the 11th of October. On the following morning General Damrémont approached to reconnoitre the breach. He was instantly killed by a bullet. The loss of this brave leader, instead of disheartening the army, inspired it. An old soldier of the republic, the artillery-general Valée, took the command, immediately ordered the firing to recommence, and on the morning of the 13th sent three columns to the assault. The first was in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lamoricière, and was composed principally of Zouaves. This corps, since become so famous, had originally been formed of native auxiliaries and retained its picturesque oriental costume, though recruited with Frenchmen and frequently with Parisians. Lamoricière impetuously spurred on his men, scaled the breach, and penetrated into the city, supported by the other two columns. A bloody struggle was kept up from house to house in the narrow streets and amid the ruins made by the cannon. Lamoricière was cruelly burned by the explosion of a powder magazine, but he survived and had a brilliant military career.

When the French columns had united in the middle of the city, what was left of the Mussulman authorities surrendered, and the firing ceased. A frightful scene marked the end of resistance. A great number of the inhabitants had madly attempted to escape from the city by descending the jagged rocks of the gorge of the Rummel. Many of these unfortunates tumbled from rock to rock and were dashed to pieces in the bed of the torrent. The conquest of the ancient capital of Numidia gave France a firm base for the future in the interior of Algeria. The event did the army much honour; but the ministry did not derive from the amnesty nor from the taking of Constantine the hoped-for effect upon the elections.<sup>c</sup>

#### MINISTERIAL CRISES (1836 A.D.)

Between 1836 and 1840, the cabinet was modified five times successively: its leaders were Thiers, Count Molé, Broglie, Marshal Soult, and once again Thiers.

In the first ministry of Thiers the cabinet did not last long. Thiers soon settled the internal difficulties; he succeeded in adjourning the conversion of stock, and was supported by the majority of the chamber. It was during this ministry that one of the men who were to a great extent responsible for the revolution of July, having, with Thiers and Mignet, founded *Le National*, disappeared from the scene. Armand Carrel, separated from his former colleagues, had ardently embraced republican doctrines of which his paper soon became the mouthpiece; he had however rejected communism. A political quarrel with M. de Girardin who had just founded *La Presse* brought about a duel in which the editor of *Le National*



was mortally wounded. He died at St. Mandé, after having refused the consolations of religion, saying that he died in the faith of Benjamin Constant, of Manuel, and of Liberty. The home policy of Thiers was very judicious but his foreign policy was a failure. Wishing to restore France to the position she had formerly occupied amongst the powers of Europe, Thiers was anxious for the French government to interfere in Spanish affairs by sending troops to put a stop to the civil war in Spain, by repulsing Don Carlos and by supporting the young queen Isabella II. The king took fright at the idea of an expedition into the Peninsula. "Let us help the Spaniards from without," he said, "but do not let us embark on their ship; if we do we shall certainly have to take the helm, and God knows what will happen." Thiers sent in his resignation and was succeeded by Molé and Guizot.

The union of these two ministers did not last long and was brought to an end by an important event.

#### THE STRASBURG BONAPARTIST PLOT

This ministry had not been in existence two months when the attempt made at Strasburg by Louis Bonaparte took place.

The nephew of Napoleon I had been living for some years at the castle of Arenenberg in Switzerland with his mother, and was a captain of artillery in the Swiss army. The continual risings which took place in France, and the letters of his partisans, made him believe that the time had come for attempting, by means of a military revolution, to replace on the throne the Napoleonic dynasty of which he was the head now that the duke of Reichstadt was dead. He had succeeded in opening communications with the garrison of Strasburg. On the 29th of October, 1836, he arrived at Strasburg. The next day at five o'clock in the morning, Colonel Vaudrey presented him to the fourth artillery regiment. For a few moments he succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of the soldiers who cried "Long live Napoleon! Long live the Emperor!" But the 46th line regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Taillandier, turned a deaf ear to these outcries and remained faithful to their duty. By order of their commanding officer, the infantry surrounded Louis Bonaparte and took him prisoner. Louis Philippe sent him to America. The other conspirators were brought to trial and acquitted, for the jury were unwilling to pronounce them guilty when the chief culprit had been sent away unpunished.

This acquittal made the government uneasy and the "bill of Separation," or law of Disjunction, was brought before the chambers. This bill provided that when civil and military offenders were both implicated in the same plot, the former only should be tried at the assizes, and the others by a court martial. The bill, which was fiercely attacked by Berryer, was rejected. The ministry were unable to survive this reverse. A ministerial crisis supervened, and ten days were spent in intrigues and negotiations, but eventually the court party led by Molé carried the day.

Molé remained in power nearly two years. Four important events relating to foreign policy took place during this ministry. The first was the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son. This young prince married on the 30th of May, 1837, the Lutheran princess Helen of Mecklenburg. It was on the occasion of this marriage that the galleries of Versailles, containing sculptures and paintings illustrating the chief events of French history, were thrown open to the public. An amnesty was granted to all criminal and political offenders who were then in prison. The second public

[1838-1840 A.D.]

act of the ministry was their intervention in America. The Mexican government refused to make any reparation for injuries suffered by French merchants. A fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Baudin and the prince de Joinville bombarded the fort of San Juan de Ulúa near Vera Cruz. By the treaty of March 9th Mexico granted the claims of France. An intervention of the same kind took place in Buenos Ayres, but it was many years before the required reparation was obtained.

