**Prior to 1814**

France = land was most productive, populated by numerous skilful peasants, industries diverse/capable of meeting the needs of the country (even if not experienced Industrial Revolution)

Many tensions from cause of 1789 removed = \*peasants now personally free and most owned their land – more likely to oppose revolutionary activity than support it \*Bourgeoisie looked as if they would retain their revolutionary gains \*Church was happy – more influential than it had been in the years before 1789

**The bourbon Restoration 1814-1824**

**LOUIS XVIII**

**Why he was chosen.**

* Only legitimate heir
* ability to be used therefore their views maybe easier to manipulate to the quadruple alliances preferences and least disruptive
* Allies were certain by early 1814 that France must not be allowed to revert back to a republic
* The victors of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars spent 1814-15 trying to arrange a settlement that would prevent any future French aggression/peace in Europe.
* Republicans seen as provoking war and regarded with too much hostility – illogical choice

**Unpopular choice**

* Far from the popular choice (fat, 59-year-old, spent past 20 years in exile, limited understanding of the changed France
* Uninspiring – no new policies
* King believed in his divine right to rule

**Conditions of his rule**

* Asked to sign a charter (agreement) agreeing to obey some of the fundamental changes put forward in Napoleonic period
* Constitutional monarchy

**The first restoration**

**The first Vienna 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 charte**

Louis would rule by a consistution under the charte. (Stitched together compromise)

0ctroyee – given to the people by the grace and favour of a king in the twenty first year of his reign.

Louis agreed with the Congress powers that he would rule constitutionally under the terms of the ‘Charte’/Constitution. The Charter made Louis XVIII a constitutional monarch

 There was intention to return to divine right absolutist government

*The terms of the charter of 1814 represented a realistic coming to terms with the changes that had taken place in France during the previous 25 years*

*The Charter turned France into a constitutional monarchy but stopped short of creating a parliamentary monarchy such as had developed in Britain – As ... Only the king could initiate legislation*

*King made it clear that the freedoms granted by the charter were his personal gift to his peoples not their basic right – Louis XVIII believed in divine right.*

* France to have a parliament (lower house) elected by men over 30 who paid over 300 francs in direct tax (wealthy middle class). 100,000 out of approx. 29 million therefore had the vote.
* Revolutionary ideas such as press freedom and equality before the law guaranteed by the charte
* Property confiscated and sold during the revolution guaranteed
* Religious toleration guaranteed by charte though Catholicism remained the ‘official state religion’ (religious freedom)
* Retention of the Code Napoleon meant that things like the lettres de cachet and corvee could not return
* Members of Parliament had to be over 40 and pay 1000 francs tax per year (258 elected members in the chamber of deputies)
* The Upper House or Chamber of Peers were either hereditary peers (ascribed status) or appointed by the King.
* Article 14 – king could make decrees in an emergency without
* Parliament has the right to discuss and vote all legislation

The consistution stated the ministers selected by the king were responsible but did not say to whom.

Seen as a positive attempt to create a workable combination of royal and parliamentary authority. The charter made Louis a more popular prospect however it was Undemocratic as only 3% of population could vote.

Deputies were to 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.

**Kings retained powers**

* Commander of army and navy
* Right to declare war and peace
* Right to appoint new peers to the upper chamber of parliament
* Right to rule by ordinance (royal decree) in times of national emergency
* King was allowed to choose his own ministers, introduce laws, veto amendments, dissolve parliament and control all military and civil appointments

**Problems with the restoration**

1. **The hundred days**

The Bourbons were originally restored in 1814. In 1815 on the 26th of February Napoleon I escaped from exile in a prison in Elba,

He landed in France with 1000 troops near Cannes on the 1st of march, he marched through the countryside winning support as he passed through.

The bourbon army had failed to rid its army of Bonapartist (Napoleonic) supporters. Therefore, this enabled napoleons support to grow weakening the bourbons position.

* Marshall Soult dispatched louis Phillipe, Charles X and Marshall McDonald to apprehend napoleon.
* Louis XVIII fled on the 19th of march to Lille and then crossed the border to the Netherlands.
* Napoleon reigned for another 100 days until his defeat at Waterloo
* Difficult for the Bourbons from this point to shrug off the feeling that they had been imposed on an unwilling France by France’s enemies

**Consequence**

When peace had been first made in 1814 the conquering powers had been generous – recognising that it was Napoleon not France to be punished – plus harsh punishment would have made it difficult for the restored monarch – But after 100 days France had shown as a country it supported Napoleon – Second peace treaty was more punitive that the first

Demonstrated a lot of people didn’t want napoleon 80% didn’t vote for the new constitution

**Differences**

* 1814 = France had been able to keep some territorial gain... 1815 = restricted to pre-revolutionary borders
* 1814 = retained the booty France had gathered during conquests ... 1815 = forced to return
* 1814 = No war indemnity to be paid ... 1815 = one was demanded – occupying forces remained in France until it was paid

**The second restoration**

**The impact of the second Vienna settlement**

With the final defeat of the Emperor Napoleon I at Waterloo in 1815, the Congress Powers debated among many potentials monarchies including German princes and orleaanist to whom would rule over a constitutional France.

* Restricted France by establishing buffer states around the country
* Not completely punishing but humbled France
* Had to pay 700 million francs

**The revival of the Ultras**

* Many noble ‘émigrés’ returned to France demanding a return to feudalism and the wreak a revenge on revolutionaries and Bonapartists
* The ‘Ultras’ were led by the Comte D’Artois the brother of the King who was next in li8n
* Once on the throne – quickly organised ‘The White Terror’ – a series of imprisonments and executions in the south of France by the ultras against revolutionaries and Bonapartists
* Gained positions in new chamber of deputies
* Forced louis into purging civil service (replacing Napoleonic officials with their own nominees)
* Tried to limit their power through electoral reforms and slightly succeeded in bringing more moderates in
* 1821 – further press censorship and clergy given more influence in education
* However, Louis XVIII fell ill with gout and could not hold them off
* In 1824 Louis was again persuaded by the ultras to intervene in Spain to support the absolutist monarch Ferdinand against revolt

**Radical opposition**

* Moderates and Ultras both accepted the idea of monarchy
* Radical republicans survived and worked in secret societies (eventually discovered by government spies)
* Extreme royalists who wanted a return to the ancien regime

***louis Intervenes***

* In 1816 Louis used his power to dissolve Parliament, restricted voting to those financially qualified and aged over 40, and reduced the number of constituencies. Aim was to try and counter the Ultra influence, to permit annual elections at which a fifth of the chamber would be replaced – succeeded in bringing more moderates into parliament
* The result was a victory for the moderates and his Chief Minister Richelieu who was now able to preside over a period of moderate success – indemnity paid off, occupying troops out of France (1817), France invited back into the Congress system (1818)
* In 1817 Louis felt secure enough to return the franchise back to votes over 25 and slightly lowered the voting qualification = more liberals were returned to parliament in 1818
* Louis also appointed Duke Decazes as chief minister in 1818 who persuaded Louis to create 60 new life peers so his government could work with the Upper Chamber effectively
* Decazes also granted further freedoms to the press and granted journalists legal protection from censorship and arrest

**Successes**

General – he tried to rule in spirit of charter – moderate policies – capable ministers such as Duc de Richelieu and later Duc de Decazes - He had the support of the pays legal

* Af6+ter 1815 = General economic recovery; tightening government spending the war indemnity was paid off
* By 1818 = Foreign troops had left France
* 1818 Congress of Aix la Chapelle – France was readmitted to the concert of Europe
* 1823 = Louis XVIII sent 100,000 men, under the Duc d’Angoulemem to assist the Spanish King against liberal rebels. The troops were victorious – Louis XVIII was able to boast that he had established control in Spain – something even Napoleon failed to do.

***Opposition***

**Carbonari**

The French Carbonarist movement – 40,000 members – attracted upper class followers such as revolutionary Lafayette.

Numbers fell as government spies uncovered planned activities such as rising in 1822 – by 1824 become far less organised – but began to take interest in socialists

***Change = 1820s***

* 1820 = the assassination of Louis nephew the Duc de Berrie, the only male member of the bourbon royal family capable of providing an heir to ensure the succession= perfect excuse for Ultras to press their demands – Ultras regarded the assassination as a warning of the power of the moderates and the left wing radicals – Ultras demanded tougher policies.
* With the murder of Berri in 1820 Louis was placed under tremendous pressure by the ultras - curb his moderate liberalism - health declined - impossible to resist.

**End of Louis**

* Moderate minister Duc de Decazez was dismissed – electoral system was again changed – in favour of the wealthy – more press censorship introduced in 1821 – and Clergy were given greater influence in education and plans were drawn up to compensate the émigrés who had lost land during the revolution
* Louis XVIII had gout - lacked strength to resist the Ultras – the chamber was heavily dominated by the Ultras.
* Chamber led by chief minister the Comte de Vielle – was to remain so 1822-27, carried out important financial reforms – but his support for Ultras made him unpopular – he made Louis XVIII dismiss his moderate foreign minister Vicomte de Chateaubriand
* Spain intervention in 1823 was also seen on a negative perspective – cynics complained he was merely showing support for a despotic King.
* Louis XVIII died in 1824 – left a well establish pro-Ultra government – discontent in country
* The Bourbon restoration was arguably already slipping towards absolutism even before Charles X came to power

**Evidence**

1822 severe law passed limiting both press freedom and trial by jury

1824 military intervention in Spain to prop up the Spanish absolutist monarchy

***Other mistakes***

* Caused widespread annoyance by changing the flag of france; *replaced the Tricolore flag of France (which symbolised the revolution) with the white flag (of the bourbons)*
* He reconstituted the household Guard made up of several thousand aristocratic officers
* Restored several thousand noble officers

***Interpretations***

\*Louis and Decazes have been interpreted by most historians as attempting to win support from moderate liberals and Bonapartists and to keep the ultras at bay.

\*Unfortunately it was a compromise that pleased nobody – greater press freedom resulted in the rapid spread of liberals and republican opposition to the Bourbons and the failure ‘to rule like a divine right monarch’ angered the ultras

Has received praise for its early moderation and attempt to make the charte work – economic recovery, paying off a war indemnity, getting foreign troops off French soil, getting France back into the Congress system, working peacefully with parliament. By 1820’s however Louis was physically deteriorating (diabetic gangrene, enormously obese and gout) and found it increasingly difficult to resist the influence of the Ultras

When the Comte D’Artois son the Duc de Berri was murdered by a Bonapartist in 1820 the ultras persuaded Louis to pass some restrictive legislation against liberalism, the free press and trial by jury

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| --- |
| Louis XVIII reign  |
| Strengths  | Weaknesses  |
| * Kept code napoleon
* Economic recovery e.g. indemnity paid off
* 1816 – After dissolved parliament was a victory for the moderates and his chief minister Richelieu.
* 1817 – occupying out of France
* 1817 returned franchise back to 25
* 1818 more liberal lowered voting qualification
* 1818 France invited back to the congress system.
* Duke Decazes chief minister 1818 – introduction of 60 new life peers, less extreme upper house
* Further freedoms – granted journalists legal protection and press freedom
* Handled France well
* Fairly moderate policies
* Tried with some success to resist extreme supporters
* Aided by recovery of French economy
* Compared to some other European countries, France emerged in 1815 in a sound economic and social position. Feudalism had gone and the peasantry had much to be optimistic about
* Loyalty to the Church and to the concept of monarchy, was strong in notable areas. There was a desire from a number, for the restoration to succeed, even if the concept of hereditary monarchy was very unpopular
* The desire for a return to Napoleonic glory was moderated by a desire for the stability and low taxes of peace. The restoration, especially after the Hundred Days, seemed to offer a reasonable hope of this.
 | * ‘Cambre Introuvable’ Napoleon’s 100 days returned an ultra-dominated parliament
* Upper house dominated by hereditary nobles
* 1816 – Dissolved parliament, restricting voting to over 40 and financially qualified.
* `1820 - Duke de Berri assassinated, turn back to more ultra-ways
* 1820 – louis 18th health levels reduced
* 1822 – law passed limiting both press freedom and trial by jury
* 1824 – louis being persuaded to send troops to support Spain absolutist monarchs
* Far from the popular choice (fat, 59 year old, spent past 20 year in exile, limited understanding of the changed France
* Undemocratic as only 3% of population could vote
* King believed in his divine right to rule
* association with the unpopular peace, especially after the second restoration, was highly damaging and permanently connected the Monarchy with a period many struggled to move away from
* the Bourbon restoration was interpreted by some as an attempted return to the political ideology of the Ancien Regime, and as such represented a threat to the political and especially the social and economic developments that had occurred since 1793
* Twenty years on from the revolution it was possibly unreasonable to expect the Bourbons to return to a country unchanged.
* whilst the majority of Louis XVIII’s reign may be considered successful, it was clear that sections of French society never engaged with prospect of a constitutional monarchy and that there remained a fundamental weakness to the 1814 Charter which Louis XVIII failed to address
* The last years of Louis XVIII’s reign were not ones that secured the position of the throne. The increase in the number of Deputies and the emergence in 1822 of the Comte de Villele as the parliamentary leader of the Ultras smacked of a fundamental instability at the core of government
 |

