

## **F962B2: Monarchy, Republic and Empire; France 1814-70**

### **How successful was the Reign of Louis XVIII**

**1814**

- Louis XVIII was old, weak and unpopular. He was an uninspiring figure to the French, who were used to Napoleonic glory.
- Louis had been imposed by the allies and was accordingly resented.
- Louis did little to inspire France with new policies. There were rumours that he would confiscate property seized from nobles during the last twenty years.
- The armies occupying Paris demanded that Louis XVIII implement a constitution.

#### **The Charter**

- The Charter of 1814 guaranteed Freedom of Religion, a legislature composed of the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers and limited press freedom,.
- The property would remain in the hands of their current owners.
- Taxation was to be voted on by the chambers. Catholicism was the official religion of France.
- Candidates for the Chamber of Deputies had to pay over 1,000 francs per year in tax, and be over the age of forty.
- The King appointed peers to the Chamber of Peers on a hereditary basis, or for life at his discretion.
- Deputies were to be elected every five years, with one fifth of them up for election each year. There were 90,000 citizens eligible to vote.
- This meant that the Chamber was dominated by the aristocracy for most of the time from 1814-30.

#### **The Settlement**

- Louis XVIII signed the Treaty of Paris on 30 May 1814. The treaty gave France her 1792 borders, which extended east of the Rhine.
- She had to pay no war indemnity, and the occupying armies of the Sixth Coalition withdrew instantly from French soil.
- It did not take Louis XVIII long to go back on one of his many promises. He and was determined not to let the exchequer fall into deficit (there was a 75 million franc debt inherited from Napoleon I).
- Louis XVIII had assured the French that the unpopular taxes on tobacco, wine and salt would be abolished when he was restored, but he failed to do so, which led to rioting in Bordeaux.

- Expenditure on the army was slashed in the 1815 budget ; in 1814, the military had accounted for 55% of government spending.

### **The 100 Days**

- On 26 February 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte escaped his island prison of Elba and embarked for France.
- He arrived with about 1,000 troops near Cannes on 1 March.
- Louis XVIII was not particularly worried by Bonaparte's excursion, as such small numbers of troops could be easily overcome.
- There was, however, a major underlying problem for the Bourbons; Louis XVIII had failed to purge the military of its Bonapartist troops.
- This led to mass desertions from the Bourbon armies to Bonaparte's.
- Marshall Soult dispatched Louis Philippe d'Orléans, the comte d'Artois and Marshall MacDonald to apprehend Napoleon.
- On 19 March, the army stationed outside Paris defected to Bonaparte, leaving the city vulnerable to attack.
- The same day, Louis XVIII left the capital with a small escort at midnight.
- Louis decided to go first to Lille, and then crossed the border into the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, staying in Ghent.
- Napoleon's gamble paid off. He attempted to win popular support by offering a new constitution and an end to many controls, e.g. censorship.

### **Why did Napoleon's attempt to return to France fail?**

- The majority of French did not want him back. Only 20% of voters backed the new constitution. 80% did not vote.
- He hoped that the allies would be divided in their response, especially as they were bogged down in Vienna.
- He believed that a quick victory would force them to negotiate.
- In fact, British, allied forces and the Prussians put 150,000 men in the field and there were 200,000 Russians and Austrians on their way.
- He was unlucky. A quick victory might have had some effect, but he was facing Wellington for the first time.
- Initial victories at Ligny and Quatre Bras were followed by defeat at Waterloo.
- Napoleon detached Grouchy to follow Blucher and lost 30,000 men.

- He lost control of the battlefield and allowed Ney's cavalry to attack 23 times
- Wellington's defensive tactics enabled the British and the allies to hold on until the Prussians arrived at about 5.30 p.m.
- Napoleon fled and was forced to surrender to the British and spent the rest of his life on St. Helena.

## 1815

### The Settlement

- In 1814, France had been offered the borders of 1792. In 1815, the frontiers were restricted to 1790, i.e. before the outbreak of war.
- The allies imposed an army of occupation, commanded by Wellington, took control of border fortresses and levied an indemnity of 700 million francs.
- France had to pay for the army of occupation for at least five years, at a cost of 150 million francs per year.
- A Quadruple Alliance was signed in case of any further trouble from France.

### The Charter

- Louis XVIII had to accept a Charter, which included a two-chamber Assembly, civil rights, freedom of religion and free pardons for former revolutionaries.
- The king had wide-ranging powers, including appointing ministers, army officers and civil servants, and proposing and vetoing laws
- The Upper Chamber was nominated by the king. The Lower Chamber was elected, but only 88,000 people could vote.

### Politics in 1815

- The King and his ministry embarked on a series of reforms through the summer of 1815.
- The King's council, an informal group of ministers that advised Louis XVIII, was dissolved and replaced by a tighter knit privy council, the *Ministère de Roi*.
- Talleyrand was appointed as the first President of the Council, i.e. Prime Minister of France.
- In August, elections for the Chamber of Deputies returned almost exclusively ultra-royalists, resulting in the *Chambre introuvable*.

### Richelieu

- Talleyrand resigned on 20 September. Louis XVIII chose the Duc de Richelieu to be his new Prime Minister.

- Richelieu was chosen because he was accepted by Louis's family and the reactionary Chamber of Deputies.
- He admitted that he was out of touch with France, having been in exile, and had to be persuaded to accept office.
- He claimed to be unable to recognise any of his fellow ministers when he first met them.
- Richelieu knew little or nothing about politics and the economy. His great success was convincing the Allies that the Army of Occupation could be withdrawn in 1818.

### **The White Terror**

- The White Terror was the purge of all important Napoleonic officials from government, and the execution of others.
- Guillaume Brune (a Napoleonic marshal) was assassinated, and his remains thrown into the Rhone River.
- Louis XVIII deplored such illegal acts, but supported the prosecution of marshals who had helped Napoleon I in the Hundred Days. Louis XVIII's government executed Napoleon's Marshal Ney,
- The government issued an amnesty to the 'traitors' in January 1816, but the trials that had already begun were finished in due course.
- It is estimated that between 50,000 – 80,000 officials were purged from the government during what was known as the Second White Terror.
- Three important laws were passed in 1817-19 under the influence of Decazes and the Doctrinaires, a left-centre group of academics, which included Guizot.
- The Electoral Law guaranteed the freedom of the Chamber and the narrow franchise of the Charter.
- The Recruitment Law abolished aristocratic privilege in army promotions.
- The Press Law established a system of trial by jury for impress offences.
- Significantly, the Doctrinaires rejected attempts to allow the working class to play a part in elections at a lower level.
- They also supported the Press Law that required editors to lodge large sums of cash in advance of publication. This put newspapers almost exclusively in the hands of the wealthy.
- Guizot was a prime mover in all three laws and also agreed that the wealthiest should monopolise seats in the Chamber

## **Decazes**

- As Minister of Police he had been responsible for dealing with the White Terror.
- When the post was abolished, he became Minister of the Interior and passed laws restricting censorship. He became prime minister in 1819.
- He encouraged economic growth through a programme of public works.
- He persuaded the King to appoint 60 new members of the Senate to counteract the Ultra majority.
- He was an obvious candidate to lead a progressive ministry which would develop industry and provide a settled period in politics.

## **However, Decazes was unpopular with the Liberals, why?**

- He was the king's favourite and had been in office since 1815. He owed his position to the King and would do the King's bidding.
- He planned to gain support in the Chamber by an alliance with the Doctrinaires.
- He was seen as a psychophant who would have undermined the Chamber if Louis had decided on a swing to the right.
- Consequently, Republicans distrusted him and organised a press campaign against him in 1819-20
- He was accused of being involved in the assassination of Berri and resigned in 1820.
- Richelieu returned as Prime Minister but was replaced by Villèle in 1822. He was competent and a moderate, but tended to support the Ultras.

## **Villèle**

- He consolidated the royal power by persuading Louis XVIII to swamp the liberal majority in the upper house by the nomination of twenty-seven new peers.
- The administration was 'purged' of 'doubtful' elements who were replaced by younger members of aristocratic families.
- The Press Law of 1822 had such a wide definition of libel that opposition newspapers were silenced for several years.
- He used the temporary popularity of the monarchy after the Spanish campaign to call for new elections.
- The new Chamber had only nineteen liberals and made itself into a septennial parliament in 1824.

### **Why was Louis XVIII unpopular?**

- He was elderly, tired and weak. He had spent the last twenty years outside France and had little understanding of the events that had taken place or the mood and aspirations of the people.
- He made it clear that the Charter was his gift to the French people and not theirs by right.
- He clearly believed in the 'divine right of kings', which angered many moderates.
- The restrictions on voting allowed monarchists to dominate the Assembly.
- He re-imposed the white Bourbon flag in place of the tricolore.
- He appointed many émigrés to official positions.
- In 1815-16, the White Terror suggested that the Ancien Regime was about to make a comeback.

### **Was Louis XVIII successful?**

- France was relatively peaceful from 1815 to 1819. The indemnity was paid off and the army of occupation removed in 1818. France was allowed to join the new Quintuple Alliance.
- He resisted demands from the Ultras for a purge of Napoleonic supporters and refused to impose censorship.
- Reforms to the election process (annual elections) created a moderate majority in 1818 and Decazes, the prime minister (1819-20), appeared to have stabilised France.
- The budget was balanced in the 1820s and the French army was able to restore order in Spain in 1823.

### **Why were the Ultras able to make a comeback?**

- In February 1820, the Duc de Berri, the son of Louis's brother, was murdered. He was the last in the Bourbon line.
- The murderer was a workman with no political aims, but the Ultras demanded vengeance.
- Berry was the only member of the family thought to be able to beget children. His wife gave birth to a posthumous son in September Henri, duc de Bordeaux.
- The electorate was restricted to about 15,000 and press censorship was introduced. The Church was given more influence over education.
- In 1820, the Chambers ratified legislation that increased the number of deputies from 258 to 430.
- The extra deputies were to be elected by the wealthiest quarter of the population in each département. These individuals now effectively had two votes.
- Increasingly, the Assembly was dominated by the Right. Louis had little appetite for a struggle and died in 1824.