The republic of Haiti, formerly under French rule, had obtained its independence in 1825 by paying an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs to the original colonists. The payment of this indemnity was so long delayed that it was found necessary to send a fleet to these parts also. The republic thus intimidated, yielded and agreed to pay 60,000,000 francs, which sum the French consented to accept. The other two events, which have been already recorded, were the recognition of Belgium and the evacuation of Ancona.

The ministry was keenly attacked by the coalition. The heads of parties in the chamber, Thiers, Guizot, and Odilon Barrot, united against M. Molé. The debate on the address in reply to the king's speech was very heated (January, 1839). M. Molé obtained only a very slight majority in favour of the amendments, which he himself proposed, to this document, which was drawn up in a spirit very hostile to the ministry. He wished to retire, but the king retained him and dissolved the chamber. The elections went in favour of the coalition. Molé retired on the 8th of March, 1839. Parliamentary tradition triumphed over monarchical tradition. The deputies had vanquished the king, of whom Thiers said "he reigns but he does not govern."

For two months all sorts of systems and plans were discussed. The three chiefs could not agree; each one wished to have the chief power. The king, who did not much relish being ruled by them, put them aside saying, "Gentlemen, try to come to an agreement." Provisional ministers were appointed to carry on the necessary business. Their names were greeted by peals of laughter and by gibes. The disorder became so great that the republican party took advantage of it to raise an insurrection. On the 12th of May the society called "The Seasons," led by Barbès and Blanqui, attacked an armourer's store. Being repulsed, they entrenched themselves behind a barricade. After a desperate resistance, they were almost all killed or taken prisoners. Barbès and Blanqui were condemned to death, but their punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life. However, they were released in 1848. On the very evening of this attempted rising a regular ministry was formed.

#### THE SOULT MINISTRY

This ministry lasted only ten months. At this period the Eastern question began to occupy public attention, but its difficulties were not the cause of the fall of the ministry, which was due to the disagreements on the question of a royal dowry. The marriage of the duke de Nemours seemed to Louis Philippe a suitable occasion for demanding for his son an income of half a million, to be provided from the public treasury. Public opinion was very hostile to such demands for money. Numerous petitions called on the chamber to refuse the dowry. The day for deciding the question by vote arrived. The ministry, feeling certain of success, did not defend the measure, and realised what an error had been committed only when the votes were counted and two hundred and twenty-six black balls were announced

against two hundred white ones. The ministry went out of office. M. Thiers loved revolutions, glory, and fighting, and professed a sort of cult for the genius of the emperor. These predilections being in accordance with popular feeling, he was recalled to power.

Since 1792 Louis Philippe had been fearing lest a victory of his foreign foes might encourage them to march on Paris, which was undefended. In 1814 and in 1817 he had vainly tried to induce Louis XVIII to render the heart of France invulnerable, by the adequate fortification of Paris. Since 1830 all propositions in favour of carrying out this scheme had been frustrated. At length, however, the march of events supplemented the king's convictions and perseverance. France was apprehensive of a war with the whole of Europe. A French defeat, and a bold march on the part of the enemy might lead to the taking of Paris. A bill was passed for encircling Paris with ramparts protected by enormous forts. This work, which was carried out in less than seven years, cost 140,000,000 francs.

#### THE RETURN OF NAPOLEON'S REMAINS

Either as a means of exciting patriotic feeling or in accordance with the policy which wished to found the government of July on the renown of the first Napoleon, the king, in accordance with his ministers, resolved to demand from England the ashes of the emperor, who had died at St. Helena. Lord Palmerston granted the demand, and the prince de Joinville, on board the frigate *Belle Poule*, went to fetch these precious relics.<sup>i</sup>

The frigate made a good passage, and arrived in safety at St. Helena. The officers intrusted with the melancholy duty were received with the utmost respect by the English garrison, and every preparation was made to give due solemnity to the disinterment of the emperor's remains. The solitary tomb under the willow tree was opened, the winding-sheet rolled back with pious care, and the features of the immortal hero exposed to the view of the entranced spectators. So perfectly had the body been embalmed that the features were undecayed, the countenance serene, ever a smile on the lips, and his dress the same, since immortalised in statuary, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. Borne first on a magnificent hearse, and then down to the harbour on the shoulders of the British grenadiers, amidst the discharge of artillery from the vessels, batteries, and all parts of the island, the body was lowered into the French frigate, and England nobly and in a right spirit parted with the proudest trophy of her national glory. The *Belle Poule* had a favourable voyage home, and reached Havre in safety in the beginning of December. The interment was fixed for the 15th of the same month — not at St. Denis, amidst her ancient sovereigns, but in the church of the Invalides, beside the graves of Turenne, Vauban, Lannes, and the paladins of France; and every preparation was made for giving the utmost magnificence to the absorbing spectacle.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and excitement which prevailed in Paris when the day fixed for the august ceremony arrived. The weather was favourable; the sun shone forth in unclouded brilliancy, but a piercing wind from the north blew with such severity that several persons perished of cold as they were waiting for the funeral procession. Early on the morning of the 15th, the coffin, which had been brought by the Seine to Courbevoie the preceding evening, was placed on a gigantic funeral-car, and at ten it began its march, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators. So dense