In 1824 Louis died and D’Artois became Charles X. Charles was determined to restore the monarchy to its Ancien Regime position

**Charles X**

Louis was succeeded by Comte D’Artois (leader of the White Terror) who became Charles X

* Charles was well received by the ordinary people of France – majority of chamber of peers and chamber of deputies were much to his liking
* Young 67; full of verve, vitality, grace and charm
* Pays legal were suspicious of him
* 1000 francs per year in taxation to stand as candidate – many held position of power under napoleon- but prepared to give general support to the monarchy as long as it served in their best interests
* Charles revived the ancient coronation ceremony of medieval times. He lay on cushions while he body was pierced seven times with a golden needle dipped in holy oil - ‘preserved’ from the 5th century
* He visited hospitals purporting to ‘cure’ the ill with his ‘holy touch.
* A catholic religious revival was encouraged

**Policies**

* Intended to play an active role in government
* Closely linked to Catholic church (they became heavily influenced in education)
* 1825 – law passed to compensate the émigrés
* No return of land but confirmed existing ownership and gave money
* Met by hostility as money raised lowered value of government bonds
* Began censorship to try and solve issues
* 1818 – abolished annual elections

**Mounting crisis of 1827-30**

* Parisian National Guard was disbanded
* A liberal political society was created to coordinate the opposition
* Charles X tried to alter chambers again but more liberals got in
* August 1829 – government virtually at a standstill
* Newspapers started up attacking the government
* March 1830 – chamber passed of vote of no confidence in the government (Charles dissolved the chamber)
* Used a royal edict to change the voting system
* 1827 – Necessary to disband the Civil Guard in Paris after members shouted offensive slogans to king
* 1828 to 30 – support of opposition press – shows discontent
* Result of 1830 election – showed king lacked support The July Revolution of 1830

**Ordinances of st. cloud**

**First act – compensation of the emigres**

* Charles’ first act was to compensate the émigrés for their loss of land during the Revolution using 1000 million francs of government money
* 1825 – law passed to compensate the émigrés – no return of land – the act = confirmed existing ownership while providing an annual grant of money as compensation to the former holders – giving financial security for ex-émigrés/reward their loyalty
* However, money was raised by reducing the interest payable on the national debt – consequently government bonds fell – many of which were held by the pays legal – using 1000 million francs of government money/middle class investors
* Charles raised this money by reducing the interest on the National Debt – so in effect it was funded by middle class investors
* Result = hostile reaction by pays legal

**Second act – catholic revival in France**

* Making sacrilege and criticism of the ‘divine right of kings’ criminal offences
* Allowing the religious orders (banned during the Revolution) to return and flourish such as the Jesuits. New religious groups also emerged such a the ‘Congregation’ who spread Catholic propaganda and the ‘Chevaliers de La Foi’ who were dedicated to restoring the church and 2nd estate to its pre-Revolution position
* Allowing the Church to assert control over education – made a bishop Minister of Education and gave clerics the right to appoint and dismiss primary school teachers

*Background of religion in France*

Significant proportion of the revolutionary activity of 1790s had been inspired by anti-clerical/religious feeling... under Napoleon – church land = confiscated – monasteries/nunneries disbanded - socially acceptable to be irreligious

*His association* with Catholic Church provoked opposition; encouraged the return of the religious orders, restored the influence of the Jesuits (members of the catholic society of Jesus – had been dissolved in 1773 but recreated in 1814 – taught and encouraged conversion to the faith) and continued to extend the control of the Church over education ...

Making sacrilege and criticism of the ‘divine right of kings’ criminal offences

1. Allowing the religious orders (banned during the Revolution) to return and flourish such as the Jesuits. New religious groups also emerged such a the ‘Congregation’ who spread Catholic propaganda and the ‘Chevaliers de La Foi’ who were dedicated to restoring the church and 2nd estate to its pre-Revolution position
2. Allowing the Church to assert control over education

1821 – Bishops made responsible for secondary education

1824 – Bishops given right to put forward candidates for primary school vacancies. Clerics were also encouraged to fill teaching posts in universities - right to appoint and dismiss primary school teachers

By 1827 – 66 out of 80 philosophy teachers in colleges were priests, 1/3rd of all teachers were clerics by 1830

**Third act – freedom of press**

* 1826 freedom of the press abolished and the Parisian National Guard disbanded (the middle class militia set up in the early days of the Revolution)
* To counter opposition Charles extended royal control over the press – opposition newspapers were bought out – postage rates/stamp duty increased – threats to printers - By 1827 all books and journals were censored
* 1814 Charter stated freedom of press – neither Louis or Charles kept to this – interestingly half of France was illiterate, daily press reached 100,000 members of pays legal, no newspaper had more than a few thousand subscribers in 1815, no more than 20,000 in 1830.
* Due to Martignac influence - 1828 Charles virtually abandoned censorship of press – press became more abusive than before – By 1830 freedom of press was seen by the people as their safeguard against an over powerful monarch
* Result – election of 1827 returned a liberal majority and Charles’ chief Minister Villele had to resign

**Fourth act – appointing Martignac as chief minister (4 January 1828)**

* Charles appointed Martignac – a moderate royalist as Chief Minister triggering a short lived attempt at conciliation
* Martignac lifted press censorship and halted growing Church influence over education
* Charles objected to both these measures and dismissed Martignac

**Fifth act – Martignac replaced with Polignac – formed a new ministry**

* Polignac an ultra ultra from an ancient aristocratic family – out of sympathy with the charter
* Polignac was deeply committed to divine right monarchy and to restoring feudalism and believed himself to be guided by visions of the Virgin Mary
* Parliament in the meantime was dominated by liberals and was directly challenging the authority of the King by insisting that al government Ministers should be appointed and answerable to Parliament and not the King
* People were now certain the Kings intentions were to go against the charter. Public outcry was immense

**Sixth act – re-election**

* Parliament in the meantime was dominated by liberals and was directly challenging the authority of the King by insisting that al government Ministers should be appointed and answerable to Parliament and not the King
* Charles horrified by this threat
* 1830 – Chamber passed a vote of no confidence in the government – Charles responded by dissolving parliament and calling elections – chamber made no direct attack on kind – just growing demand for dismissal of unpopular ministers
* Charles issued a proclamation to try and encourage votes – pressure put upon voters wherever possible
* The subsequent election resulted in an even more liberal Parliament

**Seventh act – state of emergency**

* Charles responded by declaring a state of emergency and issuing the ORDINANCES OF ST CLOUD
1. Banned all newspapers without government approval
2. Dissolved Parliament (again!)
3. Restricted electorate to the 25,000 richest of existing voters
4. Arranged for fresh elections

***Charles did not take necessary precautions*** - Consequence – Charles overestimated his subject’s loyalty – other ministers were not informed of the Ordinances, few troops in Paris (they were in Algeria), no attempt to round up opposition leaders – Charles went away hunting

***Ordinances caused outcry –*** radical republicans led by Lafayette began mobilising support made up of printers threatened by control on press students and working men joined – Politicians Charles X had little choice to go.

 By end of July 1830 – republicans/working men had Paris under their control – Thiers distributed posters of Louis-Philippe – believed he could win support of middle and lower class

**Charles and appointing ministers**

Under the 1814 Charter the king could pick his own ministers irrespective of the views of the chambers – Kings who chose ministers against the view of the chambers was likely to cause strains on regime – put the monarch and pays legal into direct confrontation – exactly what Charles did!

* Parliament groupings very lose – but; ultras on the right – wanted a return to ancien regime – constitutionalists in the centre – wanted success of charter – and liberals on the left – wanted British system
* After murder of duc de berry a system that seemed to work well began to deteriorate
* Constitutionalists separated either to left or right – King was so associated with the Ultras, liberals thought they had no hope unless the system was changed to make ministers responsible to parliament rather than the king

**Ultras were also deeply divided**

* due to Villele due to being seen as Too moderate for some and not moderate enough for others. Villele's government lost 'moderate' monarchist support because of censorship and rampant Catholicism.
* Divine righters on the other hand wanted him to put the clock back quicker. Also 'ultras' split into factions based on personality, jealousy etc)
* With growing political opposition Charles called fresh elections in 1827. Enough new peers were created in one chamber for majority – needed majority in other chamber

**Result**

* election of 1827 returned a liberal majority and in January 1828 Charles’ chief Minister Villele had to resign
* To maintain the rule of Ultras – Charles increased the term that deputies were elected – he abolished annual elections – angering the moderates who turned to the liberal opposition

***The events***

1. Following the Ordinances of St Cloud, journalists led by Thiers quickly published a manifesto (25th July) calling on all of France to resist the return to absolutism
2. PARIS MOB The response is instant with demonstrating and rioting on the streets of Paris – Barricades
3. army are away fighting in Algiers so the ‘mob’ quickly gained control
4. On 29 July Parliament demands a meeting with Polignac but their request is refused
5. Parliament then decides to declare ‘provisional government’
6. Charles takes back the Ordinances, sack Polignac and rule under the terms of the charte - too late
7. Thiers’ printers posted propaganda over Paris calling for Louis Philippe to be constitutional monarch and the ‘provisional government’ duly invite him to take up the post.
8. Charles at 73 abdicates and declares his own grandson to be King but is largely ignored
9. Charles flees to England

**Bourbon foreign affairs**

**The 100 days**

* The reign of Louis XVIII got off to a very difficult start with Napoleon’s 100 days
* A ‘glorious’ Napoleon return to France with one final battle with the Great powers which he lost at Waterloo
* Any Bourbon foreign policy would have to compete with the glory and empire of the Napoleonic era
* Many French men were however ‘war weary’
* Louis XVII made to appear weak and timid during the 100 days – fled – only to return under the protection of France’s recent enemies

**1818 successes**

* At the Congress of Aix La Chapelle – the first in Castlereagh’s Congress system – Louis XVIII achieved a number of successes:
1. Army of occupation removed
2. Indemnity paid off
3. France given fill membership of the Quintuple Alliance and full congress membership – a great power again and back into the international fold successes

**1823 and Spain**

* In 1823 Louis XVIII sent French troops (with the support of the holy Alliance countries) to free King Ferdinand VII from the liberal rebels in Spain who had forced their King to accept a liberal constitution
* A quick victory for French forces and a sign perhaps of France’s restored international status
* HOWEVER – lost support of the British through this action (Canning opposed intervention) and very little home support for appearing to support a despot abroad – especially annoyed supporters of the principles of constitutional monarchy

**Charles X and the Barbary Pirates**

* One major foreign policy event for Charles – a quick and significant victory against the ‘Barbary pirates’ in 1830 – Arab pirates form North Africa who had been disrupting western trade in the Mediterranean
* In the process Charles also secure the territory of Algiers for France which became a long term France colony
* Charles X expected support for these achievements which were significant – however received very little support and in fact may have weakened his own ability to resist the 1830 revolt which occurred whilst many troops were in Algiers ‘building his empire’