## **Why was Charles X overthrown in 1830?**

- Charles X, Louis's brother, was an Ultra. He made it clear that he wanted to re-establish monarchical rule. His coronation in Reims cathedral took five and a half hours.
- The last royal coronation in Reims had been in 1715 and it was clearly intended to symbolise a step back into the eighteenth century.
- In 1824, all education appointments were given to the Church.
- In 1825, compensation for confiscated lands was announced. The money would be raised by reducing interest on government borrowing.
- In April 1825, the government approved legislation, proposed originally by Louis XVIII that paid an indemnity to nobles whose estates had been confiscated during the Revolution.
- The law gave government bonds to those who had lost their lands, in exchange for their renunciation of their ownership, costing the state approximately 988 million francs.
- In 1826, the Law of Sacrilege imposed the death penalty on offences against the Catholic Church.
- The army was purged of former Napoleonic officers.
- Press censorship was imposed and opposition newspapers closed down.
- The life of the Assembly was extended to seven years and annual elections of 20% of deputies were abolished.
- In 1827, the Parisian National Guard was closed down.

## **Economic policies**

- Charles and his ministers adopted traditional economic policies. Tariffs were put on imports of manufactured goods and wheat.
- An economic down-turn began in 1826 and demands for free trade were heard for the first time.
- However, the most influential figures in the French economy were bankers. Jacques Laffitte and Casimir Perier would become the first two Presidents of the Council under Louis Philippe.

## **Why did Charles X arouse widespread opposition in France?**

- His policies appeared to threaten many of the changes that had taken place in France since 1789.
- He appeared to be governing France in the interests of a small minority.
- He threatened the position of the propertied middle class that had developed since 1789.
- The Parisian National Guard was dominated by the moderate, middle classes. It was regarded as a buffer against extremism.

### **How did Charles attempt to tackle his opponents?**

- His main method was to tamper with the constitution. The number of voters had already been reduced to no more than 15,000.
- In November 1827, he created more members of the Upper Chamber and tried to create a majority in the Assembly by calling new elections
- The ploy failed and Villele lost his parliamentary majority and was dismissed in January 1828.
- Martignac, a man the King disliked and thought of only as provisional, was appointed prime minister.
- In August 1829, Charles dismissed Martignac and appointed Jules de Polignac (the Ultra of the Ultras), who, however, lost his majority in parliament at the end of August.
- To stay in power, Polignac avoided calling the Chamber until March 1830.
- Further elections were held but only created a liberal majority in the Assembly and, in March 1830, a vote of no confidence forced Charles to go even further.
- Elections in June did not produce a majority favorable to the government.
- On 6 July, the King and his ministers decided to suspend the constitution, as provided for by Article 14 of the Charter in case of an emergency.
- On 25 July, from his residence in Saint-Cloud, Charles issued four ordinances, known as 'Ordonnances de Saint-Cloud', which censored the press, dissolved the newly elected chamber, altered the electoral system and called for elections in September.
- When the official government newspaper, Le Moniteur Universel, published the ordinances on Monday, 26 July, Adolphe Thiers, journalist at the opposition paper 'Le National', published a call to revolt
- The next morning, 27 July, police raided and shut down the newspapers that continued to publish (including 'Le National').
- When the protesters, who had re-entered the Palais-Royal gardens, heard of this, they attacked soldiers with missiles, prompting them to shoot. By the evening, the city was dominated by violence and shops were looted.
- On 28 July, the rioters began to erect barricades in streets. Marshal Marmont, who had been called in the day before to remedy the situation, took the offensive against the rioters.
- Some of his men defected to the rioters and by the afternoon he had to retreat to the Tuileries Palace.
- The Chamber of Deputies sent a delegation to Marmont, urging him to advise the King to revoke the ordinances and appease the protesters.
- Charles refused all compromise and dismissed all of his ministers that afternoon.



- Members of the Chamber decided that Louis Philippe d'Orléans should take the throne from King Charles.
- They printed posters endorsing Louis Philippe and distributed them throughout the city. By the end of the day, the government's authority was trampled.
- A few minutes after midnight in the early hour of 31 July, Charles X decided to leave Saint-Cloud and seek refuge in Versailles with his family.
- In Paris, Louis Philippe assumed the post of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.
- On 2 August, by-passing his son the Dauphin, Charles X abdicated in favour of his grandson, Henri, Duke of Bordeaux, who was not yet ten years old.
- Louis Philippe ignored the document and on 9 August had himself proclaimed King of the French by the members of the Chamber.

### **Algeria**

- Polignac's one notable success was the decision to send a military expedition to Algeria to end the threat Algerian pirates posed to Mediterranean trade.
- He also saw this as a way to increase the government's popularity by a foreign victory. French troops invaded Algiers in July 1830. The hoped for success came too late

### **Why was the revolution in 1830 successful?**

- Charles had completely misjudged the French people. His actions had united the opposition and forced it to defend the Charter, which was believed to be under attack.
- Charles seemed to be unaware of the provocative nature of the Ordinances. His ministers were not warned in advance and no action was taken to control unrest.
- Many army units were in, or on their way to, Algiers and were unable to return in time.
- Charles had managed to alienate almost everybody in the country.
- Unemployment had been rising since 1826 and many working-men were prepared to protest.
- The middle classes felt threatened by Charles's changes and believed that he was trying to destroy the Charter.
- Paris was crucial to the events of July 1830. The city was taken over by republicans after widespread rioting on 28-29 and Charles abdicated and fled on 1 August.

### **Why did Louis Philippe become 'King of the French'?**

- Charles X was overthrown by an alliance of liberal monarchists and republicans.
- Memories of 1789-94 were still strong. The moderate bourgeoisie did not want to hand control to the radicals.

- Thiers created a campaign to appoint Louis Philippe, whose father had been a leading figure in the events of 1789 onwards.
- Louis-Philippe showed his support for the revolution and the tricolor flag, which persuaded many republicans to support him.

### **Why did the Bourbons fail?**

- In 1815, most French people were prepared to at least give the Bourbons a chance. After twenty years of warfare, there was no real enthusiasm for further fighting.
- The Church backed Louis XVIII 100%. The bourgeoisie looked forward to economic and industrial development.
- The peasantry anticipated the end of conscription and the opportunity to make use of land acquired during the Revolution. Exports of grain would once more be possible.
- The Charter suggested that the bad old days of the Ancien Regime were not going to be repeated.
- But both Louis XVIII and Charles X were products of the Ancien Regime. They were unable to accept that changes had taken place in the interim. Louis's reign was dated from 1795.
- The White Terror suggested that royalists were not going to let bygones be bygones. This became all the more threatening with the murder of the Duc de Berri and the accession of Charles X.
- While most French were Catholic, they were not ready for a revival of Jesuit or Papal influence.
- The bourgeoisie had become much more influential since 1789. The Bourbons needed to ensure its support if they were to succeed.
- The challenges to the Charter and the abolition of the National Guard smacked of the absolutism of Louis XVI.

## **How successful were Louis Philippe's domestic and foreign policies?**

### **Character and attitude of Louis Philippe**

- Louis Philippe was crowned 'King of the French,' instead of 'King of France': this marked his acceptance of the popular sovereignty, which replaced the Ancien Régime's divine right.
- Louis Philippe clearly understood his base of power: the wealthy bourgeoisie had carried him through the July Revolution by their work in the Parliament; throughout his reign, he kept their interests in mind.
- Louis Philippe rejected much of the pomp and circumstance of the Bourbons and surrounded himself with merchants and bankers.
- He set out to be 'everyday' and was the first French monarch to be seen walking in Paris with his famous umbrella.
- He was happy to stop and converse with fellow citizens. No French leader since has copied his example.
- Nevertheless, many of his senior ministers were aristocratic and there was little difference in that respect from the Bourbon regime.
- His Presidents of the Council included two Ducs, two Marshals of France, two bankers and a Count. Thiers was the odd one out.
- The July Monarchy, however, remained a time of turmoil. A large group of Legitimists on the right demanded the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne.
- On the left, Republicanism and, later Socialism, remained a powerful force.
- Late in his reign Louis Philippe became increasingly rigid and dogmatic and his President of the Council, François Guizot became, but Louis-Philippe refused to remove him.
- The situation gradually escalated until the Revolutions of 1848 saw the fall of the monarchy and the creation of the Second Republic.
- However, during the first few years of his regime, Louis Philippe appeared to move his government toward legitimate, broad-based reform.

### **The Charter of 1830**

- A new Charter was drawn up in 1830 by members of Chamber of Deputies. It guaranteed religious equality, the reestablishment of the National Guard, electoral reform, the reformation of the peerage system, and the lessening of royal authority.
- The preamble recalling the Ancien Régime was suppressed, and the King of France became the 'King of the French' (also known as the 'Citizen King').
- It established the principle of national sovereignty over the principle of the divine right.

- The new Charter was a compromise between the Doctrinaires' opposition to Charles X and the Republicans.
- Laws enforcing Catholicism and censorship were repealed and the revolutionary tricolore flag re-established.
- The 1825 Anti-Sacrilege Act which carried the death penalty for sacrilege was repealed.
- The Charter limited the power of the King; he lost the ability to propose and decree legislation, as well as limiting his executive authority.
- The electorate was increased from 94,000 under Charles X to more than 200,000 by 1848.
- However, this represented only roughly one percent of population, and as the requirements for voting were tax-based, only the wealthiest gained the privilege.
- The franchise tended to favour the wealthy merchant bourgeoisie more than any other group.