[1840 A.D.]

was the throng that it was half-past one when the procession reached the place de la Concorde, from whence it passed by the bridge of the same name to the church of the Invalides, where it was received by the king, the royal family, with the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. "Sire," said the prince de Joinville, who approached at the head of the coffin, "I present to you the body of the emperor Napoleon." "General Bertrand," said the king, "I command you to place the sword of the emperor on his coffin." When this was done, he said, "General Gourgaud, place the hat of the emperor on his coffin." This also was done; and, the king having withdrawn, the coffin was placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, the funeral service was performed with the utmost solemnity, and the *Dies Iræ* chanted with inexpressible effect by a thousand voices. Finally, the coffin, amidst entrancing melody, was lowered into the grave, while every eye in the vast assemblage was wet with tears, and the bones of Napoleon "finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well."<sup>d</sup>

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION

France intervened in the interests of the pacha of Egypt, for whose success she was anxious, though she did not desire the destruction of Turkey. The pacha checked the march of his victorious army. France and England ought to have come to an understanding, for their interests were similar; but England was jealous of France's position in Egypt. Besides, the czar Nicholas hated Louis Philippe. In London a conference met to discuss the affairs of the East; Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia signed a treaty without deigning to include France. When this insult became known, popular feeling was aroused, and a sentiment of keen irritation spread through France. It was suggested that the nation should rise in arms to avenge this insult to the national honour. Thiers made preparations for war, and called out the national guard. This was a dangerous attitude for France to adopt for it was impossible to declare war on the whole of Europe. Louis Philippe understood this, and when Thiers, having drawn up a statement which assumed war to be imminent, asked the immediate convocation of the chambers to support this policy, the king refused to follow his advice. This was equal to dismissing the minister and Thiers resigned. A short time after, the Eastern difficulty was settled by the Convention of the Straits, which was signed by France as well as by the other powers. This treaty forbade all vessels, of whatever nationality, to enter the Dardanelles, and made Egypt subject to Turkey. France had thus regained her position in Europe. There followed the ministry which lasted from the 29th of October, 1840, till the 24th of February, 1848.

Marshal Soult was directed to form a ministry. This cabinet had more stability than those which preceded it and lasted till the fall of Louis Philippe. M. Guizot had complete management of affairs, and relied constantly on the support of the majority in the chamber, without taking into consideration either the wishes or opinion of the country.<sup>i</sup>

#### LOUIS-NAPOLEON'S SECOND ATTEMPT AT A COUP D'ÉTAT

Louis Philippe left Paris for his castle of Eu, where he had given a rendezvous to MM. Thiers and Guizot for the purpose of discussing Eastern affairs. There he received strange tidings: Louis Napoleon had landed at Boulogne on August 6th, 1840. The latter, since he had transferred his

residence to England, had recommenced the same operations as in Switzerland; bribing newspapers, distributing pamphlets, tampering with officers and sergeants. He believed he could count upon the commander of the département du Nord, General Magnan, an equivocal character, to whom he had offered large sum of money, and who, later on, was to be one of his chief accomplices on December 2nd. He had even entered into relations with a higher official, Marshal Clausel. He determined to land near Boulogne, purposing to capture the small garrison of that town, to seize the castle, which contained a gun magazine, then to direct his steps towards the département du Nord, and from thence to Paris.

He prepared declamatory proclamations wherein he promised to the soldiers "glory, honour, wealth," and to the people reduction of taxes, order, and liberty. "Soldiers," he said, "the great spirit of Napoleon speaks to you through me. Traitors, be gone, the Napoleonic spirit, which cares but for the welfare of the nation, advances to overwhelm you!"

He asserted that he had powerful friends abroad as well as at home, who had promised to uphold him; this was an allusion to Russia, whose support he believed he possessed and from whom he had very probably received some encouragement. In a sketch of a decree, he named Thiers president of the provisional government, and Marshal Clausel, commander of the Army of Paris. His plans thus laid, he left London by steamer, with General Montholon, several officers, about sixty men, and an eagle, destined to play the part of a living symbol in the forthcoming drama.

The expedition landed at night at Vimereux, north of Boulogne, and proceeded to that town. The confederates entered the courtyard of the barracks of the 42nd regiment of the line. A lieutenant, who was for Napoleon, had mustered the men and told them that Louis Philippe reigned no longer; then Louis Bonaparte harangued them. Confused, fascinated, they were beginning to shout "Long live the emperor," when there appeared upon the scene a captain, who, breaking through the confederates, and regardless of their threats, summoned the non-commissioned officers and men to his side. Louis Bonaparte fired a pistol at him, but it missed him and wounded a grenadier; the soldiers rallied round their captain.

The confederates left the barracks without delay, and ascended to the castle, but they were unable to break in the doors. None of the townspeople had joined them. The rappel was sounded, and the national guard assembled, but against them. They left the town and retreated to the foot of the column raised in Napoleon's time in honour of the Grande Armée. The national guard and the line regiment advanced upon them. They disappeared. Louis Bonaparte and a few of his followers fled towards the sea and swam to a yawl, in which they attempted to regain their vessel.