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| Successes  | Failures  |
| * The monarchy was popular in 1824 and Louis XVIII had done much to secure the position of monarchy within government. Charles X was thus well received by the majority in 1824
* Charles X’s previous attempts to move the monarchy had created a fear however that was reinforced by the nature of his atavistic coronation
* the compensation of the émigrés became a cause celebre amongst the Pays legal but was in fact a reasonably moderate measure considering the demands placed upon the monarch
* the vast majority of the population, especially in rural areas, supported the sacrilege law which became a means of opposing Charles for an already hostile group, rather than the motivating force behind opposition
 | * the slide away from a moderate approach and stability had therefore begun sometime before Charles became king
* Villele’s attitude to government did not allow compromise – a position that had not been eased by Louis XVIII’s dismissal of Chateaubriand. Charles was in many respects facing an impossible task of appealing to both the emerging left and the growing right
* The suggestion that Charles X was poorly advised certainly carries some weight in 1830. The law to compensate émigrés 1825 created further distrust, especially amongst the pays legal. This only served to further undermine the position of Charles X who was seen as the motive force
* Charles and the Ultras’ religious views caused further concern amongst the pays legal – the image that the anti-sacrilege war gave was one that Charles X proved unable and perhaps unwilling to shift
* an inconsistent attitude to the press and to censorship further added to the impression of a lack of direction
* Charles X’s treatment of the Chamber and the deputies did little to endear him, especially considering that the parliamentary system had been working quite well. The creation of a new ministry with Polignac at its head was a considerable mistake
* The July Ordinances prove that by July 1830 Charles had lost the support that the monarchy had had in 1824.
 |

**The 1830 revolution/July revolution (28-29th July severe rioting)**

The causes of the July Revolution

**The king’s incompetence**

* Both Kings were elderly ex-émigrés
* Uninspiring and insensitive
* Showed little regard for public opinion
* However, stood little change in a country that had experienced political turmoil
* Underestimated opposition (had few troops in Paris and didn’t stop opposition leaders)

**Bourgeois Grievances**

* ‘1830 was a revolution of frustrated careerists’ (**Magraw)**
* The Aristocracy had colonised all government and army jobs seeing this as suitable compensation for their loss of feudal rights.
* Napoleon had encouraged ‘meritocracy’ so loss of opportunity under the Bourbons caused tremendous resentment amongst the middle classes
* E.G.15,000 Bonapartists were purged from the army in 1815 and replaced by émigrés

**Secret Societies**

* Middle class disenchantment can be seen by the growth of secret conspiratorial societies during the Restoration such as the Carbonari
* Carbonari was anti royalist and anti-aristocracy and plotted to overthrow the Bourbons in a coup.
* Of its 60,000 or so members about a quarter were members of the army!

**Anti-clericalism**

* The restoration of the power of the Church (clericalism) annoyed everyone!
* Students resisted strongly against compulsory Mass at school
* Peasants rebelled against being told failure to pay the church tithe was a ‘mortal sin’
* Sacrilege law offended Huguenots (Protestants) and was an affront to free speech and freedom of worship
* Support for the Spanish royal family raised fears of an Inquisition in France.

**Economic causes**

* 1830 played out in the context of an economic slump, high food prices, high unemployment, a credit crisis, and a high level of business bankruptcies1826 – along with rest of Europe France suffered economic depression \*small private banks collapsed \*rich reduced spending \*unemployment \*poor harvests ... by 1830 thousands of able bodied men were starving \*high food prices– revolutionary atmosphere. BUT – other countries faced the same problems and their governments survived
* wages fell by 30% and where poor housing and living conditions produced a death rate 40% above the national average.
* Magraw suggests that economic slump and the threat of popular unrest led to the bourgeoisie losing faith with the Bourbons – Polignac and Charles taking away their votes in the Ordinances of St Cloud was just the final straw.
* ‘despotism shifted from chateau to stock exchange’
* Unemployment and high prices angered people

**Events**

* Following the Ordinances of St Cloud, journalists led by Thiers quickly published a manifesto (25th July) calling on all of France to resist the return to absolutism
* The response is instant with demonstrating and rioting on the streets of Paris
* The bulk of the French army are away fighting in Algiers so the ‘mob’ quickly gained control
* On 29 July Parliament demands a meeting with Polignac but their request is refused – (the King is still away on a hunting trip!)
* Parliament then decides to declare itself as France’s ‘provisional government’
* At this point Charles realises something must be done and offers to take back the Ordinances, sack Polignac and rule under the terms of the charte but it is all too late
* Thiers’ printers have been busy bill posting propaganda all over Paris calling for Louis Philippe to be constitutional monarch and the ‘provisional government’ duly invite him to take up the post.

**Results**

* 1st August 1830 – Charles abdicates to 9-year-old grandson
* Republicans and working men now controlled Paris which alarmed moderates
* Louis V managed to win their support and became King for 1 week
* Louis Philippe becomes King and Charles flees to England

**Interpretations**

* 1830 happened because of a series of stupid and avoidable accidents.
* seen in classic Marxist terms as the triumph of the bourgeoisie after an ‘Indian Summer’ for the aristocracy
* **Marxist** – inevitable rise of the bourgeoisie – the revolution of 1789 didn’t end until 1830 - economic and social change
* Both Louis and Charles can be held responsible – elderly émigrés – Louis = fair but uninspiring – Charles = unable to compromise – both divine right – bourbon flag
* Unlucky? – 100 days, assassination of the Duc de Berri
* Policies offended the pays legal – they needed their vote!
* Restored by their enemies

**Alfred Cobban**

* ‘it took almost inconceivable imbecility on the part of Charles X and his ministers’ to bring about the collapse of the Restoration.’
* 1830 happened because of a series of stupid and avoidable accidents.

**Roger Magraw**

* Magraw looks for broader social and economic causes and comes to the conclusion that the bourgeoisie incited and manipulated popular unrest in 1830 to secure their own power and then turned their attention on those forces that had secured them that power.
* 1830 is therefore seen in classic Marxist terms as the triumph of the bourgeoisie after an ‘Indian Summer’ for the aristocracy
* ‘1830 was a revolution of frustrated careerists’

**Louis Philippe**

**Choosing louis**

* There was Difficulty in deciding who and how France would be ruled after Charles X – united in opposition to Charles but no agreement in what to put in his place
* Leaders who were most popular with the ordinary people of Paris were keen to establish a republic to ensure a return to the spirit of 1790s; political power taken from the aristocracy and given to the common people
* The rich bankers, traders, professional men, were terrified at a republic which might not respect rights of property, opposed Charles as unprepared to allow the growth in power of the king not because they wanted democracy
* As soon Charles X abdicated – small well organised group brought Louis Phillipe to everyone’s attention – via placards – Within a few days of Charles abdication (in favour of his grandson) Louis-Philippe

**About louis**

* Head of the richest and socially most important family in France
* Direct descendent of the brother of Louis XIV
* Next in line to the throne after the family of Charles X = Seemed natural to turn to Philippe – as it was decided anyone directly linked to Charles was unacceptable
* Louis Philippe’s father had supported the Revolution from the beginning - Louis Philippe himself was military commander of revolutionary armies in 1972 – result = gained support of the moderates
* 56
* intelligent (less likely to be manipulated)
* hard working, good with people
* would greet large numbers of French people in his palace
* Spent a long time as a refugee creating insecurity – As King he had a desire to be liked by everyone; would say one thing to one group of people to please and the opposite to the other gave the impression he could not be trusted – but his insecurity led to a lack of decision making

Restoration was not to be anything like that of Louis XVIII and Charles – would have angered their opposition – therefore the restoration of 1830 was very different – based on receiving the crown from the hands of the people rather than divine right.

**Beginning of his reign**

* Louis Philippe supporters (the grande bourgeoisie) did a number of things to gain popularity for his regime at the start
* He was not to be named Louis XIX to disassociate him from the Bourbons
* He was ‘King of the French by the will of the people’ not King of France – suggesting he was a constitutional not divine right monarch
* He adopted the revolutionary tricolour flag not the white flag of the bourbons

**Constitutional change**

1. King could no longer rule by ordinance and could not suspend laws alone
2. Assembly could now propose laws not just the King
3. Hereditary peers in Chamber of Peers abolished – now just life peers
4. Tax qualification to be a deputy (MP) lowered to 500 Francs and age limit reduced to 30
5. Tax qualification for voting lowered to 200 Francs – doubled the electorate but still only 200,000 out of 35 million
6. National Guard reinstated in Paris
7. Press censorship abolished
8. Roman Catholicism no longer official religion now just ‘the religion of the majority’
9. National Guard reinstated in Paris
10. Press censorship abolished – Newspapers could print whatever they wanted – legal action only after publishing – and so complex for Philippe to implement
11. Roman Catholicism no longer official religion now just ‘the religion of the majority’ – opposite to Charles – Philippe went out of his way to prove he was neutral when it came to religion – Church no longer had influence in education – income of bishops significantly reduced – Jesuits forced to leave

The opposition press made a habit of gross misrepresentation – helping to create an atmosphere in which it was difficult to retain faith in the regime even when it was doing well.

97% of men of 21 played no part in politics - only extremists at this point believed in ‘one man, one vote’ and only visionaries thought of women’s vote. Majority of people didn’t want the poor to have the vote as by doing so the rich would suffer.

**A middle class monarchy**

* Many politicians from old regimes re-emerged under Philippe however French people at the time did notice change.
* large majority of government officials, diplomats and generals were removed from office and replaced by men who were thought more sympathetic to new order of things
* Power was seen to be in hands of upper middle class
* All changes benefited the higher ranks of the bourgeoisie who both disliked absolutism but fear democracy and republicanism
* Louis Philippe was a monarch with middle class habits – cooked for himself, lived relatively simply, dressed like a bourgeois not a King – wore a top hat and carried an umbrella
* “Despotism had moved from Chateau to Stock Exchange.
* The party of movement – 1830 seen as the start of more political change and social reform
* The party of movement – 1830 only chance to change the King. Wished to preserve status quo

***The Regime Consolidated***

The regime was seen as if it would not last louis Philippe seen as the only practical alternative to another social revolution

Problem of the Republicans; aided by economic crisis of 1826 which was not solved until the mid 1830s, there was ample opportunity for Republican leaders to stir up trouble amongst the poor. conduct hatred to the rich; regular outbreaks of mob violence

***National Guard = Major defence against civil unrest***

* Members made up of property owning middle class
* Without Philippe’s leadership likely the untrained National Guard would have decided their interest laid in opposition/new republic to be established – Philippe stopped this
* Seemed most of Philippe’s early years as king was spent with National Guard – Built loyalty – sense of purpose
* If trouble on streets – Philippe would be found amongst the National Guard

***Political Life***

* unlike Charles X – Philippe waited for appropriate time to assert himself in Parliament – time came when economic state of France had recovered – standard of living of almost everyone improved – support for regime = widespread
* Leading politicians spent more time arguing amongst themselves than keeping an eye on the activities of the king – Gradually Philippe took over more control of events from 1840-48
* Worked alongside leading minister Guizot – neither saw any fault in the constitution/political system of 1830
* He director of everything and the master of nothing
* likely that had it not been for the way in which Louis-Philippe had conducted himself the Republicans would have been successful in their attempts to overthrow the regime

**Foreign policy**

**Aims, Pressures and Restraints**

* LP took a prominent personal role in foreign policy matters frequently intervening over the heads of his ministers and advisors
* He wanted to build o the achievement of the Bourbons in restoring France’s position as a global power and the beginnings of a new empire in Algeria
* He knew that many Frenchmen wanted a glorious and aggressive foreign policy – Bonapartists & Legitimists
* He knew that the middle class wanted free trade and prosperity and therefore peace – especially with the dominant world economy Britain
* He was still restrained by the Vienna Settlement – technically being King at all was a breaking of the Vienna Settlement and he risked intervention from the Great powers Especially if the 1830 Revolt spread into their countries
* Republicans and liberals at home wanted Louis Philippe to stand up fort liberal revolts abroad

**1830 revolt**

Events in Paris in 1830 quickly spread across Europe with revolts in Poland, Belgium and Italy