### **Louis Philippe's policies**

- Louis Phillipe and his ministers adopted policies that seemed to promote the central tenets of the constitution.
- Many policies were in fact attempts to shore up the power and influence of the government and the bourgeoisie.
- While the July Monarchy seemed to move toward reform, this movement was largely illusory.
- Louis Philippe acted primarily to benefit his supporters and increase his hold over the Assembly.
- The inclusion of only the wealthiest also tended to undermine any possibility of the growth of a radical faction in the Assembly.
- The King of the French was deeply involved in legislative affairs. He took great interest in the formation of governments in the years from 1830-40.
- After the short-lived ministries of Broglie and Lafitte, Louis Philippe appointed the rather conservative Casimir Perier.
- Perier, a banker, shut down many of the Republican secret societies and trade unions that had formed during the early years of the regime. He reduced the influence of the National Guard after it proved too radical.
- The term 'republican' was declared illegal in 1834. Guizot (Minister of the Interior) shut down republican clubs and disbanded republican publications.
- Louis-Philippe increased the size of the army and reformed it in order to ensure its loyalty to the government.
- At least two factions always existed in the cabinet; liberal conservatives like Guizot (le parti de la Résistance - the Party of Resistance) and liberal reformers like the journalist Adolphe Thiers (le parti du Mouvement - the Party of Movement).

- After Perier came Count Molé, another conservative. After Molé came Thiers, a reformer later sacked by Louis-Philippe after attempting to pursue an aggressive foreign policy towards Britain. After Thiers came the conservative Guizot.
- There were many other minor governments headed by Marshals Soult and Mortier and the Duc de Broglie.
- The Duc de Bassano, a survivor from the Ancien Regime, lasted eight days in 1834.
- Altogether, there were twelve Presidents of the Council; on two occasions the position was not filled.
- There were sixteen changes of government in the years from 1830 to 1840 as Louis-Philippe struggled to achieve a majority in the Chamber and a prime minister to his liking.
- One means was his attempts to create a 'court party' by encouraging officials to become deputies. By 1847, 40% of the seats in the Chamber were occupied by members of the administration.

### **Louis Philippe's reign fell into three distinct phases**

#### **1: 1830-35**

- During these years he was trying to establish the legitimacy of his regime and establish the succession.
- He was faced with repeated and often very violent threats from left and right. Republicans and Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbons) tried on numerous occasions to overthrow him.
- The Canut Risings were violent and bloody and only the most severe examples of working class unrest.

#### **2: 1835-40**

- After the attempt on Louis Philippe's life in 1835 by Fieschi, the regime was stabilised. There were no more insurrections apart from the rather comic Bonapartist rising in Strasbourg in 1836.
- The main focus of Louis Philippe was firstly to find a President of the Council whom he liked and could trust.
- Secondly, to achieve a ministry which had the support of an overall majority in the Chamber of Deputies.
- This period saw moderate economic progress and the successful conclusion of the war in Algeria.

#### **3: 1840-48**

- Louis Philippe finally found what he was looking for in Guizot, who dominated the last eight years of the reign, but presided over stagnation and corruption.

## Settling the regime

- Louis Philippe pledged his oath to the 1830 Charter on 9 August establishing the July Monarchy.
- The new government's first aim being to bring back the public order, Civil unrest continued during three months, supported by the left-wing press.
- Louis Philippe's government was not able to put an end to it, mostly because the National Guard was headed by one of the Republican leaders, the Marquis de La Fayette.
- The Republicans gathered themselves in clubs, in the tradition established by the 1789 Revolution.
- Some of these were fronts for secret societies (for example, the Blanquist Société des Amis du Peuple), which requested political and social reforms, or the execution of Charles X' ministers.
- In order to relaunch the economy and finally establish public order, the government had the Assembly vote a credit of 5 million francs to subsidise public works, mostly roads.
- Then, to prevent bankruptcies and the increase of unemployment, especially in Paris, the government granted 60 million francs to firms which encountered difficulties.
- Those subsidies mainly went in the pockets of big entrepreneurs dedicated to the new regimes, such as the printer Firmin Didot.
- The government expelled from the administration all of the Legitimist supporters who refused to pledge allegiance to the new regime.
- The Minister of the Interior, Guizot, replaced all the prefects and the mayors of large cities.
- The Minister of Justice, Dupont de l'Eure, dismissed most of the public prosecutors. Generals, ambassadors, plenipotentiary ministers and half of the Council of State were replaced.
- In the Chamber of Deputies, a quarter of the seats (119) were submitted to a new election in October, leading to the defeat of the Legitimists.
- The death of the Prince of Condé on 27 August 1830, found hanged, set up the first scandal of the July Monarchy.
- The Legitimists quickly accused, without proofs, Louis-Philippe and the Queen Marie-Amélie of having assassinated the ultra-royalist Prince.
- It is commonly accepted that he died following sexual games with his mistress, the Baroness de Feuchères.
- The trial of Charles X's former ministers took place from 15 December to 21 December 1830 before the Chamber of Pairs, surrounded by rioters demanding their death. They were sentenced to life imprisonment, with the death penalty for Polignac.
- La Fayette's National Guard maintained the public order in Paris, affirming itself as the bourgeois watchdog of the new regime.

- In order to avoid dependence on the National Guard, the 'Citizen King' charged Marshal Soult, the new Minister of War, with reorganizing the Army.
- In February 1831, Soult presented his project, aiming to increase the military's effectiveness. Among other reforms, the project included the creation of the Foreign Legion.
- The government pressed ahead with several reforms envisaged in the Charter.
- The law on municipal councils reestablished the principle of election and increased the number of electors tenfold.
- A law reduced the electoral income level from 300 to 200 Francs and the level for standing as a candidate from 1,000 to 500 Francs.
- The number of voters increased from a number of less than 100,000 to 166,000; one Frenchman in 170 possessed the right to vote.

### **Early crises**

- Despite these reforms, which targeted the bourgeoisie rather than the people, Paris was once again rocked by riots on 14 February and 15 February 1831, leading to change of government.
- The opposition's press launched a campaign to gather funds to create a national association aimed at struggling against any Bourbon Restoration.
- All of the major figures of the Republican Left supported it. Local committees were created all over France.
- The new President of the Council, Casimir Perier, prohibited civil servants from joining the association.
- Further riots broke out in April 1831 and the government used the military as well as the National Guard to dissolve the crowds. Public meetings were banned.
- Another riot, started on the rue Saint-Denis in June 1831, degenerated into an open battle against the National Guard, assisted by the Dragoons and the infantry. The riots continued for three days

### **The Canut Revolt**

- Canuts were skilled silk weavers in the city of Lyon. They were faced with rising wholesale prices and demanded fixed rates.
- On 21 November 1831, a rising started in which parts of the National Guard took the demonstrators' side; many were Canuts.
- The Canuts took control of the city and expelled the military commander and the mayor. Order was restored by a force of 20,000 under the command of Marshal Soult and the Crown Prince with heavy loss of life.

## **Further unrest**

- There were further examples of unrest in Grenoble, Dauphiné, Picardy, in Carcassonne and Alsace.
- Republican conspiracies threatened the government (conspiracy of the Tours de Notre-Dame in January 1832, of the rue des Prouvaires in February 1832, etc.) .
- Republicans seized every opportunity to paint the government and Legitimists in a bad light. Trials were used as propaganda and ministers attacked.
- At the same time, the Legitimist Duchess of Berry attempted an uprising in spring 1832 in Provence and Vendée, a stronghold of the ultra-royalists.
- Republicans started an insurrection in Paris in June 1832, on the occasion of the funerals of one of their leaders, General Lamarque.
- General Mouton crushed the rebellion, killing 800. The scene was later depicted by Victor Hugo in *Les Misérables*.

## **Reforms**

- In 1833, the government introduced reforms to try to win support. A programme of public works was intended to increase employment and stimulate the economy.
- The Arc de Triomphe in Paris was completed and Napoleon I's statue was put back on the Colonne Vendôme.
- The Minister of Public Instruction and Cults, François Guizot, passed the Law on Primary Education; this led the creation of an elementary school in each commune.
- It also led to the creation of teacher training institutions across the country.
- However, protests continued from the left and right and further unrest developed in 1834.

## **The April 1834 insurrections**

- The Second Canut Revolt in Lyon led the Minister of the Interior, Adolphe Thiers, to abandon the city to the insurgents, taking it back on 13 April with casualties of a 100 to 200 dead on both sides.
- The Republicans attempted to spread the insurrection to other cities: Marseille, Vienne, Poitiers and Châlons-sur-Marne.
- The threat was more serious in Grenoble and Saint-Étienne but finally public order was restored.
- Thiers had concentrated 40,000 soldiers in Paris and had made 'preventative arrests' against the 150 main leaders of the Society of Human Rights, and outlawed its mouthpiece, *La Tribune des départements*.



- Despite these measures, barricades were set up in the evening of 13 April 1834, leading to repression, including a massacre of all the inhabitants of a house (men, women, children and elders) from where a shot had been fired.
- More than 2,000 arrests were made following the riots, in particular in Paris and Lyon.
- In May 1834, the Chamber of Deputies voted a credit of 14 million francs to increase the army to 360,000 men.
- Two days later, it passed a law extending the power of the government to detain suspects and use of military weapons.

### **The Constitutional issue**

- The repeated changes of government in the 1830s were the result of a lack of clarity in the Charter.
- Louis Philippe wanted to be able to follow his own policies, in particular in 'reserved domains' such as military affairs or diplomacy.
- As Head of State, he also wanted to be able to lead the government, if necessary by bypassing the President of the Council, the first minister.
- Deputies in the Chamber, believed that the ministers needed a leader from the parliamentary majority.
- They wanted to continue the evolution towards parliamentary government which had only been sketched with the Charter of 1830.
- The Charter did not include any form of political responsibility of the ministers towards the Chamber (confidence motion or censorship motion).
- Furthermore, the function of a President of the Council itself was not registered in the Charter.

### **The Turning point in the 1830s: The Fieschi assassination attempt**

- During a review of the National Guard in Paris by Louis Philippe for the commemoration of the July Revolution, there was an attempt on the life of the King.
- Louis was only lightly injured, while his sons, Ferdinand Philippe, duc d'Orléans, Louis Charles d'Orléans, duc de Nemours and François d'Orléans, prince de Joinville, escaped unharmed.
- However, Marshal Mortier and ten other persons were killed, while many were injured and died subsequently.
- The conspirators were Giuseppe Fieschi and two Republicans, who were members of the Society of Human Rights.
- They were arrested in September 1835, tried, sentenced to death and guillotined on 19 February 1836.