The national guards opened fire upon the fugitives, several of whom were severely wounded; the yawl capsized and a spent bullet struck Louis Bonaparte. Two of his accomplices perished, one was shot, the other drowned. Louis Bonaparte survived for the sorrow of France.

The pretender was this time arraigned with his accomplices before the court of peers, which condemned him to imprisonment for life (October 6th). He was imprisoned in the castle of Ham, in the same chamber where Polignac had been confined. This non-capital sentence confirmed in effect the abolition of the death penalty in political affairs, which had been implied in the pardon of Barbès.

This attempt, even more feebly conceived than that of Strasburg, had thus failed still more miserably. The pretender had made himself ridicu-

[1840-1845 A.D.]

lous in the eyes of the enlightened and educated classes,<sup>1</sup> who perused the newspapers and knew the details of his adventures. But it was a great mistake to look upon him now as harmless, and to forget that the majority are not in the habit of reading.<sup>c</sup>

## EVENTS FROM 1840-1842

On the 13th of July, 1842, an unfortunate event cast a gloom over the whole country without distinction of party. The duke of Orleans, a kind and justly loved prince, was thrown from his carriage and killed. At his death, his right of succession passed to his son, the comte de Paris, and a child of four years became the heir of the heaviest crown that could be borne. From that day the legitimists ceased to hope. The liberals and the republicans expected everything for the triumph of their ideas from the inevitable weakness of a regency.

The chambers were convoked at once. They were presented with a law which in advance named the duke de Nemours regent. This prince did not have the brilliant reputation of the duke of Orleans, the popularity which the prince de Joinville had acquired by his services off San Juan de Ulúa, nor the budding renown which the capture of Abdul-Kadir's *smala* had brought to the duke d'Aumale. The law was passed but without public concurrence.

During several years France had enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity attested by a budget of receipts amounting to 1,343,000,000 francs. Popular instruction was advancing; the penal code had been lightened in severity and the lottery suppressed. The law of expropriation for the cause of public utility prevented work undertaken in the interest of the general good from being impeded by private interests. Industry took a new start from the introduction of machinery and commerce was extending. The coasts began to be lit up by lighthouses, the primitive roads to be improved, and a vast network of railways was planned. But this plan once conceived, instead of first concentrating all the energy of France on the chief artery of the country, from Boulogne to Marseilles, the resources were scattered on all the lines at once for the sake of satisfying every locality and of thus preparing favourable elections.

These enterprises, as often happens, gave rise to boundless speculation. The evil went far, for a minister of the king had been condemned for having sold his signature, a peer of France for having bought it.

National sentiments had been deeply wounded by the events of 1840. Guizot sought a compensation for French pride. He caused the Marquesas Islands, sterile rocks in the Pacific Ocean, to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more worth while. The French were about to descend upon it when England, being forewarned, took possession and began to show jealous susceptibilities. A French officer placed the flag of France on the large oceanic island of New Caledonia; the ministry had it torn down. The states of Honduras and Nicaragua claimed French protection. Santo Domingo wished the same. It was refused and England seemed to have imposed the refusal. On the Society Islands, which the French also took, their commercial interests were not sufficient to necessitate an extensive establishment. The cession of Mayotte (1843) was a better negotiation because that island offered a refuge for French ships which Bourbon could

[<sup>1</sup> A tame eagle, which he carried to suggest the Napoleonic eagles, was captured, and put in the Zoölogical Gardens of Paris.]

not give them, and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. On Tahiti, in the Society Islands, an English missionary, Pritchard, stirred up the natives against the French.<sup>f</sup>

Queen Pomare, who governed the island of Tahiti, placed herself under French protection. But Pritchard, the Englishman, who was at the same time consul, Protestant missionary, and dispensing chemist, fearing to lose his influence over the natives, urged the queen to pull down the French flag and roused the natives to rebellion; many French sailors were massacred. The admiral, indignant at this conduct, had Pritchard arrested, and he was set at liberty only on condition that he would go to the Sandwich Isles. The English government claimed that it had been insulted, and demanded satisfaction. The king refused first of all; then, fearing a rupture, disavowed the admiral's act and offered a pecuniary indemnity to England, which was accepted.

Public opinion considered that the dignity of the country had been compromised by this act. People were tired of always yielding to England. In the address to the throne in 1845, a majority of only eight votes prevented the expression of severe censure on the conduct of the government in the Pritchard affair.<sup>g</sup>

The right of mutually inspecting ships, agreed upon with England in 1841, for the repression of the slave-trade, was another concession to the proud neighbours of France. This time the opposition in the country was so active that the chamber forced the minister to tear up the treaty and, by new conventions, to replace the French marine under the protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

#### *War with Abdul-Kadir*

The chamber, impelled in this direction by public opinion, wanted at least to continue the conquest of Algeria. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who succeeded in impressing both respect and terror on the Arabs.

Abdul-Kadir had violated the Treaty of Tafna, proclaimed the holy war, and by the rapidity of his movements spread terror in the province of Oran, and even brought inquietude to the very gates of Algeria. The general pursued him without relaxation clear to the mountains of the Ouarensenis, pacified this difficult region and crowded the enemy back into the desert. It was in his flight towards the Sahara that the emir, attacked by the duke d'Aumale, lost his *smala* (his family and flocks), May, 1843.