**Poland**

* Poles revolted against Russian rule (Vienna settlement). French public opinion wanted France to help the poles. LP chose not to intervene and the Poles were crushed by the Russians

**Belgium**

* Belgium had never been an independent country
* In peace treaty of 1815 was joined to Netherlands to create a buffer state against France
* Belgians were not happy with the situation – were treated as 2nd class citizens by the Dutch
* In 1830 they rebelled against Dutch rule (Vienna Settlement). Belgians and French share common culture and language and had recently been united under Napoleon I. Many Frenchmen wanted them to be reunited and attempted to establish themselves as an independent country
* Louis Phillipe worked closely with Britain to endure Belgium did become independent – Philippe even refused the throne of the newly independent kingdom for his son despite great pressure from France to accept – by accepting Philippe would ruin the emerging partnership with Britain
* Belgians revolted Instead of attempting to annexe Belgium. Louis Phillipe campaigned hard for Belgian independence form the Dutch and thereby won the support of Britain and avoided other Great Powers intervening to restore the Dutch – a diplomatic victory for LP but seen as weakness and a missed opportunity by many within France

**Italy**

* Series of revolts in Austrian controlled central Italy against the Austrians.
* Metternich sent troops to crush the revolts and despite calls for LP to intervene on the side of the Italian nationalists LP did nothing
* again seen as weak by comparison to other recent French leaders – loses more support at home
* 1832 a revolt by Papal States against Austrian rule gets some French support as LP sends troops to be stationed nearby – eventually Austria withdraws but not until 1838

**1840 – Thiers appointed as foreign minister by Louis Phillipe**

* Philippe had been forced to accept Thiers as his leading minister
* Thiers was committed to a more adventurous, glorious and aggressive foreign policy and quickly got the opportunity to be all these things in the Near East Crisis (north Africa) 1839-40. Thiers was leading politician in the Orleanist period and played a large part in getting Philippe as king.
* But Philippe was not keen on the way Thiers wanted him to rule; Thiers wanted him to be a figure head rather to actually influence politics,

**Mehemet ali**

* Strong possibility of European War
* The huge Ottoman Empire was often unable to maintain its authority
* Local leaders were allowed to do much as they liked as long as they respected the authority of the Sultan; One leader, to the displeasure of the Sultan had extended his power and influence in the 1820s – he was almost more powerful than the sultan.
* French were happy with situation, French regarded Mehemet Ali as one of their clients – dependent on French loans, weapons, experts in military and economic affairs
* Other European Powers were unhappy and believed an Ottoman empire shattered by civil war OR a revitalized empire under Mehemet Ali would upset the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean – Gateway to the black sea and southern Russia – route from Britain to Empire in India
* Only way to satisfy the Great Powers would be for Mehemet Ali to be satisfied with less territory/power of the Ottoman Empire – Mehemet Ali was not prepared to accept this – People of France saw the Egyptian leader as someone to prove them with reflected glory
* In 1839 the Sultan of Turkey attacked his old ally Mehemet Ali in Egypt and Syria in an attempt to get full Turkish control of those territories
* France had developed close ties with Mehemet Ali in North Africa through Trade, finance and culture. French public opinion very much in favour of military action in support of Mehemet Ali as was Thiers
* Palmerston however had other ideas and orchestrated an alliance of Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia to support the Sultan and drive Mehemet Ali out of North Africa.
* In the face of this Thiers threatened the 4 Powers with war. This horrified Louis Philippe who dismissed Thiers, replaced him with Guizot.
* Instead of ensuring close liaison with Britain – French Policy became Obstructionist – attempting to stop the powers taking action – allowing Mehemet Ali to be free to do as he wished – Policy FAILED
* Britain and Russia co-operated to defeat Mehemet Ali – forced him to accept their terms – restrict his power
* Thiers had however indicated this would have been an issue France would have been prepared to go to war over – which France failed to do
* Philippe stepped out of war – had no choice but to sack Thiers and face national humiliation

**Peel in Britain 1841-1846**

* Palmerston gone – Peel lead new government in Britain – more keen to work with France
* An entente between Britain and France was formed – royal families exchanged visits – working relationships between politicians

**Tahiti 1844**

* In good spirit – in line with the entente – the control of Tahiti in the south pacific, which was under control by an agent who without authority had annexed the island for France - was disowned

**The affair of the Spanish marriages**

* Delicate matter of who should marry the young Queen of Spain and her sister
* Matter was still unresolved when Peel’s ministry fell and Palmerston returned – France left in a dilemma – be worsted by Britain under Palmerston or gain an advantage over
* Philippe acted to secure the marriages he preferred – ultimately ending the entente with Britain
* 1846 it was proposed that Queen Isabella of Spain should marry Louis Phillipe’s son Montpensier. Louis Phillipe initially very keen to extend his influence in the region
* However once again under British pressure Louis Phillipe backed down and withdrew the suggestion and supported instead the British plan to marry her off to her cousin Francis – again LP seen to be weak and dominated by Britain
* Guizot however behind the other powers backs arranged for Montpensier to instead marry Isabella’s younger sister which delighted many French nationalists but enraged Britain and damaged France’s relationship with Britain

**Algeria**

* Arguably the only bit of ‘glory’ in French foreign policy 1830-48
* Charles X had conquered the coastline of Algeria in 1830. under Louis Philippe much of the interior was colonised and a new French empire established
* Massively expensive for no obvious strategic or economic benefit
* Didn’t bother any of the other Great Powers as none of them wanted Algeria for themselves

**Domestic policy**

* There were many political and social changes in France under the reign of Louis Philippe …
* The king could no longer suspend laws nor rule by decree (royal power)
* The assembly could propose legislation
* The electorate increased from 94,000 to almost 130,000
* The power of the church was removed and Catholicism was reduced
* Religion was tolerated and even more so became practised by the majority
* Because of such political and social reform, the constitution of 1830 became known as ‘The party of movement’
* However, due to the focus of parliamentary reform being in favour and beneficial to the upper middle class (Bourgeoisie), socialism and Bonapartism started to rise due to their demands for parliamentary reform. Stability in 1830 was By no means secure due to being to his supporters as a compromise candidate.
* Represented higher bourgeoisie/
* Resented by the Legitimists
* Hated by republicans and red republicans (socialists)
* Industrial Revolution had produced a new social class – the workers – attracted to republicanism and red republicanism

**Phases of his reign**

**Phase 1 1830-35:**

* Struggle to establish legitimacy of his reign. Marked by repeated threats from the Left and the Right most noticeably in the uprising by the Canut silk weavers of Lyons in 1831
* Series of riots, strikes and disturbances across France 1830-34
* Canut Silk weavers strikes in Lyons 31 demanding minimum wage – put down by troops when the National Guard sided with the strikers. Canuts temporarily had control of the whole city
* Massive anti clerical and anti royalist riot in Paris 1831 – put down by National Guard after 2 days of fighting
* Second Canut revolt in Lyons in 34 also led to then Chief Minister Thiers abandoning the city to the Canuts – attempt to spread the revolt to Marseilles, Poitiers and other centres eventually put down by troops violently on 13 April 1834 – hundreds killed and 2,000 arrests
* In response French army expanded to 360,000 men at a cost of 14 million francs

**Phase 2 1835-40:**

* relative stability after the Fieschi assassination attempt on LP in 1835. with the exception of the Bonapartist attempt to land at Strasbourg in 1836 no further unrest. Some successes – end of war in Algeria and significant economic growth at home under Mole

**Phase 3 1840-48:** The rise and supremacy of Guizot as Chief minister who oversaw significant economic and industrial growth and corruption and the re-emergence of opposition

**Unrest under Louis Phillippe’s**

* Following the 1830 revolution there were a series of riots, strikes and disturbances.
* There was a vast span of opposition groups but also a definitive instability within the government.
* It took 4 years to consolidate his power

**Trial of ex ministers**

* The imprisonment of 4 of Charles Xs ministers added to idea of government instability.
* Artisans wanted them to be put to death as a retribution to the July days hero’s deaths.
* Reluctantly the new regime put the 4 ministers on trial on charges of treason.
* This lead to conservative resistance in form of resignations, examples include Guizot, de Broglie and Perier

**Silk weavers in Lyons**

* During the 1830s the merchants purchased silk from the master weavers (Known as Canuts) who ran the silk production.
* Tensions developed between the merchants and the weavers.
* Silk weavers strikes in Lyons 32 and 34 demanding minimum wage (socialist idea)
* Fort for guaranteed employment ( national workshops)
* For a while they were able to gain that
* Eventually they were put down by troops

**Anti-clerical and anti-royalist riot in Paris**

* Essentially riots against the royals and clergy of France.
* Direct response to the evangelical campaigns of the restoration.
* anti-clerical and anti-royalist riot in Paris 1831
* They were put down by National Guard after 2 days of fighting in august seven were killed

**Opposition groups**

Each group greatly disapproved of the reign of LP as, from the start, they were not happy with an Orleanist becoming the legitimate heir to the throne

Thus they posed as a dominant threat to King LP

Louis Phillippe was well aware of the undercurrent of unrest throughout his reign, but rather than address it, he tended to accept it as something beyond his control

Political frustration was one of the key factors in the fall of LP in 1848

Once regime was firmly established + legal ways of dealing with opposition were worked out, very little positive domestic policy existed

Kings saw the system as needing no change however there was support for:

1. Extending the vote for members of the Legislative Assembly
2. Republicans wanted the right to vote to be extended to all men over 21 – this was far too extreme – majority still shared view that ownership of property was the entry for politics
3. There was however men who considered themselves part of the social elite who did not have the right to vote – their support might have been won by reforming the system sufficiently

Neither Guizot nor the King intended to make any changes to who had the right to vote – the fact the Government won the debate shows the existing electoral system could be well manipulated to give governments

**Legitimists**

* Supported the bourbons and royalist power.
* Opposed the orleanist monarchy and instead supported the son of the duc de berry who was murdered in 1820
* There was a plot in 1832 where the Duchess of Berry would land in South of France and declare her son Henry to be rightful King
* put down by troops and Duchess arrested and imprisoned
* Legitimists remain an important source of opposition gaining support from nobility and the Church – never won over by Louis Philippe

**Bonapartists**

* Supporters of a new Emperor – favouring the Duke of Reichstadt Napoleon I’s son.
* Drew support from ranks of the army (had gained from Napoleon’s meritocratic approach to the army)
* Wanted to return back to the glory days
* Attempted to proceed with 2 rebellions against louis Phillippe yet both failed by 1836
* 1832 Duke of Reichstadt died (Napoleon II) and Napoleon I’s nephew Louis Napoleon became ‘heir’
* No real chance a Napoleonic Empire being established
* Napoleon had died, his only legitimate son had died – Nephew Louis Napoleon was the only claim to the throw – he was not taken seriously; two failed coup d’etat in 1836 and 1840

**Republicans**

* a far more dangerous set of opponents
* drew support from middle class and new emerging working class, anti-clerical and anti-royalist
* Several republican attempts to assassinate Louis Philippe throughout his reign
* Majority of lower class were natural republicans, likely to become active if their situations wasn’t to improve
* Higher class – support increased over years – romantic view of the first republic after the French revolution – mainly because of press and that fewer and fewer remained alive from the first republic

**The fieschi assassination attempt**

* As he was reviewing the National Guard in Paris in 1835 there was an attempt on the life of Louis Philippe
* The King escaped slightly injured although 10 others including marshal Mortier were shot
* Guiseppe Fieschi a republican member of the Society of Human Rights was arrested tried and executed in Feb 1836
* The plot shook France and has been seen as a turning point for the regime.
* Republicanism was discredited and public opinion rallied behind the king
* Three laws were passed which consolidated the regime
* Extension of courts rights to arrest and imprison those accused of rebellion
* Trial by jury rights diminished to a simple majority
* Criticism of Louis Philippe banned in the Press
* A period of relative stability followed – republicanism only re-emerged as a serious threats in the 1840’s

**Red republicans and socialists**

* A new ideology emerged as a new social class emerged Through the industrial revolution – came the discontent of working class e.g. in Lyons where silk weavers rioted in 31 and 34 demanding a minimum wage – and the theory of socialism emerged
* Socialism – threatened capitalism – wanted equality, nationalisation, intervention to set wages, improve conditions etc.
* Socialists very active in the wave of strikes and riots which led to the downfall of Louis Phillipe 1846-48