### **The impact of the Fieschi assassination attempt**

- The Fieschi attentat shocked most of France. The Republicans were discredited in the country, and the public opinion was ready for decisive action.
- Three laws were passed; the first reinforced the powers of the courts and of the public prosecutor against those accused of rebellion, holding prohibited weapons or insurrectionary attempts.
- The second law changed jury trials by only requiring a simple majority (7 to 5 as against 8 to 4 previously).
- The third law restricted freedom of press. It banned discussions concerning the king, the dynasty and constitutional monarchy.
- The first law was passed fairly easily, but the second and third were debated fiercely.
- The July Monarchy was henceforth secure; any discussion of its legitimacy were banned.
- The Opposition could now only discuss of the interpretation of the Charter and hope for evolution towards parliamentary government.
- Demands for the enlargement of the electoral base became more frequent; leading in 1840 to the re-appearance of Republican Opposition with demands for universal suffrage.

### **The search for stability**

- Despite the support for the monarchy after the Fieschi assassination, the passage of the three laws in 1836 and increasing economic strength, Louis Philippe was unable to secure a stable majority in the Chamber.
- From 1836 to 1840, there was a succession of short-lived ministries involving a series of Presidents of the Council, some of whom the King did not like.
- Thiers (1836) was a member of the 'Third Party'; this had appeared in 1834 as a counterweight to the main groupings in the Chamber. Thiers was a moderate with left wing tendencies.
- Molé, a favourite of the King was in power from 1836-9; he was followed by governments headed by Soult (for a second time) and by Thiers yet again.
- The problem as always was Louis-Philippe's desire to be able to choose a President of the Council who he trusted and liked and who was able to command a majority in the Chamber.

### **The Bonapartist Risings**

- In October 1836, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte attempted an uprising in Strasbourg. All were arrested on the same day.
- The king ordered that Louis Napoleon be taken to Lorient where he was put on board a frigate bound for the United States. The other participants were tried and acquitted.

- Louis Napoleon tried again in 1840, landing at Boulogne with a few companions and an eagle. He was arrested and imprisoned at Ham in Picardy.

### **Reaction to the first Bonapartist Rising**

- The Minister of War tried to pass a law which stated that civilians would be judged by the civil courts, but non-civilians would be judged by a war council. The opposition opposed the law, and the Chamber refused to pass it.
- This was one of a number of defeats suffered by the government in the Chamber in 1836.
- This was one reason why Louis Philippe had surprisingly chosen Adolphe Thiers as President of the Council in February 1836.
- Louis hoped that Thiers would make a fool of himself (a liberal in a conservative government) and discredit the Left.
- Thiers only lasted a few months before the King replaced him with Molé, but he was unable to win a commanding majority in his three years in power.
- From 1836 to 1840, it seemed that Louis Philippe was more interested in playing politics, than he was in promoting the welfare of France and the French people.

### **Economic policies**

- Molé was President of the Council from 1836 to 1839; he was the longest surviving of Louis Philippe's Presidents of the Council.
- This was the only period when any concerted effort was made to improve the French economy.
- Many roads were either built or improved and 2,000 km of canals were constructed.
- However, railway development was held up for ten years until the Railway Law of 1842. Before that, there was disagreement on whether they should be privately or publicly owned.
- The government preferred to leave economic development in other respects to businessmen.
- Labour was cheap and there appeared to be no pressing need to develop the use of machinery.
- Banking was in the hands of a few powerful families and in general terms the main focus was on preserving rather than creating wealth.
- Credit was only available to borrowers who were regarded as very safe. Large scale investment was very rare.
- There were few criticisms of the protective tariff policy which had gone on unchanged from the reign of Louis XVIII.

## **Foreign Policy**

### **Belgium**

- In 1815 the Great Powers decided that Belgium had to become part of the ring of states that were intended to keep France in check. Belgium became part of the Kingdom of the United Netherlands.
- The majority of the Belgians were Flemings and spoke the same language as the Dutch. The remainder of the Belgians, the Walloons, spoke French. They had little in common with the Dutch and resented the union.
- The Flemings were also unhappy with the union. They were mostly Catholic, while the Dutch were mostly Protestant.
- The Dutch were given virtual control of the new kingdom. The Belgians outnumbered the Dutch two to one, but half of the seats in the Estates-General, the parliament, were allotted to the Dutch. The Dutch also gained 80% of the posts in the administration.
- Belgium was the first area of Europe to follow the British example and industrialise. In Holland there was very little industry. Belgium was therefore contributing by far the greatest share of the national income.
- In fact many Belgian factory owners and merchants were happy to remain part of the United Netherlands. But they did not like Dutch financial and political influence.

### **Why did unrest break out in 1830?**

- There had been a series of poor harvests and the price of food had risen.
- The Dutch garrison was driven out of Brussels and the Belgians declared independence in October. Dutch troops sent to retake the city were beaten back. The key factor in these events was the decision of William I to use violence to try to force the Belgians to give in.
- In November the representatives of the Great Powers met at a conference in London and declared an armistice and the Belgians established a constitutional monarchy. In December the conference declared that the Kingdom of the Netherlands was dissolved.
- The Dutch rejected the decision. They sent an army into Belgium and defeated the Belgians comprehensively. The Dutch withdrew, however, when threatened by the French.
- Louis Philippe provided further assistance when 70,000 French troops were sent to back the new state. Antwerp was recaptured with French aid in 1832.
- Finally, the Dutch agreed to accept the division of the kingdom and withdrew all of their forces under pressure from Britain and France.
- A plan put forward by Talleyrand which would have divided Belgium into three and handed the French-speaking area to France was rejected.

## Algeria

- The invasion of Algeria began in 1830 and was one of the last acts of Charles X. It was also a major reason for the success of the July Revolution because many troops were either in, or on their way to, Algeria.
- Charles X probably did not intend a permanent French occupation of Algeria, but events overtook the original intention.
- Algerian forces were heavily defeated in July 1830 and the French took possession of a coastal strip.
- The French command had agreed to preserve the liberties, properties, and religious freedom of the inhabitants.
- However, French troops immediately began plundering the city, arresting and killing people for arbitrary reasons, seizing property, and desecrating religious sites.
- One estimate indicates that more than fifty million francs of assets were diverted into private hands during the plunder.
- The victory was enormously popular, and the new government of Louis-Philippe only withdrew a portion of the invasion force.
- The French governor, Clauzel, and others formed a company to acquire agricultural land and to subsidize its settlement by European farmers, triggering a land rush.
- During his second term as governor general (1835–36), he used his office to make private investments in land and encouraged army officers and bureaucrats in his administration to do the same.
- This development created a vested interest among government officials in greater French involvement in Algeria.
- Over a ten-year period they created large agricultural tracts, built factories and businesses, and exploited cheap local labour.
- In June 1834, France formally annexed the occupied areas of Algeria, which had an estimated Muslim population of about two million, as a military colony.
- The colony was run by a military governor who had both civilian and military authority, including the power of executive decree.
- His authority was nominally over an area of ‘limited occupation’ near the coast, but the realities of French colonial expansion beyond those areas ensured continued resistance from the local population.
- From 1834, there was almost continuous fighting between the French and the local forces in Oran and Constantine.
- In 1837, French forces captured Constantine, but were then harried for ten years by Al-Qādir, until he was captured in December 1847

- The policy of limited occupation was formally abandoned in 1840 for one of complete control. By 1847, 70,000 French colonists had arrived in Algeria.
- Louis Philippe used the Algerian campaign as a means of sustaining his popularity.
- The Crown Prince was sent to take part in the final capture of Constantine in 1837 and all the royal princes served in the French forces at some point.

### **Mehmet Ali**

- Mehmet Ali controlled the Egyptian part of the Ottoman Empire and in the 1830s had attempted to extend his influence into Syria.
- In 1840, he tried to break away from ottoman control and establish an independent state.
- Thiers, the President of the Council supported Mehmet Ali and tried to arrange an agreement between him and the Sultan, without the knowledge of the other Great Powers.
- When the news broke, Lord Palmerston (British Foreign Secretary) arranged a Convention in London which negated the French moves.
- Thiers tried to build the situation into a war scare and ordered a partial mobilisation of the army and the construction of fortifications around Paris.
- When Beirut was shelled by the British and Austrian navies, Louis Philippe did nothing.
- In October, the status quo was confirmed; this ensured that French interests in the area were preserved.
- Louis Philippe used the debacle as a the pretext for getting rid of Thiers; this paved the way for Guizot

## **The Causes and Consequences of the 1848 Revolution in France to 1852**

### **Guizot**

- By the time that Guizot was appointed President of the Council in 1840, he had already been at the centre of French politics for almost twenty-five years.
- Guizot was a 'doctrinaire'; a member of the liberal-conservative academic group which had influenced Decazes and the legislation that had resulted from the 1830 Charter.
- Doctrinaires opposed extensions of royal power and supported the constitution, but opposed the extension of the franchise.
- They believed that the Chamber should be under the control of the wealthy landowners, bankers and business class.
- They supported controls on newspapers not because they necessarily favoured censorship, but because they wanted them to be in the hands of the rich.
- Under Guizot, doctrinaire philosophy came to mean the preservation of the political status quo, with limited economic and industrial expansion.
- In fact, Louis Philippe probably never envisaged that Guizot would be a permanent appointment. He took over when Soult retired with the expectation that Molé (the King's favourite) would return in due course.
- Instead, Guizot was able to knit a cabinet together more firmly than any other July politician and control the Chamber. He became Louis Philippe's longest serving and favourite politician.
- He was an able orator and a master of tactics in the Chamber; he was therefore the first genuine politician to hold the Presidency of the Council under the July Monarchy.

### **Guizot's policies**

- Guizot was summoned back to Paris in 1840 from the post of Ambassador to Great Britain. He was an anglophile and had established a good working relationship with the Melbourne government (1835-41).
- He used this to persuade the British to allow Napoleon's ashes to be returned to France and interred in Les Invalides.
- He was at odds with Thiers policy over Mehmet Ali and the risk of war with Britain, but was able to moderate the French position after Thiers resigned.
- He established an even better relationship with Sir Robert Peel (1841-6) and created an informal entente cordiale.
- French and British troops fought alongside each other at Rio de la Plata in 1845.
- The fall of Peel's government in 1846 changed these intimate relations; the return of Palmerston to the foreign office led Guizot to believe that the entente cordiale would be broken.