Taking refuge in Morocco, the emir engaged the emperor in his cause. England, perhaps, was not a stranger to this resolve. French territory was violated on several occasions and an army which seemed formidable was collected on the banks of the Muluiah. France responded to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangiers and Mogador, which the prince de Joinville directed under the eyes of the irritated English fleet, and by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained with 8,500 men and 1,400 horses over 25,000 horsemen (August 14th, 1844). The emperor, being so severely punished, signed the peace — which was not made onerous for him, since France was rich enough, said the ministry, to pay for its glory. The principal clause of the treaty, providing that Abdul-Kadir be confined to the west, remained for a long time unexecuted; but after a new and vain attempt upon Algeria the emir tried to establish a party in the empire itself. This time Abd ar-Rahman, being directly threatened, betraught

[1840-1847 A.D.]

himself of his treaty with the French, and Abdul-Kadir, thrown back on the French advance posts, was reduced to surrendering to General Lamoricière (November 23rd, 1847).

In Morocco, as at Tahiti, England had been found opposed to France. Thus the English alliance, too eagerly sought after, had brought only trouble. But it was said that it assured the peace of the world. However, a marriage came near breaking it—that of the duke of Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain.

### *The Spanish Marriages*

Queen Christina, then regent of Spain, feeling herself entirely dependent on the liberal party for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and being well aware that it was in France alone that she could find the prompt military assistance requisite to support her against the Carlists, who formed a great majority of the Spanish population, naturally bethought herself of the favourable opportunity presented by the marriageable condition of the princes of one country and the princesses of the other, to cement their union by matrimonial alliances. With this view, although the princesses, her daughters, were as yet too young for marriage, she made formal proposals before 1840 to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, one between the duke d'Aumale, the king's third son, and Queen Isabella, her eldest daughter, and another between the duke of Montpensier, his fourth son, and the infanta Luisa Fernanda, her second daughter.

How agreeable soever these proposals were to Louis Philippe, who desired nothing so much as to see his descendants admitted into the family of European sovereigns, he was too sagacious not to perceive that the hazard with which they were attended more than counterbalanced the advantages. It was evident that such a marriage of the duke d'Aumale with the queen of Spain would at once dissolve the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, on which the stability of his throne so much depended; for however much the liberal government of England might desire to see constitutional monarchies established in the peninsula, it was not to be expected it would like to see the crown of Spain placed on the head of a French prince. It was already surmised, too, that the cabinet of London had views of its own for the hand of the younger princess. He therefore returned a courteous answer, declining the hand of the queen for the duke d'Aumale, but expressing the satisfaction it would afford him to see the duke of Montpensier united to the infanta.

The next occasion on which the subject of the Spanish marriages was brought forward was when Queen Christina took refuge in Paris, during one of the numerous convulsions to which Spain had been subject since the attempt was made to introduce democratic institutions among its inhabitants. Louis Philippe then declared to the exiled queen-regent that the most suitable spouse for her daughter the queen would be found in one of the descendants in the male line of Philip V, king of Spain, the sovereign on the throne when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. The object of this proposal was indirectly to exclude the pretensions of the prince of Coburg, cousin-german to Prince Albert, whom rumour had assigned as one of the suitors for the hand of the young queen, and at the same time avoid exciting the jealousy of the British government by openly courting the alliance for a French prince.

Matters were in this situation, with the question still open, so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned, but the views and interests of the two



cabinets were well understood by the ministers on both sides, when Queen Victoria in the autumn of 1842 paid a visit to the French monarch at the château d'Eu in Normandy, which was followed next spring by a similar act of courtesy on the part of Louis Philippe to the queen of England in the princely halls of Windsor. Fortunately the pacific inclinations of the two sovereigns were aided by the wisdom and moderation of the ministers on both sides; and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen and Guizot a compromise was agreed on of the most fair and equitable kind. It was stipulated that the king of France should renounce all pretensions, on the part of any of his sons, to the hand of the queen of Spain; and, on the other hand, that the royal heiress should make her selection among the princes descendants of Philip V, which excluded the dreaded competition of a prince of the house of Coburg. And in regard to the marriage of the duke of Montpensier with the infanta Doña Luisa Fernanda, Louis Philippe positively engaged that it should not take place till the queen was married and had had children (*des enfants*). On this condition the queen of England consented to waive all objections to the marriage when these events had taken place; and it was understood that this consent on both sides was to be dependent on the hand of the queen being bestowed on a descendant of Philip V and no other competitor.

The sagacious Louis Philippe now discovered a certain half-idiotic cousin of Isabella of Spain, deficient in every power both of body and mind; and in a secret and underhand manner he celebrated the wedding of this miserable being with the queen; and immediately afterwards that of his son with the handsome, blooming, and wealthy Luisa Fernanda, who, in addition to her present possessions, which were very large, carried to her husband the succession to the Spanish crown, in the absolute impossibility of any issue from her sister's unhappy marriage. Hard feeling and political opposition were roused by this degrading trickery -- and England learned, with a sentiment of regret and compassion, that Guizot, whose talents and character had hitherto commanded her respect, had been deluded by the crowned tempter at his ear to defend his conduct on the quibble that the marriages were not celebrated at the same time -- some little interval having occurred between them -- and that this was all he had promised. Suspicion and jealousy took the place of the former cordial relations. Losing the fervent friendship of the only constitutional neighbour on whom it could rely, France, like a beggar with its bonnet in its hand, waited at the gates of Austria and Russia, and begged the moral support of the most despotic of the powers. The moral support of Austria and Russia there was but one way to gain, and that was by an abnegation of all the principles represented by the accession of Louis Philippe, and an active co-operation in their policy of repression.