**Saint Simon**

* the pioneer socialist who died in 1825 – came up with the slogan ‘from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs’ as an alternative to capitalism

**Charles Fourier**

* proposed worker’s cooperatives sharing profits as an alternative to capitalist production

**PJ Proudhon**

* famously declared ‘property is theft’ calling for common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange

**Louis Blanc**

* “The Organisation of Labour” 1840 in which he declared everyone had a ‘right’ to work and that this right should be guaranteed by the state by setting up ‘socialist workshops’

Socialist ideas (especially those of Blanc) clearly evident in disturbances in Paris 1832, 34 and 39 and in Lille, Clermont and Toulouse in 1840, and in the wave of strikes which hit France 1844-46 ... On every occasion LP’s response was to repress with troops, National Guard and law (trade unions made illegal)

**Ministers and ministries**

Louis Phillippe relied on ministers with similar views as himself – he used means of influence to ensure that the chamber of deputies supported his chosen leaders

1830-47 louis Phillippe was unable to increase the number of royal officials who sat as deputies from 142 to 193 out of a total of 459 seats

**Jacque’s Lafitte**

* Led Louis Phillipe’s first ministry
* Regarded the July revolution as only favouring further reform however rioting and disorder continued because of this
* Dismissed in 1831

**Casimir Perier**

* Led louis Phillipe’s second ministry
* Was a traditional liberal regarded the July revolution as nothing more than a change in monarchy
* 1831 Perier managed the July elections in order to return a camber prepared to use force if necessary to curb/ reduce unrest
* He demanded unquestionable obedience from his colleagues and louis Phillippe
* He set the regime on firm foundations through managing to reduce unrest
* Perier died in march 1832 of cholera

**Mole**

* Home secretary between 35-40
* Economic period of prosperity

**Adolph Thiers**

* One of the Most influential spokesman in the chamber
* He brought louis Phillippe in to power
* He believed the king should act as a figurehead
* Dismissed in 1840

**Guizot**

* Content with constitutional monarch
* Relied upon by louis Phillippe to dominate politics
* By 1847, economic and social conditions in France were attracting widespread interests as the government was unable or unwilling to address issues.
* Appointed President of the council 1840
* He was a ‘doctrinaire’ – a liberal conservative who believed in laissez faire economics and opposed extending the franchise
* Believed that wealthy landowners, bankers and business people had proved their worth and deserved all political power – ‘if you want the vote get rich’
* Guizot attempted to preserve bourgeois leadership of society and to managed moderate industrial and economic growth

**Repressive legislation**

* Press freedom restricted 1832 – special courts set up to try journalists – no juries
* Law of Association 1834 made it illegal to form a political group or society which opposed the regime
* 1835 made illegal to propose an alternative monarch or ruler
* Frequent arrests of leading republicans and socialists
* All of which led to a growth in an underground opposition movement of secret societies both republican and socialist

**Economic development**

As well as this, bad weather led to poor harvests and caused rising food prices which resulted in bakeries and food shops being looted.

Signs of discontent fluctuated along with economic circumstances

The period of 1830-48 was a great period of reform in BRITAIN – legislation was passed to deal with the social and economic changes, in france there was no such legislative programme (the industrial revolution was slower in France than Britain but there were still major changes)

* Paris was growing at an enormous rate
* created problems of poverty – poor living conditions – even with a booming economy. Poor were angry as government who refused to accept responsibility, since 1830 there had been growing interest amongst the upper class in the ‘condition of the people’ – by the economic crisis of 1846 there was a general view that something must be done
* 1846 – after 1846 there was widespread under and unemployment – 10,000s of poor left dependent on charity
* Government claim = nothing they could do – Philippe’s refusal to make changes left him increasingly isolated amongst his supporters – they had hoped for a responsive regime
* continuation of serious economic depression – poor near starvation level
* between 1841 and 1845 some social legislation passed but not enough to satisfy demands for extension of the vote
* Bad weather led to poor harvests and caused rising food prices
* Bakeries & food shops looted
* In towns businesses failed & factories closed adding to the unemployed
* Series of government scandals now unfolded
* By 1847 economic & social conditions in France attracting widespread interest
* Government unable or unwilling to address issues

**Under mole**

* Between 1836-39 some quite rapid economic development within France
* Extensive road building and 2,000 extra kms improved infrastructure, railways however remained under developed
* Benefits of economic growth remained unshared. Labour was cheap, social legislation non existent. Conditions for workers became breeding ground for red republicanism

**Under Guizot**

* Guizot developed close ties with like minded British politicians such as Robert Peel
* From 1842 France enjoyed a period of further economic expansion and industrialisation
* Most growth left to unregulated private sector leaving Guizot and the government with little real control
* An exception the Railways act of 1842 led to the creation of 1,800 kms of new track by 1848
* Average economic growth 3.5% throughout the 1840’s
* Wealth not shared due to lack of social legislation – wages remained low, conditions poor
* Business elite grew enormously wealthy

**government self interest**

* Government took steps to ban banquets – the one due in Paris on 22 February 1848 was declared illegal – A march to take its place was organised by the Republicans – National Guard was called out to control the crowds – seemed not to be wholeheartedly on the King’s side – Philippe = realisation – misjudged mood of country
* Philippe dismissed Guizot to mollify the opposition – opposite effect – gave increased hope to enemies who saw they had forced the regime to a defensive – few were prepared to now save what seemed to be a lost cause
* Next day – troops fired on a good natured cowed – 80 dead/wounded – excuse Republicans needed to mobilize majority of Paris – Paris Mob – barricades up – revolution
* Philippe may have been prepared to use - the army = still loyal – to put down the risings (like in Lyon in 1831 and 1834) – But lack of support of the National Guard destroyed Philippe‘s will to continue. The army were not ordered to act. 24th Feb 1848 Louis Abdicated

**Education policy**

Being an Orleanist, louis Phillippe believed that education should be granted to all. He changed education in a way that was to provide French society with an opportunity to strive academically and experience new ways of learning

1833 Guizot Education law – set up primary schools in every commune, and teacher training colleges in every department. Teachers to be ‘qualified’

Guizot believed education would ‘cure’ the poor of republicanism and socialism AND improve meritocracy

All boys to get a non-clerical primary education which emphasised respect and obedience

Improved literacy rates. School attendance rose from 2 million to 3.5 million 1833-48, reduced the influence of the Church

Thus in order to improve education, LP achieved the following the following

* Removed the dominant influence of the catholic church on education \*successful
* Had the Guizot Law of 1833 passed= this gave the minister of education (who at this point was firmly separated from religion), the right to allow all communes, i.e. different groups of people such as socialists, to run primary schools for boys \* successful
* By 1840, approximately 30,000 communes were allowed to run schools \*partially successful-only 30,000 out of 37,000 communes allowed to run schools
* Lay teachers tolerated under LP’s education policy
* Male teachers received teacher training courses at the newly introduced Ecole Normale (training colleges) \*successful-teachers no longer had to be catholic or monks and other such catholic figureheads. Also teachers had the freedom to teach in their own terms and no under the influence or catholic teachings
* LP gave boys whose parents were poor, full entitlement to free education \*partially successful-some children still had to pay a fee. Also, education based its primary focus on boys rather than girls and women who were restricted of their rights. However, the poor were still taken into some consideration.
* The masses, i.e. lower and middle class were granted the right to attend primary schools \*successful-fairer opportunity for all

**Results**

* By 1848, 3.25 million children attended primary schools \*partially successful-despite such an increase in children attending school, a ¼ of boys and vast majority of girls never attended school or received any form of educational opportunity
* Basic literacy improved dramatically and rapidly \*very successful-under the reign of King Charles X in 1824, only 45% of army conscripts could read-under the reign of LP in 1830, this figure rose to 67%!
* It is evident that education was becoming more lenient and slightly equalised among the masses, however, LP faced problems due to the opposition towards his education policy.

**Other reforms**

* Press freedom restricted 1832 – special courts set up to try journalists – no juries
* Law of Association 1834 made it illegal to form a political group or society which opposed the regime
* 1835 made illegal to propose an alternative monarch or ruler
* Frequent arrests of leading republicans and socialists
* All of which led to a growth in an underground opposition movement of secret societies both republican and socialist

**Causes of the revolution 1848/ Causes of the collapse of Louis Phillipe’s reign**

**Economic crisis**

* France had fallen into economic slump
* The 1840 railway share prices was followed by a collapse in share prices which spread through other companies (panic selling) in Paris bourse.

**Social crisis**

* The failure to respond to demands for social reform, especially in the context of the political and social changes occurring in Great Britain. Social and industrial change occurred slowly in France comparatively to Great Britain.
* the standard of living had fallen dramatically from a position of relative prosperity
* Paris had seen an especially uncontrolled and rapid population rise. It was here that pressure for change was focused.
* A long-term trend of worsening urban conditions combined with a rapid rise in unemployment and a corresponding fall in real wages from 1846
* 1845, 46, 47 food prices rocketed after potato blight and harvest failures.

**Opposition to the government**

* LP’s regime was deeply unpopular The fat old King had become a figure of constant public ridicule – ‘La Poire’ (the pear)
* Grain and bread riots (response to rising prices)

**Alternative forms of government available to opponents.**

* Romantic notions of life under Napoleon – all of this fed into a certain romanticism about life under a republic.
* The myth of republicanism and the sense of a golden age at the fall of the Ancien Regime increased. Sympathetic histories of ‘the Republic’ encouraged opposition to the Bourgeois monarch
* Legitimists never behind louis due to not being a legitimate air the existence of groups, such as the Legitimists with a vested interest in the collapse of the new order
* 1848 as the attempted culmination of a period of revolutionary/republican thinking established in 1789. The collapse of bourgeois political hegemony

**Foreign and domestic policy’s inadequacy**

* the unsuccessful and uninspiring foreign policy that did little to bolster the glory of France or of the regime

**Class opposition**

* LP had done nothing for growing working class
* LP’s middle class habits and ‘timid’ foreign policy had alienated the monarchists
* Agitation for parliamentary reform and political change was gathering pace

**Louis Phillipe’s own faults**

**Timid**

* Foreign policy wasn’t glorious or advantageous

**Appointed the wrong people.**

* **Guizot’s** influence – no need for political change - the poor were poor outside of government control
* deeply unpopular because of his implacable refusal to extend the franchise – if you want votes “Get Rich”
* Guizot, both as a long-term factor in office, and his dismissal which further encouraged those demanding change.

**Age**

* With old age – his traits became more extreme
* his talkativeness, desire to please everyone annoyed many especially the young
* His indecision, early in his reign he would take time to make decisions, by the 40s, he avoid decisions altogether, satisfied with how things were, no need to change,
* Became less energetic, he made fewer public appearances – 1840 ceased reviewing National Guard

**Lifestyle**

* not that of a king or leader, he was not waited on hand and foot, he would get up early, shave, make own fire and would walk the streets of Paris unattended
* was expected to have many mistresses – but was happily married

‘Fall not inevitable. But possible to see that the regime was more likely to fall that survive – the actions of Louis Philippe and his ministers – unfortunate events – even personality and social life – converted likelihood to certainty’

**Reform banquets**

* Thiers and the Banquet movement is an obvious short-term factor, contributing to political pressure for change, chance played a role as the banquets were hijacked by those with more extreme political views
* Opposition groups staged a series of reform banquets where radical speakers would address the diners with demands for political change – by 1847/8 demands were becoming quite radical with many calling for a republic
* In Feb 1848 a grand Reform Banquet arranged in Paris to be preceded by a procession in which the masses also could express their demand for reform.
* The government was alarmed by this prospect and immediately banned the Banquet.
* Organisers decided to cancel but didn’t inform many of the diners who turned up anyway or the 1000s of Parisians/Paris Mob who took to the street expecting something to happen

**Political miscalculations**

* the re-emergence of republican slogans in the popular press at least encouraged by the Campagna des Banquets
* the use of the banquets by radicals using them as a vehicle for pre-existing republican demands they were unwilling to compromise
* the use of these banquets by moderates to rally support within the law; the ineffective and counter-productive reaction by the government; subsequent prohibition as a rallying cry
* the dismissal of Guizot; lack of consistent response from the government to political pressure
* The flight of Louis-Philippe confirmed the collapse of the regime, although this in itself was not the sole determinant of collapse. It was the lack of faith in the government.
* Interference with ministers

 **1848 Revolt**

The opponents to the government arranged to form a reform banquet. The government banned the political banquet in Paris which brought the people on to the streets.