## **Tahiti**

- In 1842, a French admiral, acting independently of the French government, convinced Tahiti's Queen Pōmare IV to become a French protectorate.
- The acting British Consul was away at the time. On his return, he urged the local;s to reject the french French.
- In June 1843, French sailors on the island, annexing it to France. He then threw the consul into prison and sent him back to Britain.
- News of Tahiti reached Europe in early 1844. Guizot, supported by Louis Philippe, had denounced annexation of the island. War between the French and the Tahitians continued until 1847.

## **The Affair of the Spanish Marriages**

- Guizot and the Peel administration had come to an understanding that Isabella, the Spanish queen, would marry a Bourbon of the Spanish or Neapolitan branches, rather than a Bourbon of France.
- In 1846, Palmerston rejected this understanding which had been made with his predecessor, and instead revived the suggestion of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha as a husband.
- The House of Saxe-Coburg -Gotha was closely linked to the British royal house.
- The British had backed the candidature of another Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha as King of Belgium in 1830.
- Although he had married Louis Philippe's eldest daughter, the French were confronted with the possibility of facing a Britain-aligned dynasty on both of France's northern and southern borders.
- Guizot therefore determined to adamantly oppose any Coburg marriages and succeeded. However, the entente cordiale was wrecked and Guizot was forced into closer relations with Metternich in Austria.

## **The economy**

- From 1842, France enjoyed a period of economic expansion. The Railway Act of 1842 led to the creation of 1,800 km of track by 1848.
- Average growth of GDP was 3.5% throughout the 1840s
- The Guizot administration was marked by increasingly authoritarian crackdowns on republicanism and dissent, and an increasingly pro-business policy.
- This policy included protective tariffs that defended the status quo and enriched French businessmen.
- Guizot's government granted railway and mining contracts to the bourgeois supporters of the government, and even contributing some of the start-up costs.



- However, most of the improvement in the French economy took place without much government involvement. Guizot had little grasp of economics and left developments to business.

### **Social reform**

- As workers under these policies had no legal right to assemble or petition the government for increased pay or improved conditions, Guizot did little for the lower classes.
- Workers had 14 hours work, daily wages of 0,20 Francs, and no possibility of organising themselves in trade unions.
- 250,000 beggars were registered, and 3 million citizens registered in the charity offices. State assistance was non-existent.
- The only social reform of the July Monarchy was to outlaw, in 1841, working of children under 8 years old, and night work for those of less than 13 years. The law, however, was almost never implemented.
- Guizot's advice to those who were disenfranchised by the tax-based electoral requirements was simple 'Get rich through work and savings and then you will be electors'.
- Guizot's indifference encouraged 'Saint-Simonianism' and the workshops of Louis Blanc, which were to become major factors from 1848.

### **The collapse of the July Monarchy**

#### **Political factors**

- In 1846, the opposition accused the government of buying the votes of the electorate. Guizot acknowledged that corruption happened but the government could not really prevent it.
- In the same year, Louis Napoleon, disguised as a woman, escaped from the prison at Ham and fled to Britain to await a further opportunity.
- Guizot also failed to satisfy the demand for expansion of suffrage. Louis Philippe and his ministers refused all demands for reform of the suffrage of 200,000 citizens, and a chamber of whom 40% were placemen.
- Guizot never acknowledged either at the time or to his dying day the nature of this error; he described himself in his memoirs as a champion of liberal government and constitutional law.

#### **Economic factors**

- The 1846 harvest was poor, in France as elsewhere. A rise in the price of wheat, the dietary staple of the common people, provoked a food shortage, while purchasing power decreased.
- The resulting fall in domestic consumption led to a crisis of industrial overproduction.
- This in turn immediately led to massive lay-offs, and thus to a large withdrawal of savings, leading to a banking crisis.

- Bankruptcies multiplied, and stock prices on the stock exchanges collapsed. The government reacted by importing Russian wheat, which created a negative balance of trade.
- The programme of public works therefore stopped, including attempts to improve France's coastal defences.

## **Unrest**

- There was an increasing number of workers' demonstrations, with riots in the Buzançais in 1847. In Roubaix, a city in the industrial north, 60% of the workers were unemployed.
- About a third of Paris was on the dole. Radical writers such as Louis Blanc ('The right to work') and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon ('Property is theft!') became popular.
- At the same time, the regime was marred by several political scandals; the Teste–Cubières corruption scandal, revealed in May 1847 and Charles de Choiseul-Praslin's suicide after having murdered his wife.
- As the right of association was strictly restricted, and public meetings prohibited after 1835, the opposition was paralyzed.

## **Banquets**

- In order to sidestep this law, political dissidents used civil funerals of their comrades as occasions of public demonstrations. Family celebrations and banquets also served as pretexts for gatherings.
- At the end of the regime, the campagne des banquets took place in all of the big cities of France. Louis-Philippe firmly reacted to this threat, and prohibited the final banquet, which was to be held on 14 January 1848.
- It was postponed to 22 February; this banquet would provoke the February 1848 Revolution.
- Anger over the outlawing of the political banquets, brought crowds of Parisians flooding out into the streets at noon on 22 February 1848.
- The crowds directed their anger against the Citizen King Louis Philippe and his Guizot.
- The crowds erected barricades in the streets of Paris, and fighting broke out between the citizens and the Parisian municipal guards.
- At 2 pm the next day, on 23 February, Guizot resigned. Upon hearing the news of Guizot's resignation, a large crowd gathered outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- An officer ordered the crowd not to pass, but people in the front of the crowd were being pushed by the rear. The officer ordered his men to fix bayonets, probably wishing to avoid shooting.
- However, in what is widely regarded as an accident, a soldier discharged his musket, which resulted in the rest of the soldiers firing into the crowd. Fifty two people were killed.

- Paris was soon a barricaded city. Omnibuses were turned into barricades, and thousands of trees were felled. Fires were set, and angry citizens began converging to the royal palace.
- King Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson and fled to England.
- The Second Republic was proclaimed on 26 February 1848, on the Place de la Bastille, before the July Column.

## **The Second Republic**

### **The Constitution**

- On 26 February 1848, a provisional government called the Second Republic was set up. The poet Alphonse de Lamartine was appointed president of the provisional government.
- There were ten other members including one working man called Albert.
- Elections for a Constituent Assembly were scheduled for 23 April 1848. This was to establish a new republican government for France.
- Universal male suffrage was enacted on 2 March 1848, giving France nine million new voters. As in all other European nations, women did not have the right to vote.

### **National Workshops**

- Relief for the unemployed was created by the provision of the National Workshops, which guaranteed French citizens' 'right to work'.
- The 'right' of a citizen to work and indeed the National Workshops themselves had been the idea of Louis Blanc.
- The National Workshops proved to be an overnight success. The unemployed were given jobs building roads and planting trees.
- By May 1848, the National Workshops were employing 100,000 workers and paying out daily wages of 70,000 livres.
- Hours of work were set at ten hours in Paris and eleven in the provinces.
- In 1848, 479 newspapers were founded. However, there was also a 54% decline in the number of businesses in Paris, as most of the wealthy had left Paris

### **Consequences**

- After roughly a month, conservatives began to openly oppose the new government, using the rallying cry 'order', which the new republic lacked.
- There was a major split between the citizens of Paris and those citizens of the more rural areas of France.
- The population of Paris ballooned as job seekers from all over France came to Paris to work in the newly formed National Workshops.
- To pay for these the new National Workshops, the provisional government placed new taxes on land.
- These taxes alienated the 'landed classes', especially the small farmers and the peasantry of the rural areas of France.

- Hardworking rural farmers were resistant to paying for the unemployed city people and their new 'Right to Work' National Workshops.
- The taxes were widely ignored in the rural areas and, thus, the government became very financially strapped for cash.
- Popular uncertainty about the liberal foundations of the provisional government became apparent in the 23 April 1848 elections.

### **The Constituent Assembly**

- Despite the agitation from the left, voters elected a Constituent Assembly which was essentially moderate and conservative.
- Out of the 900 deputies elected, nearly 700 would have fulfilled the electoral qualifications of the July Monarchy.
- In May, Jacques-Charles Dupont de l'Eure, chairman of the provisional government, made way for the Executive Commission, a body of state acting as Head of State with five co-presidents.
- The results of the 23 April 1848 election were a disappointment to the radicals in Paris. The only bright spot for the radicals was the election of their hero of the working classes, François-Vincent Raspail.
- The radicals felt the elections were a sign of the slowing down of the revolutionary movement.
- To keep the revolutionary movement alive in France, radicals in Paris pressured the government to head an international 'crusade' for democracy.
- The government of the National Assembly continued to resist the radicals. The radicals began to protest against the government.
- On 15 May 1848, Parisian workmen feeling their democratic and social republic was slipping away, invaded the Assembly and proclaimed a new Provisional Government.
- This attempted revolution on the part of the working classes was quickly suppressed by the National Guard.
- The leaders of this revolt - Louis Auguste Blanqui, Armand Barbès, François Vincent Raspail and others - were arrested. The trial of these leaders was held in March to April 1849.

### **The Reaction**

- The conservative classes of society were becoming increasingly fearful of the power of the working classes in Paris.
- They felt a strong need for organization and organized themselves around the need for 'order' - the so-called 'Party of Order.'
- For the Party of Order the term 'order' meant society returning to the days of Louis Philippe.

- The Party of Order was now the dominant member of the government. As the main force of reaction against revolution, it forced the closure of the Right to Work National Workshops on 21 June 1848.
- On 23 June 1848, the working class of Paris rose in protest over the closure of the National Workshops.
- On that day 170,000 citizens of Paris came out into the streets to erect barricades. To meet this challenge, the government appointed General Louis Eugène Cavaignac to lead the military forces suppressing the uprising of the working classes.
- General Cavaignac had been serving in the Army in Algeria. Cavaignac had returned from Algeria and in the elections of 23 April 1848, he was elected to the National Constituent Assembly.
- Cavaignac arrived in Paris only on 17 May 1848 to take his seat in the National Assembly.