At this time the Swiss broke out into violent efforts to obtain a reform. Austria quelled the Swiss aspirations with the strong hand, and took up a menacing attitude towards the benevolent pontiff, Pius IX. France was quiescent; and the opposition rose into invectives, which were repeated in harsher language out of doors.

The stout shopkeeper who now occupied the throne of Henry IV thought that all the requirements of a government were fulfilled if it maintained peace with the neighbouring states. Trade he thought might flourish though honour and glory were trampled under foot. He accordingly neglected, or failed to understand, the disaffection of the middle class, whose pecuniary interests he was supposed to represent, but whose higher aspirations he had insulted by his truckling attempts to win the sympathy of the old aristocracy

[1847-1848 A.D.]

and the foreign despots. Statesmen like Thiers and Odilon Barrot, when the scales of office fell from their eyes and the blandishments of the sovereign were withdrawn, perceived that the parliamentary government of the charter had become a mockery, and that power had got more firmly consolidated in royal hands under these deceptive forms than in the time of the legitimate kings. A cry therefore suddenly rose from all quarters, except the benches of the ministry, for electoral and parliamentary reform; and there was also heard the uniformly recurring exclamation, premonitory of all serious disturbance, for a diminution of the taxes. The cries were founded on justice, and urged in a constitutional manner. Corruption had entered into all the elections; parliamentary purity had become a byword under the skilful manipulation of the purse-bearing king; and the expenses of the country far exceeded its income, owing to the extravagant building of forts and palaces, with which, in the years of his prosperity, he had endeavoured to amuse the people.

#### RISING DISCONTENT (1847-1848 A.D.)

The state of the budget, which was threatened with a yearly deficit, increased the difficulty of the situation which was still further aggravated by a scarcity of provisions. The method of taxing corn made it difficult to provision the country, a matter which was never easy in times previous to the construction of railways. There was a succession of bad harvests, and in the winter of 1847 a famine resulted. There were riots in all directions, and bands of men tramped through the country. At Buzançais, cases of death from starvation occurred. Thus everything combined to make the people dissatisfied with the government. And there was indeed little to be said in its favour. It had achieved nothing and no progress had been made. "To carry out such a policy as this," said Lamartine, "a statesman is not required, a finger-post would do." And one of the moderate party summed up the work done by this ministry as: "Nothing, nothing, nothing."

In short, this strange result was all that Guizot could boast. Little by little public opinion unanimously turned against him, and the more unpopular he became, the more solid became his majority in the chamber, thanks to the system, which, placing the country in the hands of a handful of rich men, made the elections a mere mockery. Then a universal outcry arose, and the demand for progress and democracy seemed to be concentrated on one point: "electoral reform."

Guizot opposed an obstinate refusal to this demand. Yet very little was asked for—not universal suffrage (and Guizot said "the day for universal suffrage will never come"), but some reform, however slight it might be. Guizot refused to give the vote even to jurymen and academicians! The opposition appealed to public opinion. Banquets were organised in many different places for the discussion of reform, at Paris, then at Colmar, Strasbourg, Soissons, St. Quentin, and Mâcon.

#### THE BANQUET OF 1848

It could not be denied that the excitement was singularly out of proportion to the idea which was its ostensible cause. The spirit of democracy in France had been aroused. Lamartine's book *Les Girondins* added the charm of lyric poetry to the recollections of the Revolution. The spectacle offered by the July monarchy had gradually influenced the great poet to espouse

the cause of popular progress. In his striking speech at the banquet of Mâcon, which was organised as a tribute to him in honour of his *Girondins* in the midst of a violent thunderstorm which had not deterred a crowded audience from coming to hear him speak, he threatened Guizot's retrograde government with "a revolution of scorn."

The year 1848 opened with heated debates, in the course of which Guizot's whole policy was denounced. A banquet on a vast scale was organised in Paris immediately after for the purpose of forwarding electoral reform. A large piece of ground enclosed by walls near the Champs-Élysées had been taken for the occasion.

The ministry, with less tolerance than it had shown in the preceding year, claimed the right to forbid this banquet. This involved the question of the liberty of holding public meetings. This right had never yet been contested, but Guizot wished to take one more retrograde step.

Orleanists, liberals, republicans, and legitimists all united in defending their rights. Parliament rang with the vehement discussions which ensued and in which Ledru-Rollin showed all his great oratorical powers. In spite of the threats of the government, it was decided to meet at the Madeleine and proceed from there to the banquet. The very evening before the banquet was to take place this plan was changed for fear of bringing about a massacre. It was stated in the morning papers that the meeting was put off, and instead of the demonstration which they had been obliged to abandon, the opposition members signed a vote of censure on Guizot. But the people nevertheless assembled at the appointed time in front of the Madeleine.