* LP made the fatal error of calling on the National Guard to disperse the crowd – they refused
* LP then backed down and agreed to the dismissal of Guizot to appease the crowd
* Things seemed to be calming down but following a clash between troops and a small section of the crowd the following day barricades went up all over Paris with considerable fighting between army and crowd
* Discouraged by his own unpopularity LP abdicated in favour of his grandson Comte de Paris
* Meanwhile Parliament had declared themselves a provisional government and had voted for France to become a Republic. The Orleanist monarchy was over.
* In the celebrations which followed the royal Tuileries palace in Paris was overrun and several rioters were drown in the floods of red wine which were released from the royal cellars

**Historical interpretations**

**Revisionism**

**Pinkley**

* Suggests that 1830 was a victory for lawyers, bureaucrats and Bonapartists NOT a recognisable capitalist class – only a change of personnel at the top not a seismic shift
* Have also challenged the idea of a vibrant and growing capitalist economy – sluggish economic growth and patchy industrialisation
* Also that Orleanist elites behaved like aristocrats mimicking their chateaux and lifestyles – not a assertive new ruling class at all
* Also that the bourgeoisie was too heterogeneous to be recognised as a class with class interests – intra class conflicts between different sectors – financiers clashed with railway capitalists – iron, coal and cotton producers wanted protection from foreign trade – silk wine and shipping capitalists wanted free trade

**Alfred Cobban**

* Cobban points out that leading figures in the regime were actually landowners not industrialists and that Guizot followed an economic policy of protectionism not free trade
* Short term 47/48 could have survived

**Marxist**

**Magraw**

* have also challenged the idea of a vibrant and growing capitalist economy – sluggish economic growth and patchy industrialisation
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**Bertier de Sauvigny**

* “Perier typified monied bourgeoisie, loathing disorder and he brought to the task of governing a force of willpower and energy that was wildly passionate”

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Successes  | Failures  |
| * Algeria – successfully concurred and maintained.
* Won short term support at home during Spanish marriages.
* the Belgian rebellion in 1830 is one of the greatest successes in the period and guaranteed the friendship of Britain
* the Mehemet Ali affair, whilst damaging publically, did avoid the sort of general European war that Louis-Philippe feared
* The precursor to the Affair of the Spanish Marriages and the accession of Palmerston in 1841 might be argued to have achieved objectives for France.
* Foreign policy was successful in preserving position on the international stage, convincing the allies that france was once again trusted.
 | * Louis Phillipe timid
* No one was happy with him
* Appointed the wrong people – motivated by ideal
* Unable to support liberal revolts for fear of Great power intervention and therefore angered liberals and republicans at home
* Wanted to stay friends with Britain so frequently out manoeuvred by more powerful neighbour
* Unable to satisfy Bonapartist and Legitimist demands for ‘glory’
* A cautious foreign policy which sought to keep the peace and maximise trade - bourgeois interests.
* Damaged relationship with Britain (only other constitutional monarch, most powerful economy) during the Spanish marriages
* the French still hoped for a return to the glory days of Bonaparte
* Whilst foreign policy achieved its objectives, these objectives were themselves not glorious and this was what the public wished for.
* Wasted money in Algeria
* Louis XVIII and Charles X could claim to be the rightful government of France – Centuries of Bourbon Rule – there was no belief and no tradition that the legitimate monarch should be replaced by one of his relatives
* Philippe had not inherited the throne, the people had not been asked about his accession to power and he was not a military leader – Orleanists were only a COMPRAMISE

*There were ready-made-alternative systems of government available; Biggest support for a Republic as an alternative* * Majority of lower class were natural republicans, likely to become active if their situations wasn’t to improve
* Higher class – support increased over years – romantic view of the first republic after the French revolution – mainly because of press and that fewer and fewer remained alive from the first republic
 |

**The second republic 1848-1852**

**Rise of the second republic – events**

* Division among the revolutionaries who overthrew louis Phillippe
* *Legislative assembly –* in session at the time – would have willingly declared Philippe’s Grandson King had not the Republicans inside the Assembly acted speedily
* Part of the armed mob that caused the abdication were organised to burst into the chamber of deputies as the arrangements for succession were being held – they prevented anything being done – most of the deputies fled – any left were prepared to create a republic
* *Lamartine =* leading Republic in the Assembly – decided to declare a Republic and to form a provisional government – decision greeted well – even with the poor suffering there was no general uprising
* *Red Republicans –* strongly represented amongst the organisers of revolutionary activity – leading spokesman was Ledru-Rollin = Deputy – member of the provisional government – wanted social change as well as political – felt strongly about the poor – housing – their main solution was ‘droit au travail’ = the right to work – Jobs to be created by public works – paid for by increased taxation (from property owning classes)
* Most influential supporters of the new Republic = members of the middle and upper classes – of whom feared the aspiration of the Red Republicans – alarmed at rising taxes + little sympathy for poor = resulted in a DIVIDE weakening support for the new regime
* ACTION - Most were united in wanted Universal manhood suffrage (It was Philippe’s refusal to agree to an extension of the franchise that lost him support) – one man, one vote = first act
* Le droit au travail = second act
* To give way over the right to work = advantage to those who wanted as few changes as possible – diverted the red republicans attention (from schemes harmful to men of property)

**Election**

* Mob stormed chamber of deputies demanded a republic and social change.
* Lamartine calmed the mob and promised a provisional government with a new constitution with fresh elections.

**Provisional government**

* 1848 revolt saw an immediate shift in power from the ‘notables’ (Grande bourgeoisie) to the Parisian workers who had been influential in getting rid of Louis Philippe
* The Provisional government which emerged was a mixture of old style republicans who had served as deputies in Louis Philippe's government and socialist representatives of the Parisian working class
* The provisional government was headed by Lamartine and was mainly ex Louis Philippe deputies
* Four non parliamentary members were added: 2 socialists – the socialist thinker Louis Blanc and an ordinary Paris worker Alexandre des Saisons or ‘Albert’; and 2 newspaper editors – Marrast the editor of the republican ‘Le National’, and Flocon, the editor of the socialist ‘La Reforme’
* Alphonse de Lamartine was a poet and had been a fierce critic of Louis Philippe – his moderation also appealed to the old elites.
* The provisional government was tasked with writing a new constitution and organising elections for a more permanent government
* Mob however insisted that its own candidates where added to the provisional government e.g. Louis Blanc.
* Election was arranged for April with an electorate which has risen from 250,000 to 9million

**The constituent assembly**

* Provisional Government set task of electing a Constituent assembly – who would have the duty to draw up a constitution
* Tradition of putting pressure on electorate – more difficult now with over 8 million voters – attempted influence with appointed prefects, local government, where pressure was applied – but difficult to reach rural areas
* In Rural areas – priests preached against the evils of Red Republicanism – rural areas would have hardly noticed the revolution
* In the event = half the deputies elected were Monarchists rather than republicans and only a small minority were Red Republicans/supporters of Ledru- Rollin
* Constitution was left to be drawn up by men who were largely not in favour of the system they were creating – (The fact a Republican constitution emerged was because of the split between the monarchists = The legitimists and the Orleanists

**The Paris Mob**

* A series of riots during spring, aiming to invade parliament. They were forcibly dispersed by the national guard.
* the working class, were furious at the prospect of their uprisings being ignored. They wanted a total change, not another monarch.
* A part of the armed mob which had in fact caused Louis’ abdication, successfully burst into the Chamber of Deputies as the arrangements for the succession were being discussed and to prevent any conclusion being decided.
* It was clear to those deputies who dared remain, that a republic was not in order because most of the people wanted it, but that only a republic would calm the mob down.

**The republic**

* PG were initially nervous at declaring a republic (mainly foreign reaction) but following a massive demonstration in Paris the republic and universal male suffrage were announced on 5 March
* Also announced were free and legal trade unions ‘the right to work’, and National Workshops
* A commission to look into social reform called the Luxembourg Commission headed by Blanc was also announced, as was the repeal of the death penalty for political crimes

**Reactions**

Countryside reaction

* News of the declaration spread quickly triggering spontaneous attacks on tax offices, machinery, foreign businesses, foreigners and in some areas Jews.
* In many villages old communal rights from the feudal system were reasserted and the hated fences of the Enclosure movement torn down
* The countryside clearly did not share the progressive socialism of the Parisian workers

**Old elite reaction**

* The Old elites pragmatically embraced the new Republic and made symbolic gestures of support. Many national and local officials therefore retained their positions
* Even Catholic priests were reported in some areas to be blessing the ‘tree of liberty’ to show their support
* Amongst this cynicism there was also a genuine enthusiasm and optimism for the future especially in Paris were hundreds of political clubs sprung up in the new freedoms – ‘the spirit of 48’

**Problems for the second republic**

**Foreign reaction**

* The 48 revolt created an even greater prospect for foreign intervention than the 30 revolt had. The monarchies of Europe were fearful that the 2nd republic would export its revolution like the 1st republic had and plunger Europe into prolonged war. The new rulers of France had also been fierce critics of Louis Philippe’s timid foreign policy adding substance to these fears
* Prussia started to mobilise troops, constitutional monarchist Belgium appealed to the Great powers for protection and a rumour spread across Europe (unfounded) that 50,000 French troops were about to invade Italy

**Foreign relations**

* Lamartine had no intention of dragging France into war – army was in disarray and the country was almost bankrupt. However, he knew that many radical supporters of the Republic were also nationalistic.
* He addressed these problems with a masterful piece of political ‘spin’ in his published ‘Manifesto for Europe’ 7 March 1848, in which he loudly asserted the rights of the French to determine their own destiny, condemned the settlement of 1815, declared support for the rights of oppressed people everywhere and committed France to peace with its neighbours.
* All major foreign diplomats were quietly told that this was all just for domestic consumption and that France had no intention of provoking war or causing problems

**Domestic problems**

* Proved less easy to solve:
* PG was torn between radicalism of Paris and conservatism of the rest of the country
* 54% of Parisian workers were unemployed
* Stock and share prices had slumped, economic confidence was low, foreign trade had virtually stopped. People dashed to the banks to withdraw their money, people stopped paying their taxes, business came to a standstill and the government rapidly ran out of money.
* The PG had also just committed itself to expensive social reforms such as the National Workshops

**Domestic solutions**

* Lamartine didn’t have many options. A new tax would be difficult and time consuming to arrange and he didn't have time
* He therefore opted for a surcharge on all existing taxes including land tax which were to rise to 45%. He calculated that this way he could raise the 160 million Francs the government needed quickly. Tax reform was implemented on 18 March
* The proposal hit the rural peasantry hardest (small landowners struggling to survive). There followed fierce peasant resistance to the new tax which arguably divided the rural poor from the urban poor and sealed the fate of the Republic.
* The new tax surcharge was fatal for the prospects for radical republicanism. Peasants saw it as a ‘subsidy’ for lazy urban workers – a handout for the idle. Many refused to pay and by the end of may only 44 million had been collected.
* Tax reform was certainly a factor destroying the ‘spirit of 48’ and in the election result of April 24

**Election results**

* A moderate chamber, Moderate republicans, minority royalists, minority radical republicans and socialists.
* April 24 1848 – 9 million voters and around 84% turn out. 900 seats contested
* Socialists and radical republicans only won 70-80 seats
* Moderate republicans got over 300 (supporters of Lamartine)
* Crypto Royalists won most of the rest
* The result produced angry riots in many urban areas from disappointed workers with the army having to be deployed to put them down – a harbinger of what was to come.