### **The June Days**

- Between 23 June and 26 June 1848, this battle between the working class and Cavaignac came to be known as the 'June Days Uprising'.
- Cavaignac's forces started out on 23 June 1848 with an army composed of from 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers of the Paris garrison. He began a systematic assault on the blockaded areas of the city.
- However, he was not able to break the stiff opposition put up by the armed workers on the barricades on 23 June 1848.
- Accordingly, Cavaignac's forces were reinforced with another 20,000–25,000 soldiers from the mobile guard, some additional 60,000 to 80,000 from the national guard.
- Even with this force of 120,000 to 125,000 soldiers, Cavaignac still required two days to complete the suppression of the working class uprising.
- At least 1,400 workers were killed in the fighting, but many others were summarily shot. 15,000 were arrested and 4,000 were deported.
- The 'Party of Order' moved quickly to consolidate the forces of reaction in the government and on 28 June 1848, the government appointed General Cavaignac as the head of the French state.
- On 4 September 1848, the National Assembly, now controlled by the Party of Order, set about writing a new constitution.
- The new constitution was finished on 23 October 1848 and presidential elections were scheduled for 10 December 1848.
- Executive power was to be held by a President, who would be elected on universal manhood suffrage. He could not be reelected.
- He was banned from dissolving the Assembly within three years

### **Why had the unity of February 1848 broken down so quickly?**

- During the February Revolution a united front had been presented by all classes of society who were in opposition to Louis Philippe.
- The business class, shopkeepers and artisans had joined the working classes in the February Revolution in order to obtain 'proper participation' in the government for all in society.
- In June, all the propertied classes of the February Revolution, became afraid of the workers' revolt and turned on their former allies in the February Revolution.
- Consequently, the provisional government, which had been created to address the concerns of the all classes of French society, lost most of its support in the working classes.
- The provisional government tended to address only the concerns of the business classes and forgot the concerns of the working class and the shopkeepers and artisans.
- Support for the provisional government was especially weak in the countryside, where a vast amount of France's population was agricultural and traditionally less revolutionary.
- There was also a traditional distrust of Paris and Parisians in the provinces; the workshops only served to aggravate this.
- The working classes had been abandoned by the middle class politicians who founded the provisional government.

### **The rise of Louis Napoleon**

- Louis Napoleon returned to France in April 1848 and won a seat in the National Assembly. He made no impression in debates.
- However, over the next seven months he gradually developed a public profile and portrayed himself as the man to lead France
- Louis Napoleon portrayed himself as 'rising above politics. Each class saw Louis Napoleon as a re-enactment of the 'great days' of Napoleon Bonaparte.

### **The presidential election**

- The various classes in France each had different visions of what a return to the days of Napoleon Bonaparte would mean and they supported Louis Napoleon for different reasons.
- Louis Napoleon, himself encouraged this by 'being all things to all people'. Both the Legitimists (Bourbons) and the Orleans monarchists saw Louis Napoleon as the beginnings of a royalist restoration in France.
- The army voted for Napoleon because Napoleon was seen as a supporter of an active foreign policy war in stead of peace.
- Big business supported Louis Napoleon as a means of breaking the working class and the other revolutionary forces. They felt that Louis Napoleon would suppress all further revolutionary activity.

- Even sections of the proletariat supported Louis Napoleon because they saw him as a means of getting rid of the republicanism of the National Assembly which had betrayed working class interests in the recent June Days.
- Shopkeepers and artisans saw Louis Napoleon as their saviour from their creditors, who had denied them any kind of relief from their crushing debts.
- The support of the peasantry for Louis Napoleon was so strong that the election of Louis Napoleon has been seen as a coup d' état by the peasantry.
- On 10 December 1848 a presidential election was held between four candidates.
  - Cavaignac, was the candidate of the Party of Order.
  - Ledru-Rollin was the editor of the La Réforme newspaper and as such was the leader of the radical Democrats.
  - François-Vincent Raspail was the candidate of the revolutionary working classes.
  - Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was the fourth presidential candidate.
- Louis Napoleon won the presidential election of 10 December 1848 with 5,587,759 votes as opposed to 1,474,687 votes for Cavaignac and 370,000 votes for Ledru-Rollin. Raspail ended up a distant fourth in the balloting.

### **Louis Napoleon as President**

- By the time of the December 2, 1851 coup, Louis Napoleon had dissolved the National Assembly without having the constitutional right to do so, and became the sole ruler of France.
- He re-established universal suffrage, feared by the Republicans at the time who correctly expected the country-side to vote against the Republic,
- During his term as President, Louis Napoleon styled himself the Prince-President (Le Prince-Président).
- Despite his landslide victory, Louis Napoleon was faced with an Assembly dominated by monarchists, who saw his government only as a temporary bridge to a restoration of either the House of Bourbon or of Orléans.
- Louis Napoleon governed cautiously during his first years in office, choosing his ministers from among the more 'centre-right' Orleanist Parti de l'Ordre monarchists, and generally avoiding conflict with the conservative assembly.
- He courted Catholic support by assisting in the restoration of the Pope's temporal rule in Rome in 1848-9. French troops helped to defeat the republic set up by Mazzini and Garibaldi.
- At the same time, he tried to please secularist conservative opinion at the same time by combining this with demands that the Pope introduce liberal changes to the government of the Papal States.
- He called for the appointment of a liberal government and the adoption of the Code Napoleon, which angered the Catholic majority in the assembly.



- He made another attempt to gain Catholic support, however, by approving the Loi Falloux in 1851, which restored a greater role for the Church in the French educational system.

### **The Loi Falloux**

- The clergy and members of ecclesiastical orders, male and female, could become teachers without any further qualification. The Catholic Church was allowed to build secondary schools.
- This was extended even to priests who taught in secondary schools, where a university degree was demanded from lay teachers. The primary schools were put under the management of parish priests.
- Each Departement was given control over education, including universities. This strengthened the local influence of the aristocracy. Bishops were guaranteed places on all education councils.
- The Law also restricted the freedom of assembly and the press. One third of the French electorate lost the right to vote.

### **The coup of December 1851**

- According to the new constitution of 1848, Napoleon's term of office as president would end on the second Sunday in May 1852.
- The constitution did not allow any person to succeed as president for a second term.
- Louis Napoleon, in the third year of his four-year mandate, began to seek an amendment to the constitution to allow him to succeed himself as president.
- He asked the National Assembly for a revision of the constitution to enable the president to run for re-election, arguing that four years were not enough to fully implement his political and economic policies.
- The National Assembly, dominated by monarchists who wished to restore the Bourbon dynasty, refused to amend the Constitution.
- The National Assembly passed a new election law on 31 May 1850. This new law placed restrictions on universal male suffrage, imposing a three-year residency requirement. It prevented a large proportion of the lower class from voting.
- Louis Napoleon was able to seize the opportunity and break with the Assembly and the conservative ministers opposing his projects in favour of the dispossessed.
- He toured the country making populist speeches condemning the assembly and presenting himself as the protector of universal male suffrage.
- After months of stalemate, and using the money of his mistress, Harriet Howard, he staged a coup d'état and seized dictatorial powers on 2 December 1851.
- The coup was later declared to have been approved by the French people in a national referendum.
- There were a few republican protests and some barricades were erected in Paris.

## **Results of the coup**

- The coup of 1851 alienated the monarchical elements in the Assembly. Consequently, Louis Napoleon confiscated all the property of the House of Orleans in January 1852.
- Citizen King Louis Phillipe, who had been deposed by the Revolution of February 1848, had been a member of the Orleans family.
- Additionally, the House of Orleans had formed a major part of the 'Party of Order' in the National Assembly, and later the Constituent Assembly, which acted in opposition to the Louis Bonaparte.
- New constitutional statutes were passed which officially maintained an elected Parliament and re-established universal male suffrage.
- In fact the Assembly now became irrelevant as real power was completely concentrated in the hands of Louis Napoleon and his supporters.
- Exactly one year after the coup, on 2 December 1852, after approval by another referendum, the Second Republic was officially ended and the Empire was restored .
- President Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. The numbering of Napoleon's reign treats Napoleon II, who never actually ruled, as a true Emperor.
- That same year, Napoleon III began shipping political prisoners and criminals to penal colonies such as Devil's Island or (in milder cases) New Caledonia.

## **How successful was Napoleon III's Domestic Policy?**

- The Emperor, a bachelor, began quickly to look for a wife to produce a legitimate heir. Most of the royal families of Europe were unwilling to marry into the parvenu Bonaparte family.
- Napoleon decided to lower his sights somewhat and 'marry for love', choosing the Countess of Teba, Eugénie de Montijo.
- In 1856, Eugénie gave birth to a legitimate son and heir, Louis Napoleon, the Prince Impérial.
- He became known as L'Aiglon and joined the British army after the family fled in 1870. He was killed in a skirmish during the Zulu War in 1879.

## **The Authoritarian Empire 1852-60**

### **Securing the regime**

- The Constitution of the Empire differed little from that of the Second Republic.
- Prefects were given an 100% salary increase and increased powers to ensure their loyalty.
- Mayors were allowed to use some patronage and threatened with the sack if they did not toe the line.
- The Senate was nominated by Napoleon and announced his decrees. The Corps Legislatif could discuss and vote on legislation but not propose bills. It was elected on universal manhood suffrage.
- Political associations could not form national structures; political meetings could only be held in the presence of a government official.
- In universities, philosophy classes were banned and teachers were forbidden to wear beards.
- The Press Decree stated that government approval was needed to found a newspaper and also whenever a member of staff was replaced.
- Stamp Duty was increased and huge sums had to be deposited as sureties with the Treasury.
- The Minister of the Interior and Prefects could warn editors about improprieties and after three warnings the journal could be suspended. All cases involving the press were tried without a jury.
- Newspapers had to submit daily reports on the content of their issues to government offices. These tended to accumulate dust.
- Despite these restrictions, the Second Empire was a relatively mild police state because Napoleon did not have the apparatus to check on the 30 million people in France

### **Support for Napoleon**

- The peasants in the countryside, the middle and business classes supported him almost without question.