History repeats itself strangely. It had been the chief anxiety of Louis Philippe to avoid another 1830, and yet he was now about to undergo, in every detail, the experience of Charles X. The rising of the people to support the claims of the opposition, but soon leaving these behind them; a disturbance indefinite at first, but developing into a fierce struggle; a king obstinate at first, then willing to make one concession after another, but never agreeing to make them until it was too late; then the flight across France and the departure for England: such was the history of both these revolutions.

Two things increased Louis Philippe's confidence: Firstly, he had not violated the letter of the law. Though he had in a measure twisted the revolution of 1830 to his own purposes, he had done so by ruling his ministers, and by gaining over the electoral body. He did not realise that he was in the long run preparing a lasting disgrace for himself. His fall was none the less certain because instead of violating the rights of the people he had merely distorted them. His fall would only be the more petty for that. Secondly, he had in Paris, what Polignac had so signally lacked, a strong and numerous army.

Had he not easily succeeded in suppressing all risings which had taken place? He forgot that troops which are always firm and always victorious when dealing with the revolt of part of a nation, are useless when the people as a whole are actuated by the same opinion. Under such circumstances revolution pervades the air and paralyses the powers of the army. The troops hesitate, and sometimes recede. However this may be, on the 22nd of February, while the deputies of the opposition were preparing to ask Guizot's majority to pass a vote of censure on Guizot, an enormous crowd surged round the Madeleine, the populace began to parade the streets, and columns were formed at various points.

[1848 A.D.]

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Among the troops called out to defend the government, the municipal guards, then very unpopular, made a vigorous charge and several on the other side were wounded. The army began to hesitate. At one place the crowd awaited an attack crying, "The dragoons forever!" The dragoons sheathed their swords. The government was afraid to call out the national guards, whom they mistrusted: wherever they were called out they cried, "Reform forever!" and tried to interpose between the troops and the people. But though a storm was brewing it did not burst yet. The streets were crowded with an infuriated mob, demonstrations were continually taking place, and now and then there was a skirmish with the troops. That was all, so far, but the more enthusiastic among the republicans were making steady efforts to get the populace to rise.

The king slept that evening confident that nothing serious would happen. During the night the troops bivouacked in the silence of Paris beneath a rainy sky, and the cannon were fixed ready for use. The next morning (February 23rd) the troops, who had spent the night in the mud, were weary and discontented.

Barricades had been hastily raised in all parts of the town. There was no desperate struggle like that of 1830. The barricades were attacked without much spirit and were soon deserted only to be reconstructed at a little distance. However—in the part where risings usually took place, in the populous heart of Paris—the battle raged more fiercely: the veterans of St. Merry were fighting against the municipal guard. At the Tuileries no anxiety was felt: "What do you call barricades?" said the king, "do you call an overturned cab a barricade?" However, General Jacqueminot resolved on that day to call out the national guard.

During a reign which was virtually that of the bourgeoisie, the national guard, like the electoral body, consisted only of bourgeois. The governing class alone carried arms, just as they only were allowed to vote. Therefore in the elections previous to 1840 the national guard had been the faithful ally of the government. They had shown themselves no less energetic against the barricades of the first half of the reign than the rest of the troops. But times had changed and everyone was thoroughly sick of Guizot's policy. When the soldiers were called out, they assembled crying, "Reform forever!" One regiment had inscribed this on its flag; another refused to cry "God save the king!" A third sent a deputation to the Bourbon palace to try to overcome the resistance of the ministry. At another place when the municipal guards were going to charge the crowd, the national guard opposed them with their bayonets. When the news of all this reached the king at the Tuileries he was filled with surprise and grief. He realized that he had lost the allegiance of the national guard in which he had such absolute confidence, the men for whose sake he had governed!

He then made a first concession agreeing that Molé should form a ministry. It was not much of a concession, for the difference between Guizot and Molé was only a difference in mental capacity and the rivalry for power which existed between them. Besides Molé had already represented the personal policy of the king. The king liked him, and in calling him to the ministry he merely changed the surname of his minister. But there are times when, if a certain name has become universally hateful, such a change is sufficient to pacify the public. Besides Molé was obliged to choose his

cabinet in a conciliatory spirit. Paris, delighted to think that the strife was at an end, put on a festive appearance; the streets were illuminated, and gay crowds filled the boulevards when a spark re-ignited the flame of faction.

Near the Madeleine, troops barred the way. A column of demonstrators wished to pass through, and, in accordance with the peaceable feelings just then prevailing in Paris, to fraternise with the soldiers. The officer in command gave the order to fix bayonets: a shot was fired — whether by the soldiers or by the crowd is not known. How many times in French history have such accidents, the source of which is wrapped in mystery, proved the cause of terrible bloodshed! What sinister results may ensue from the chance which causes a gun to go off and, at the same time, gives the signal for a battle!

A soldier had been wounded — the troops fired; a storm of bullets riddled the peaceful crowds on the boulevards. At first there was a cry of terror, then a cry of furious rage, as here and there men fell dead, and the street was sprinkled with blood.