**Divide in provisional government**

* When Provisional Government was formed, it included leading politicians such as Lamartine (republican) and alexander Ledru-Rollin (red republican/socialist) who had different opinions how the new government should be run.
* Redru- Rollin, wanted a political and a social change - improve the living and working conditions in the large towns of France. The rate of unemployment was rising in France which caused people to lower their standards of living. Ledru-Rollin’s solution was to guarantee ‘le droit du travail’, which was the right to work for all people in France. This socialist aspiration was to overcome the extreme poverty affecting a substantial part of the population.
* Republicans e.g. Lamartine were more concerned with the political reform in the country rather than the economic change. They focused on the universal manhood suffrage, which secured a right to vote for every man over the age of 21. This conflict disrupted the work of the government and led to their definite disagreement

**Drift towards civil war**

* With the election complete the Provisional Government handed over control to the new assembly. Government no longer contained socialists like Albert and Blanc.
* Parisian political clubs were already plotting open revolt
* Their first attempt came on May 15 when 200,000 unarmed workers marched to the Pace de La Revolution, with 3,000 of them crossing the river seine and storming the Assembly building.
* Several hours of chaotic speech making followed with the rebel’s leader Blanqui demanding a billion-franc tax on the rich, support for the Polish rebels, and the immediate removal of French troops from the streets of Paris
* Order was finally restored by the army and National Guard and many of the rebel leaders arrested

**Government response**

* There was growing unease amongst moderates and pressure started to mount for a ‘critical’ defeat for the Left
* More Army troops were immediately brought into France
* The Luxembourg commission was wound up
* On May 20th national workshops were suspended and a debate and discussions commenced on what if anything to replace them with
* Arguably radical republicanism was on the wane or in its death throws anyway?

**National workshops**

* Funded by the increase tax on the bourgeoisie.
* The purpose was Guaranteed work for Parisian unemployed – 2 Francs a day. Unskilled labouring – roads, railway and land clearance. As an attempt to appease their dissatisfaction
* The number of people who enrolled for the scheme reached 120,000, however only about 50,000 were given work
* Red Republicans spent weeks organising the National Workshops – lack of experience/administrators = not surprising only a few succeeded – most were given a small weekly payment as there was no work for them to do – soon recognised there was not an endless supply of money.

**Opposition to workshops**

* Businessmen and taxpayers – cost and competition from national workshops, costly rapid expansion. Didn’t like the fact they paid for the workshops.
* first of all the people who did not receive a placement were disappointed and criticised the government for failing to keep up their promise
* Government decided to end the workshops and gave unemployed options – join army (die in Algeria) or engage in land clearance in southern France (die of fever in swamps of rural France)

**Withdrawal of national workshops**

* National Workshops had proved very popular and by May 48 over 120,000 men were enrolled in them
* Symbolically very important to the left as a step towards a socialist economy but fiercely opposed by tax payers, businessmen, and liberal economists
* France (with the failure of the tax surcharge) could no longer afford them
* The National assembly debated what to do about them and saw an ‘opportunity’ to remove radical Parisian workers from Paris by replacing them with either Army service abroad or land clearance in rural France – on the 21st of June this proposal was announced.

**June days**

* Abolition of the National Workshops triggered an immediate worker reaction
* 22nd June revolt started with barricades going up over much the working class eastern quarter of Paris. Local national guard supported them
* Government immediately set General Cavaignac and the full force of the French army onto them. Working class districts shelled by artillery and street by street fighting. The bloodiest violence yet seen in Paris with between 10-20,000 deaths
* The government got full support from the rural areas with 53 departments sending their own National Guards to Paris to support the government
* Rebels defeated and very harshly treated – 5,000+ deportations to Algeria
* An armed uprising staged by workers as a reaction to ending the workshops.
* Occurred from 23rd of June – 26th of June.
* Troops under the control of general Cavagnac were especially brutal and used heavy artillery against the mob.
* Military force of 40,000 soldiers on a civilian population resulted in over 15,000 deaths with further 1,000s being deported as political prisoners once the mob has been defeated.

**Significance of June days**

* Historian Furet observed that for the first time since 1789 ‘France was governing Paris’ and not the other way around
* Chasm between rural and urban France made even wider
* Total defeat for the Left with leaders either dead or in prison – leaves way open for Napoleon
* Socialist ideas like right to work, nationalisation discredited for a generation
* A new conservative grouping established in Parliament led by Thiers ‘the Party of Order’ became a significant force
* June days = a landmark! – Nature of the republic was clear – self confidence of the propertied classes returned
* Cavaignac at this point could have become dictator – army was obedient to him – Cavaignac was however a supporter of the Republic

**New constitution**

* October 1848 – new consistution agreed between the assembly Power was divided between a single Chamber Legislative Assembly which would make the laws and a President who would carry them out
* No one could serve more than one 4 year term as President – intended to ensure that no leader developed long term ambition
* The absence of a second camber of the legislative assembly meant that no place was reserved for those who were socially/economically or intellectually pre-eminent in the country
* President had to be elected by popular vote and rule for 4 years (louis’ napoleon, Cavaignac and Lamartine). Law against seeking re-election meant Presidents could only be ruled once.
* Louis Napoleon polled 5,400,000 votes, Cavaignac polled 1,400,000 and Lamartine 17,000

**Louis napoleon rise to power**

* Strong leader who has the name which consolidated Frances glory
* Right wing (orleanist, legitimist, catholic, landowning, capitalist business elite) joint together against socialism.
* Appealed to workers – “friend of the working class” due to his books written in exile – approved by louis Blanc (no other leader has this advantage)
* No political affiliation – seen neither as left or right wing.
* Appealed to everyone – peasants due to the land reform and legend legacy, Catholics believed he would protect them due to the concordat of 1801, capitalist elites knew he would get rid of socialism.
* Due to being in exile wasn’t affiliated with the miscalculations and mistakes of 1815-1848.
* Determined to unite the country.
* First elections for President to take place in December 1848
* before the days of radio, television and national newspapers – few railways – postal system in early stages – illiterate population – impossible for candidates to reach the electorate – situation tailor made for someone whose name was well know – Napoleon
* There was no large scale political parties
* None of the candidates was in a position to create a well organised campaign – only Napoleon tried – spent a large amount of his personal fortune – to create an image national scale – newspapers wrote articles that promoted him – large scale poster campaign – badges – pictures – Napoleonic momentos
* Napoleon had come to claim what he regarded as his birth right
* Result of Election was very decisive
* Lamartine who had expected to do well secured less than 1900 votes – reputation had suffered from association with the provisional government – had offended the haves and haves nots – Lamartine’s romantic idealism was no longer so attractive
* Ledru-Rollin unsuccessful with 1/3 of a million votes why? – Linked with Red Republicans – received much support in large towns and cities – but failed to do so in rural areas = where most of the French population lived
* Cavaignac – after the June Days his name was known nationwide – he won respect from property owners – seen to maintain law and order – But was resented in many areas because of the brutality of the JD
* Napoleon received over 5 million votes – nephew of the most powerful man in Europe – whilst living in Germany he developed a deep sense of destiny – failed uprisings in 1836 and 1840 but NOTE First Napoleon had also regained power on returning from exile in 1815 – As a prisoner Napoleon wrote about what he would of done as a leader of France – liberalize the regime – people have greater say in decisions – protection of ordinary people rather than elites – saw France under Philippe as weak – Political views were explained fully in his book Des Idees Napoleoniennes – 1839 – concerned in getting rid of poverty – sold in huge numbers – large amount of propaganda in Napoleons favour (did have some supporters – but not linked in national organisation – no Bonapartist Party.
* Initially the provisional Gov asked Napoleon to leave France when he returned in 1848 – seen as a complication – and Napoleon withdrew (learnt from past mistakes) – declined place on constituent assembly – because of this he played no part in the June Days (whereas Cavaignac gained fame he made enemies and could not compete with Bonaparte name nor appeal as protector of the poor)
* Napoleon made a poor impression in the Assembly – poor speaker – comic figure – naive – was seen by many politicians – Thiers – to be easily manipulated – they wanted a figurehead – Napoleon got the support of large numbers of politicians/businessmen
* Napoleon offered; catch all ideology – policies for everyone; security for people of property, support and end to anti clericalism for Catholics, opening of doors to people of wealth or talent, for poor better times ahead – firm government – support from Party of Order (majority of population) – folk culture – represented hope - support from Roman Catholic Church

**Interpretation’s**

**Karl Marx** – because of class struggle, Louis napoleon of limited ability was able to rise to power and serve capitalism.

**The people** - Saviour – came in time when there was an intense crisis; poor harvests, agitation for electoral reform and social and political tension

Revisionist – he wasn’t a complete failure – liberalisation of the 60s.

**President to emperor**

* Initially left politics to politicians – built on his support instead – ceremonial visits – built a large group of dependents in important positions – disassociated himself from Red Republicans
* June 1849 Red republicans attempted to overthrow government – order was restored in one day
* Military action – Sent an expedition to restore Pope’s authority in Rome – little military glory – but showed he was conservative – gained support in Europe and countryside
* Catholics and education – republicans wanted a state system that didn’t involve the church but ‘the Loi Falloux’ was passed in 1850 – encouraged provision of Church schools – staffed as they wished – religion compulsory – no state ed.
* Party of order held 2/3rds of 750 seats
* Attends regal tours of towns. Cities and villagers in France.
* 2nd of December 1852 (anniversary of the coup) napoleon declared himself emperor with the title napoleon 3rd.
* Plebiscite to confirm changes – winning 7,800,000 to 250,000

On December 2 1851, followers of President Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon's nephew) broke up the Legislative Assembly and established a dictatorship. A year later, Louis Bonaparte proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III.

**Marx** wrote The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon between December 1851 and March 1852. The "Eighteenth Brumaire" refers to November 9, 1799 in the French Revolutionary Calendar — the day the first Napoleon Bonaparte had made himself dictator by a coup d'etat

**Coup D’etat**

* Louis majoritarily won in 1848; in 1852 his office term was due to expire.
* 2nd of December 1851 (anniversary of battle of autziz) louis had 78 separate police officers arrest 78 unaware opposition figure including Theirs.
* Troops loyal to napoleon were deployed in strategic positions and printers forced to produce proclamations in favour of napoleon.
* Announced he would be president for a further 10 years, draw up a fresh constitution and then arrange a plebiscite to confirm the new arrangements – posters all over the city
* Plebiscite 7,400,000 voted for napoleon and 600,000 against him

**Resistance**

* Barricades went up in Paris – 500 Parisian workers (workers weak)
* 30,000 people were arrested across the country for resistance - 1859 napoleon released all resistance
* 10,000 deported
* 600,000 voted against in the plebiscite
* Leading politicians who could have opposed coup were arrested – key public buildings were occupied by troops – opposition newspapers were taken over – posters announcing the coup were printed – large numbers of troops brought into Paris

Louis Napoleon “France realised that I had broken the law only to do what was right”

**Downfall of the second republic**

* Men of property and power throughout Europe regarded Republicanism as a danger
* 2nd Republic – people had not voted for – elections held in 1848 and 49 only a minority of Republican deputies had been returned
* without the split of the Legitimists and Orleanists – no republic
* Few wished it to survive once a reasonable alternative had been found
* Louis took advantage of the situation to establish an empire

**The second empire /imperial Bonapartism regime 1852-1870**

Personality = strong sense of mission – enjoyed power – centre of attention – motivated by a determination to see a politically united and economically strong France

1852 Constitution (after Napoleon’s Coup) – nearly all power was placed in the hands of the president – this was the same when the President became the Emperor except that term of office was extended from ten years to life

Emperor was supreme commander of armed forces and directed foreign affairs independently

New parliamentary system = 2 houses of parliament; 1. The Senate 2. The Corps Legislatif both purely consultative; ‘decorations used to dress up a dictatorship’

The Senate = made up 150 people appointed directly by Napoleon (to whom were added members of army, navy and church)... members appointed for life – could not be dismissed even if became hostile to Napoleon/policies...only duties = to ensure that new laws were constitutional/to announce changes to the constitution

Corps Legislatif

* elected in 261 single member constituencies by universal manhood suffrage for up to 6 years (But Emperor could call new elections when he wanted).
* Elections free in theory BUT government officials ensured that official candidates were well supported... played no part in drawing up legislation – only had an opinion which could be ignored – met for 3 months each year... majority of members in 1852 were independent notables – duty to support a regime which offered law and order.
* Most important was the Conseil d’etat = made up of 40 members appointed and dismissed by Louis Napoleon – responsible for drawing up the laws that were presented to the Corps Legislatif
* Months following the Coup ... harshness and toughness adopted to show violent opposition would not be tolerated, 26,000 arrests 10,000 men were either sent to Algeria or exiled from France

Strict system of press censorship – Newspapers= No newspaper was allowed to exist without agreement from Government, had to deposit large sum of money for ‘good behaviour’, could be suspended with no trial and no right of appeal

Opposition was not allowed to take the form of establishing political parties – local groups allowed by illegal for national organisation – every political meeting had to be attended by a government official

Encouraged support through creating strong bonds of loyalty = doubled salaries of Prefects, reward supports with jobs and contracts, pay and status of members of army increased – made clear to the church the regime would act in interests of RC church.