- Urban workers were won over by the boom in the 1850s. Shopkeepers and artisans were more suspicious.

### **Economic policy**

- Napoleon's main concern was the development of the French economy. He aimed for a society dominated by businessmen and dedicated to the task of raising the standard of living of the poor.
- He was attracted to the ideas of **Saint-Simon**, who believed that the forces of production should be liberated and used to benefit the poor.
- Credit should be made available to industry on a large scale. In 1852, Napoleon allowed the formation of the Credit Mobilier. Capital was raised and made available to commercial ventures.
- The Credit Foncier was created in 1852 to offer credit to rural areas, but ended up financing the rebuilding of Paris, Lyon and Marseille.
- Railways, mines, steamship lines and gas companies all benefited and for years high dividends were paid.
- French capital went abroad to finance projects in Germany, Spain and Italy. The most successful project was the building of the Suez Canal which opened in 1869. Although did not have Napoleon's backing.
- Long-term concessions were granted to railway companies, Rail mileage in France increased from 3,000 to 16,000 km during the 1850s, and this growth allowed mines and factories to operate at higher production rates.
- The fifty-five small rail lines of France were merged into six major lines. Share dividends were set at a guaranteed rate to attract investors.
- **Saint-Simonianism** supported the expansion of railways as a means of increasing production and reducing prices.
- This cut the log jam created by the debate over public and private ownership in the 1840s and the Republic.
- The use of horse-power in industry increased 500% from 1851 to 1879.

### **Hausmann**

- Napoleon wanted France to be as eye-catching as possible and decided to rebuild the cities of Paris, Lyon and Marseille.
- In Paris, 20,000 houses were demolished and the inhabitants either moved to the suburbs or forced to share accommodation. The result was broad boulevards, new public buildings and open spaces.
- Once again this was supported by **Saint-Simonianism** which emphasised the need for better transport and increased space for industry.

- Napoleon also saw his redevelopment as creating work and also allowing for the swifter movement of troops to trouble spots.

### **Economic changes**

- The boom in industry was aided by the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1854.
- Despite Napoleon's best efforts, the Corps Legislatif remained conservative economically and criticised urban renewal. It also held up until 1860 any ideas of free trade.
- The **Cobden-Chevalier Treaty** of 1860 lowered tariffs between Britain and France and was followed by similar agreements with Belgium, the Netherlands, the Zollverein and other European countries.
- More than 200 firms were granted government loans for modernisation when there were fears expressed at the threat of competition from Britain.
- Napoleon's popularity showed little sign of diminishing, however. In the 1857 elections, government candidates won all but thirteen seats.
- The success of the French troops in Italy in 1859 won the further support of many radicals, but lost Napoleon the Catholic hierarchy.

### **Criticism of Napoleon**

- Apart from republicans, who were almost lost without trace, the Catholic Church was surprisingly critical of his policies.
- The Church wanted to total control of education, particularly higher education.
- Catholics were further angered by the appointment of the anti-clerical Duruy as Minister of Education.
- Businessmen criticised moves towards free trade, but these were generally overcome.
- Napoleon's decision to adopt a more liberal attitude was therefore something of a surprise.

### **The Liberal Empire, 1860-70: why did Napoleon change tack in 1860-61?**

- The influence of his half-brother, Morny, the President of the Corps Legislatif. He believed that Napoleon would be better off adopting a qualified parliamentary system.
- Rising unpopularity as a result of the Italian war and the commercial treaty with Britain.
- His extravagantly expensive foreign policy and public works had created rapidly mounting government debts.
- Napoleon and Haussmann believed that the budget deficits would be offset by subsequent high profits. This did not work.

- By 1860, the annual deficit was about 100 million francs and the cumulative debt had reached nearly 1 billion.
- The Emperor had full control of the budget, but was managing it poorly. He needed to restore the confidence of the business world, and to involve the legislature and sharing responsibility.
- Therefore he renounced his right to borrow money when the legislature was not in session and agreed the budget should be voted on item by item as to opposed to en bloc.
- Nevertheless he retained the right to change the estimates section by section, thereby defeating parliamentary control and angering the parliamentarians.
- Annually, the members of the two houses would be allowed to debate the speech from the throne in front of ministers, who reply to grievances.
- The changes could therefore be seen as a means of sharing the blame for financial problems.
- Official reports of debates would be published for the first time. Newspapers could publish these but had to do so verbatim. This proved to be all but impossible
- However, in the 1863 elections, 32 seats were won by Catholic and republican opponents of the regime.

#### **What did Napoleon hope to achieve?**

- He hoped to revive parliamentary life, foster the creation of political parties, and exercise his power indirectly, by working through the parliament.
- Instead all major parties seized upon Napoleon's concessions as an opportunity to demand wider powers, and the revival of parliamentary institutions.
- Consequently, real change only began to take place in 1867 when Emile Ollivier and Adolphe Thiers announced that they were ready to cooperate with Napoleon if he would allow more reform.
- Controls on newspapers and public meetings were to be relaxed further, but the Bill was held up for more than a year.
- Criticism and satire of Napoleon became more and more common. When Hausmann asked for retrospective approval of a credit of 400 million francs, Napoleon's ratings went rock-bottom.
- In January 1870, he appointed Emile Ollivier as head of a ministry responsible to the Chamber.
- A new liberal constitution was announced in May 1870, but by then the die was cast.

### **Why had Napoleon failed?**

- He believed his own propaganda. He had a mission and was determined to fulfil it. He did not appreciate that others did not share it.
- He spent far too much on the economy, the redevelopment of cities and foreign policy.
- He refused to allow any criticism or even discussion of his policies in the Chambers.
- His regime was in effect a step back from the limited democracy of the July Monarchy
- He relied on the glamour of the Bonaparte name to get by.
- His reforms were too little and too late. The 'Liberal Empire' from 1860 was not liberal enough.
- The business classes were angered by free trade and the Catholic Church by the appointment of Duruy as Minister of Education.

## **How far did Napoleon III achieve his aims in Foreign Policy?**

- In a speech at Bordeaux in 1852, Napoleon III famously proclaimed that 'The Empire means peace', reassuring foreign governments that the new Emperor Napoleon would not attack other European powers in order to extend the French Empire.
- He was, however, thoroughly determined to follow a strong foreign policy to extend France's power and glory, and warned that he would not stand by and allow another European power to threaten its neighbour.
- He was also a partisan of a 'policy of nationalities' re-casting the map of Europe, sweeping away small principalities to create unified nation-states, even when this seemed to have little relevance to France's material interests.
- In this he remained influenced by the themes of his uncle's policy, as related in the Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, such as Italian unification and a united Europe.
- These two factors led Napoleon to take risks in foreign policy, although this was tempered by a degree of pragmatism.

## **The Crimean War**

- During this war, Napoleon established a French alliance with Britain, which continued after the war's end.
- The original cause of war was a dispute over the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine. It was really about Russian aims in the Mediterranean- 'The Eastern Question'.
- The Crimea was invaded in 1854 and Sevastopol besieged. The war dragged on until 1856 when Russia surrendered.
- The defeat of Russia and the alliance with Britain gave France increased authority in Europe.
- This was the first war between European powers since the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna, marking a breakdown of the alliance system that had maintained peace for nearly half a century.
- The Paris Peace Conference of 1856 represented a high-water mark for the regime in foreign affairs.
- Napoleon was impressed with the demeanour of Count Cavour (Piedmontese Prime Minister) at the Conference and decided to do something for Italy.

## **Italy**

- As President of the Republic, Louis Napoleon had sent French troops to help restore Pope Pius IX as ruler of the Papal States in 1849 after his rule had been overthrown by the revolutionaries led by Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi who had proclaimed the Roman Republic.
- This won him support of Catholics in France. However, the Constituent Assembly saw the unilateral intervention in Italy as a violation of Section V of the Constitution.



- In June 1849, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin introduced a bill of impeachment against President Bonaparte and his ministers. It was defeated
- After the Crimean War, Napoleon made a secret deal with Cavour, Prime Minister of Piedmont, for France to assist in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and bringing about a united Italy.
- In exchange, Piedmont would cede France Savoy and Nice (which was destined to become the so-called French Riviera).
- Napoleon went to war with Austria in 1859 and won victories at Magenta and Solferino, which resulted in the ceding of Lombardy to Piedmont by Austria (and in return received Savoy and Nice from Piedmont as promised in 1860).
- However, Napoleon decided to end French involvement in the war before the final defeat of Austria; he was horrified at the heavy loss of life
- This early withdrawal failed to prevent central Italy, including most of the Papal states, being incorporated into the new Italian state.
- This led Catholics in France to turn against Napoleon. Napoleon tried to redress the damage by maintaining French troops in the city of Rome itself, which prevented the new Italian government seizing it from the Pope.
- However, Napoleon on the whole failed to win back Catholic support at home (and made moves to appeal instead to the anti-Catholic left in his domestic policy in the 1860s.
- French troops remained in Rome to protect the Pope until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

### **Grand Scheme for the Americas**

- Napoleon III envisioned a 'Grand Scheme for the Americas', which would consist of three general aims.
- The first involved recognition of the Confederate States of America and a military alliance with them.
- The second involved reintroducing monarchical rule to Latin America, in the form of Maximilian I in Mexico, and increasing French trade throughout Latin America.
- The third point involved control over Mexico with the creation of a large buffer state from the Rio Grande to the Baja California peninsula.

### **Mexico**

- Napoleon used as a pretext the Mexican Republic's refusal to pay its foreign debts. He planned joint action with Britain and Spain but both governments backed out.
- Napoleon went ahead on his own aiming to establish a French sphere of influence in North America by creating a French-backed monarchy in Mexico.