Some men then improvised a sort of theatrical background for the massacre, with the genius that Parisians certainly possess for giving dramatic effect even to their most painful emotions. A cart was stopped, and the corpses were placed upon it; men walking beside it carried torches which illumined the ghastly cargo. The procession passed on through Paris while a man standing on the cart lifted up and showed to the people the dead body of a woman whose face was horribly mutilated by bullets. This frightful spectacle aroused a frenzy of rage throughout the city and Paris was again plunged into civil war. The real battle was that of the 24th. On this occasion the king had placed Marshal Bugeaud in command of the royal forces. Bugeaud was the best of the African generals, but at the same time he was the one whose name was most dreaded by the people; he had the reputation of having gained some most bloody victories over insurgents on former occasions.

This time Paris was covered with barricades: the fighting continued all the morning. Whenever the army seemed likely to yield or retreat, the king, who but a short time since was so full of confidence, and to whom the marshal had promised a brilliant victory, made some fresh concession. First he agreed that Thiers should form a ministry, then Odilon Barrot, as if the shades of difference which separated the centre of the chamber from the left-centre or the left-centre from the dynastic centre were of any importance in this mortal struggle between the people and the monarchy.

#### THE KING ABDICATES AND TAKES FLIGHT

All these flimsy negotiations were going on amidst the smoke of battle. Now Thiers, now Odilon Barrot was to be seen rushing from one barricade to another announcing the king's last concession. Ministerial episodes mingled with the episodes of battle, and raised their weak voice amid the thunder of the cannon. Then, one after another, these political personages gave up what was an impossible task; and, like Charles X, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of a child, his grandson, the count de Paris.

The battle at this moment was brought to an end by its most bloody episode: the attack on the château d'Eau opposite the Palais Royal. The people on one side and the municipal guard on the other showed, at this point, indescribable energy, and fought with the courage of desperation.

[1848 A.D.]

Bullets were dealing out death all around, and all the staunchest republicans were there, including Caussidière, Albert, and Lagrange. By two o'clock the people had gained the victory.

Louis Philippe and his family fled from the Tuileries. There was some difficulty in finding a cab to take him as far as St. Cloud. The crowd allowed this fallen king to pass, while behind him, the people for the third time invaded the Tuileries where they wrote, "Death to robbers!"

The duchess of Orleans had gone with her son to the chamber. The sight of a child and an unhappy woman, surrounded by sympathy, might induce the people in a moment of emotional excitement to agree to the maintenance of the monarchy. Some seemed ready to accept a regency. Lamartine felt the weakness and inadequacy of such a solution of the difficulty. Meantime the crowd was taking possession of the palace. The duchess of Orleans followed the old king into exile.

The latter was going abroad like Charles X, but he had more to make him anxious. He was obliged to conceal himself, was often suspected, and sometimes had not enough money to supply his needs. When at last he reached the little Norman port which was his destination he found a stormy sea, and could not for a long time get any vessel to take him across the Channel; finally, having disguised himself, he secured a passage from Havre on board an English ship.

On leaving the chamber the leaders of the people had gone to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Crowds assembled from every direction, crying out in favour of ten different ministries at the same time; contradictory lists were made, but in the end the government was composed of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, the deputies of the Left benches to whom were added later Louis Blanc, Albert a working-man, Flocon, and Armand Marrast.<sup>k</sup>

## ALISON'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

Louis Philippe, who by the force of circumstances and the influence of dissimulation and fraud obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed. By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the "Napoleon of peace" was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the "Napoleon of war" had sought in vain to effect. The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England, had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy, and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was hard to say whether profound powers of dissimulation, or innate selfishness of disposition, were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigour which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are everywhere conspicuous. His elevation, his duration, and his fall are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness, and was long

maintained in it because he was the man of the age but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness.

The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded everything that romance had figured, or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth, successively a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris, a soldier combating under the tricolour flag at Valmy, a schoolmaster instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland, a fugitive in misery in America, a sovereign on the throne of France.

These extraordinary changes had made him as thoroughly acquainted with the ruling principles of human nature in all grades as the misfortunes of his own house, the recollection of his father guillotined had with the perils by which, in his exalted rank, he was environed. Essentially ruled by the selfish, he was incapable of feeling the generous emotions; like all egotists, he was ungrateful. Thankfulness finds a place only in a warm heart. He was long deterred from accepting the crown by the prospects of the risk with which it would be attended to himself, but not for one moment by the reflection that, in taking it, he was becoming a traitor to his sovereign, a renegade to his order, a recreant to his benefactor. His hypocrisy, to the last moment, to Charles X was equalled only by his stern and hard-hearted rigour to his family, when he had an opportunity of making some return for their benefactions:

His government was extremely expensive; it at once added a third to the expenditure of Charles X, as the Long Parliament had done to that of Charles I; and it was mainly based on corruption. This, however, is not to be imputed to him as a fault, further than as being a direct consequence of the way in which he obtained the throne. When the "unbought loyalty of men" has come to an end, government has no hold but of their selfish desires, and must rule by them; and when the "cheap defence of nations" has terminated, the costly empire of force must commence. As a set-off to these dark stains upon his moral character, there are many bright spots on his political one. He stood between Europe and the plague of revolution, and, by the temperance of his language and the wisdom of his measures at once conciliated the absolute continental sovereigns, when they might have been expected to be hostile, and overawed the discontented in his own country when they were most threatening.<sup>d</sup>