- In Mexico, the French army suffered its first military defeat in 50 years in May 1862 in Puebla when the Mexican army under the leadership of General Ignacio Zaragoza defeated a much better-equipped French army.
- The defeat not only surprised the world, but served to revitalize the national spirit of Mexicans, helping to sustain a guerrilla warfare that lasted 5 years. In the end, it remained the Second Mexican Empire.
- With the support of Mexican conservatives and French troops, in 1863 Napoleon installed Maximilian I of Mexico, a Habsburg prince, as emperor.
- The Mexican President Benito Juarez and his Republican forces retreated to the countryside and fought against the French troops and the Mexican monarchists.
- The combined Mexican monarchist and French forces won victories until 1865, but then the tide began to turn against them, in part because the American Civil War had ended.
- The US government was now able to give practical support to the Republicans, supplying them with arms and establishing a naval blockade to prevent French reinforcements arriving from Europe.
- The losses inflicted by the Mexican guerrillas loyal to the Republic and the threat of American military intervention caused Napoleon to withdraw French troops from Mexico in 1866.
- Maximilian refused to abandon the Mexican conservatives who had supported him, and remained alongside them until the bitter end, when he was captured by the Republicans and then shot on in June 1867.

### **The American Civil War**

- During 1861 to 1862, Napoleon III wanted to intervene in the American Civil War on the side of the Confederacy.
- The United States repeatedly warned that this meant war but the Emperor inched steadily toward officially recognizing the Confederacy, especially after the crash of France's cotton textile industry and his successes in Mexico.
- In 1862, Napoleon III met unofficially with Confederate diplomats, raising their hopes that he would unilaterally recognize the Confederacy.
- The Emperor, however, could do little without the support of Britain, which refused to recognize the Confederacy.
- In 1863, the Confederacy realized there was no longer any chance of intervention, and expelled the French and British consuls, who were advising their citizens not to enlist in the Confederate Army.

## **Prussia**

- A far more dangerous threat to Napoleon III, however, was looming. France saw its dominance on the continent of Europe eroded by Prussia's crushing victory over Austria in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866.
- Napoleon had believed that the war with Austria would be drawn out, or would result in Austrian victory.
- Napoleon failed to take the opportunity to demand Prussian consent to French territorial expansion in return for France's neutrality.
- Napoleon only requested that Prussia agree to French annexation of Belgium and Luxembourg after Prussia had already defeated Austria, by which time France's neutrality was no longer needed by Prussia.
- This extraordinary foreign policy failure saw France gain nothing while allowing Prussia's strength to increase greatly.
- Napoleon's later attempt in 1867 to re-balance the scales by purchasing Luxembourg from its ruler, William III of the Netherlands, was thwarted by a Prussian threat of war.

## **Success and failure**

- Until 1860, Napoleon could claim to have been successful in foreign policy. The Crimean War and the Paris Peace Conference were high points.
- Napoleon could rightly claim to have played the major role in the War (80% of troops were French) and the Conference was held in the French capital.
- His intervention in Italy in 1859 pleased radicals and annoyed some Catholics, but was rewarded with Nice and Savoy.
- Policies in Algeria and Asia were well-intentioned and successful (by French standards) even if they did not go down well with the locals.
- On the other hand, there was a fundamental desire for peace in France, which Napoleon chose to ignore.
- From 1860, he became involved in more and more conflicts, which, apart from Nice and Savoy, brought him little.
- He succeeded in annoying most other European countries. In 1860, the launching of La Gloire, the first ironclad provoked a war scare in Britain.
- The Mexican adventure was ludicrous and had little or no chance of success. It simply made Napoleon look foolish in European eyes.
- In 1863, he sympathised with the Poles against Russia. In 1864 with the Danes against Prussia and Austria.

- He miscalculated disastrously in 1866 by believing that Austria would win and allowed the aggrandisement of Prussia.
- He attempted to increase the size of the army from 1866, but was defeated repeatedly by the Chamber.
- It refused to support the introduction of conscription which was unpopular with the professional army.
- Moves to follow the Prussian model for command and mobilisation were also rejected. All of these reforms would have been expensive.
- Having developed the Chassepot breechloading rifle, the Corps Legislatif refused to pay 13 million francs to purchase the Dreyse rifle from Prussia.
- This was made available by the Krupp Works and could have been used in large numbers in the Franco-Prussian war.
- By the late 1860s, Napoleon's earlier profligacy was paying the wrong sort of dividends.

## **The End**

### **The Luxembourg Crisis**

- Napoleon III had hoped to gain parts of the Rhineland from Bismarck as the price for not intervening in the Austro-Prussia War; he got nothing
- In August 1866, Napoleon offered to buy Luxembourg from Holland and Bismarck appeared to be in favour.
- However, Luxembourg was a member of the Confederation and was garrisoned by Prussian troops.
- In March 1867, Bismarck changed policy and opposed the sale. Napoleon was angry and felt that Bismarck had set a trap for him.
- Bismarck won support from liberals and nationalists in Germany and was finally able to sort out the problems of the budget which were still rumbling on.
- Eventually, a compromise was reached and the Prussian troops were withdrawn and Luxembourg became neutral. Napoleon III had been warned not to mess with Bismarck.

### **What was the Hohenzollern candidacy?**

- In 1868, there was a revolution in Spain and Queen Isabella was driven out. The government looked around for a new king.
- In early 1870, the Spanish invited Leopold of Hohenzollern to become king. Wilhelm was not in favour and Leopold was against the move, but Bismarck persuaded both to change their minds.
- A telegram was sent to Spain agreeing, but only if the Spanish Cortes (parliament) voted in favour.

- Apparently that message was misunderstood and the Cortes was dismissed without a vote. In the meantime the actions of Wilhelm and Leopold became known in Paris.
- On 6 July, the French Prime Minister attacked the decision and demanded that Leopold withdraw.
- Britain and Russia joined in and the French suggested to the Spanish that the offer of the throne should be withdrawn, and it was.
- The French Prime Minister decided that the time had come to pay back Prussia for all of the difficulties that France had endured over the last few years.
- Benedetti, the French ambassador to Prussia, was ordered to ask Wilhelm for confirmation of the withdrawal and for a promise that it would never be renewed.
- Benedetti visited the king at Ems and was told that the king was very pleased with the withdrawal. But when he was asked for formal confirmation, he refused until he had received something in writing from Leopold's father.
- Wilhelm then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing of the conversations with Benedetti.
- Bismarck altered the telegram so that instead of sounding like a polite meeting, it appeared that Benedetti had been insulted by the king.
- The amended version was greeted with fury by the press in France. Napoleon and the government were not keen on war, but the generals were convinced that they could defeat Prussia and the press wound up public opinion.
- On 15 July, France declared war on Prussia.

### **The Franco-Prussian War**

- In 1870 France had a population of 36,000,000, but an army of only 270,000.
- Prussia could put 384,000 men into the field immediately. The Prussian army was also able to move much more rapidly.
- The railway network had been built under military supervision and the Prussians were across the French border in days.
- By 2 September, France was defeated and Napoleon III had been captured at Sedan.
- Paris held out and the French government did not surrender until January 1871.

### **Why did the Prussians win so easily?**

- The Prussian army was highly organised and disciplined. It had also had the benefit of two wars for battle experience.
- Prussia was well on the way to completing a successful industrial revolution. Its iron and steel industries were becoming the most powerful in the world and were well ahead of their French counterparts.
- Railways led to the points that the army would want to reach in the event of war.
- The telegraph allowed control of armies on the battlefield and in several cases the French were surrounded and forced to surrender in large numbers.
- In the end, Napoleon was overwhelmed by the efficiency of the Prussian army which he had in vain tried to copy in the late 1860s.

## **Appendix**

### **Algeria**

- Algeria had been under French rule since 1830. Compared to previous administrations, Napoleon III was far more sympathetic to the native Algerians.
- He halted European migration inland, restricting them to the coastal zone; he freed the Algerian rebel leader Abd al Qadir and gave him a stipend of 150,000 francs.
- He also allowed Muslims to serve in the military and civil service on theoretically equal terms and allowed them to migrate to France.
- He gave Algerians the option of citizenship; however, for Muslims to take this option they had to accept all of the French civil code, including parts governing inheritance and marriage which might conflict with Muslim tradition, and they had to reject the competence of religious courts.
- This was interpreted by some Muslims as requiring them to give up parts of their religion to obtain citizenship and was resented.
- One of the most influential decisions Louis Napoleon made in Algeria was to change its system of land tenure.
- While ostensibly well-intentioned, in effect this move destroyed the traditional system of land management and deprived many Algerians of land.
- While Napoleon did renounce state claims to tribal lands, he also began a process of dismantling tribal land ownership in favour of individual land ownership over the course of three generations, though this process was accelerated by later administrations.
- This process was corrupted by French officials sympathetic to the French in Algeria who took much of the land they surveyed into public domain.
- In addition, many tribal leaders, chosen for loyalty to the French rather than influence in their tribe, immediately sold communal land for cash.

### **Asia**

- In 1857, Napoleon III provided his assistance in negotiations to end the Anglo-Persian War, leading to the March 1857 Treaty of Paris.
- Napoleon took the first steps to establishing a French colonial influence in Indochina. He approved the launching of a naval expedition under in 1858 to punish the Vietnamese for their mistreatment of French Catholic missionaries and force the court to accept a French presence in the country.
- An important factor in his decision was the belief that France risked becoming a second-rate power by not expanding its influence in East Asia.
- There was also the belief that France owed the world a civilizing mission. This eventually led to a full-out invasion in 1861.

- By 1862, the war was over and Vietnam conceded three provinces in the south, called by the French Cochinchina.
- This opened three ports to French trade, allowed free passage of French warships to Cambodia (which led to a French protectorate over Cambodia in 1863), allowed freedom of action for French missionaries and gave France a large indemnity for the cost of the war.
- In China, France took part in the Second Opium War along with Britain, and in 1860 French troops entered Peking.
- China was forced to concede more trading rights, allow freedom of navigation of the Yangtze, give full civil rights and freedom of religion to Christians, and give France and Britain a huge indemnity.
- This combined with the intervention in Vietnam set the stage for further French influence in China leading up to a sphere of influence over parts of southern China.
- In 1866, French naval troops attacked Korea in response to the execution of French missionaries there.
- Though the campaign against Korea was primarily the work of the ranking French diplomat in China and not formally authorized by the French government, its failure nevertheless resulted in the decline of French influence in the region.
- In 1867, a military mission to Japan played a key role in modernizing the troops of the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu, and even participated on his side against Imperial troops during the Boshin war.