Won over support within a few months; government officials, armed services and church – support from all levels of society – any opposition were imprisoned or abroad.

**1860s and 70s = political system changed dramatically**

**Stage 1 – 1860/61**

Corps Legislatif was given the

1. right to debate a statement of the Government’s intentions + to receive a reply from ministers to their points of view – right exercised once a year – annual address
2. Increased influence over the budget
* An official report of the proceedings of the Corps Legislatif published
* Newspapers were allowed to report the debates only in full
* Also note in 1859 declared an amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles – most returned

**Result**

* little significance
* Emperor did not amend his policies as a result of the debates
* newspapers not prepared to devote enough space for full report
* Budget suggestions could be ignored.
* Power of Emperor was still Absolute
* changes had symbolic significance - showed intentions to move towards less dictatorial style

Peaceful strikes’ legalised in 1864

***Stage 2 1867/68***

* Senate and Corps Legislatif were allowed to question a minister on actions/policies as frequently as they wished
* After 1868 press laws were extensively relaxed... Newspapers no longer needed Government approval
* Laws controlling public meetings were virtually abandoned

**Result**

* Increase in opposition–opposition was allowed ‘to pour scorn on the regime as much as possible.’ - confidence and credibility of the 2nd empire weakened by these attacks
* Full trade union legality established in 1868

***Stage 3 1869/70 – Liberal Empire***

* Senate was turned into a proper upper house – power to delay the passing of legislation
* Corps Legislatif became a law making body – now able to initiate legislation
* To help with changes new ministry formed in Jan 1870 with Emile Ollivier as Prime Minister
* Olivier = one of ‘the party of 5’ Republicans who had managed to gain election in the face of opposition from official candidates – although wanting to work in the regime Ollivier obviously had the aspiration to eventually replace the empire with a Republic

Result

* Suggested Napoleon III would go a long way in seeking reconciliation/compromise with anybody to work within framework of the law. There was a Plebiscite held, same result as 1851 – Napoleon III had achieved a smooth transition of government
* 1870 – proposal to abolish the ‘worker’s passport’ the livret a worker had to carry with him throughout his career

**1870 constitution – Napoleon still had power.**

* still appointed and dismissed ministers \*expected for ministers to put forward emperor’s policy
* if they didn’t - permissible for the emperor to consult people directly through plebiscite

***Interpritation***

1. Napoleon was a genuine liberal who didn’t want dictatorship
2. Napoleon III needed a new political alliance to keep power – the ‘Party of Order’ of old elites had started to oppose him once the ‘red menace’ had passed - Napoleon III’s reforms therefore a cynical attempt to keep power by granting concessions to other groups – specifically moderate liberals and workers
3. Napoleon from 1865 was in poor health and enable to maintain dictatorial rule

The Empress commented in 1865:“I find a sick man… irresolute and exhausted. He can no longer walk, sleep… scarcely eat

1. Emergence of Opposition = In 1863 a group of 40 members of parliament – moderate republicans and liberals – formed the ‘Third Party’ - It was led by Emile Oliver and they campaigned for greater liberalisation - First time ever Napoleon III had faced any sort of opposition
2. Emergence of Opposition 2 = elections of 1863 and 1869 = increase in opposition votes – 22 of the largest towns and cities in France including Paris fell to opposition – raising fears of mob violence and revolution = Liberal empire as a result of opposition

**French people’s view**

* not same as Britain – was not believed power should be given to Politicians; Suspicion of politicians was if anything more widespread than suspicion of kings/emperors
* accepted 1870 constitution as representing the form of government that gave best balance of power

Napoleon III decided to invite Olivier to be Prime Minister - Saw an increase in support for the Third Party - It is at this point that political liberalisation began - attempt to keep power by bringing on board the opposition?? Only way to survive

A political downfall = came with the death of half-brother Duc de Morny – President of the Corps Legislatif from 1854 until his death in 1865 – said death was greatest disaster – he had a great political ability – with him/his support Napoleon would have been able to introduce liberal changes earlier – without giving the impression of weakening to opposition

there was opposition to the policies of the government rather than the regime – many were happy to work within a Bonapartist Empire

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| **New empire - Napoleonic -powers**  |
| * Self-indulgence and self-righteous belief in his innate ability to lead
* Anti-parliamentary constitution
* Choose all ministers and dictate all laws
* Head of state – solely responsible for the people
* nominated the members of the council of state, whose duty was to prepare the laws
* Also nominated the senate, a body permanently established as a constituent part of the empire
* declare war or peace.
* Supreme commander of armed forces and directed foreign affairs independently
* the empires function “guide the people internally towards justice and externally towards perpetual peace”
* = strong sense of mission – enjoyed power – centre of attention – motivated by a determination to see a politically united and economically strong France
 |

**Domestic policy**

**Influence of Saint-Simon**

* argued more would be done to improve the quality of life of ordinary people by removing them from poverty than by gaining them political rights – Napoleon was a follower

**Suppression**

* Universal suffrage – supervised and controlled by means of official candidature.
* Free speech and action in electoral matters – forbidden
* Legislative body elected by universal suffrage – however not allowed to elect its own president
* Parliament split – senate (upper house) and lower house of deputies – voted by universal suffrage. Passage opinions on laws – could be ignored
* Political meetings illegal unless a state official was present
* Federations of political clubs made illegal
* Censorship of newspapers – needed state permission

Pretty much impossible for political opposition

**reform and improvement**

**Public works**

* slum clearance and rebuilding of Paris – building bulevards making it
* difficult to barricade.
* State funded water pipes sewers, gas mains in Paris and Lyon.
* Solves unemployment, improve living conditions, new homes, replace slums and improve public immunities e.g. bath houses and wash houses.

**Improves connections and communications**

* railway 1848 was only 3,000 KMs of railway in France by 1870 there was 17,000 KMs Telegraph introduced across France – improves trade and general communication
* Steamship building – improves international trade
* improves trade internally and externally.
* Railway Network – new system linking regions of France like never before – under Philippe railway system was unplanned an ineffective – Napoleon introduced a system making it possible to move people and goods across the country, cheap and safe. Better than Britain 1870

**Urban Renewal**

* entrees of most major towns and cities were greatly changed
* Paris, Lyon, Marseilles - slums were cleared
* new houses, squares, shops, roads, public baths, sewers, gas mains were built.
* Critics
* way money was raised illegal? Slums of poor people replaced by houses for elites
* replacing streets easy for barricades in revolutions with broad streets for water cannons

**Agriculture industry**

* agriculture industry was family orientated few employees
* little need of credit
* there was no leap forward industrially for France like Britain.

**Suez Canal**

* Conceived by French de Lesseps and backed by Napoleon III.
* Linked Mediterranean to Red Sea so cut out long journey around Africa.
* Opened up world trade massive potential trade benefits for France and labour intensive so generated jobs...also originally an idea of Napoleon I so part of Napoleon III's idea of his own destiny? Started 1859 finished and opened 1869 so BIG project.

**Significance**

* Economic benefits to Western Europe especially France as they were majority share holders in project.
* Also something 'glorious’ For Napoleon III to be involved in.
* Economic benefits not really until after Napoleon III however.

**Bank reforms**

* making cheap reliable credit available - existing banks only for secured elites
* Napoleon established new banks that would allow and encourage to provide entrepreneurs with loans
* 3 new banks between 1852. E.g. the Credit Mobilier and Credit Foncier
* Credit Mobiliser first bank to welcome savings from ordinary people
* access to reliable credit.
* Reliable and backed by government.
* Prevents instability due to stable growth and prosperity.
* Banking Stable banking + access to reliable credit a key factor in ensuring economic growth
* Banking provided capital for projects such as the railway

**Economic Liberalism/Free trade**

 Napoleon III was a supporter of free trade for two reasons 1. It promoted economic growth and prosperity 2. It cemented good relations with other countries (especially GB)

Napoleon established a number of free trade treaties with foreign countries despite domestic opposition...

1. Cobden-Chevalier Free trade treaty with GB 1860 reduced import duties in and out of both countries by 25% over 4 years. Coal, textiles, iron and steel from GB. Wines and silk from France
2. Similar treaties with Belgium (1861). Italy (1863), Netherlands (1865) and Portugal (1866)

free trade difficult to implement with lack of support hence why treaties emerged between 1860 and 65 9 treaties were formed

Critic = Most French industrialists saw free trade as a threat to home market (which was prior protected by high custom duties) – very few supported the idea

**Interpritations**

**Marxism – Karl Marx**

* in the 1869 preface to his article on The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte
* 'demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relations that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part'.

**Revisionist – zeldin**

* “ it is time that the abuse of his enemies should be appreciated in its true light and not accepted as impartial history merely because they happened to be distinguished men”

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| **Domestic policy** |
| **Successes**  | **Failures**  |
| **Suppressing opponents** **•** Louis Napoleon clearly took pleasure in exercising power – he was determined to unite the country politically. However, this does not of itself determine success. • under the 1852 constitution it was clear that the President held considerable power thus weakening the role of the Parliament• The use of censorship and arbitrary arrest combined with supervision of political parties, ensured that opposition could not fester. This was combined with conciliatory moves towards church leaders and the army• Once control had been established, the introduction of the Liberal Empire saw a relaxation of authority. The initiative for this did indeed come at least in part from the Emperor himself and was not forced upon him.**Church relations** relations with the Church and especially the extent to which the Church was allowed to influence domestic policy might also be considered as a measure of success**Economic and social policy** Economic and social policies were notable and especially the financial system and the development of a new infrastructure. Students may argue that the remodelling of major cities was the only significant achievement as it was only this that smacked of novelty and longevity. Unemployment was solved and support won through public works – slum clearances in Paris and other urban areas – the building of massive new boulevards in Paris in working class areas Rapid improvement in living conditions = State funded water pipes + sewers + gas mains all laid under Paris and Lyon + new homes to replace slums + public baths and wash houses Communications = greatly improved which led to substantial economic growth – Railways 18148 there was only 3,000 kms of railway – by 1870 there was 17,000! – Telegraph introduced across France – Big programme of steam ship building = internal and foreign trade grew – sustained low unemployment**Liberalization** liberalization, although an equally valid argument might be that liberalization was an expedient measure necessary to hold on to power. Either way, it was a significant achievement | • it is difficult to see the emergence of the Liberal Empire as entirely part of a long-term policy from the Emperor especially considering the impact of the events of 1869 and the demands for reform• As Louis Napoleon aged he simply bought off his opponents with reform, and had anyway effectively handed over power to Rougher from 1866. He thus dealt with opposition by simply delaying and appeasing. This was hardly a significant achievementGeneral thought that Napoleon III did not match expectations – more concerned on appearances. Symbolised through the collapse of the Credit Mobilier in 1867  |

**Foreign policy**

**Motivations within foreign policy**

* To end the 1815 Settlement
* To rekindle the old Bonapartist myth that Bonapartism was the friend of emerging nations
* To diffuse and confuse domestic opposition with a ‘progressive’ and/or glorious foreign policy
* To appease the wishes of his Catholic wife the Empress Eugenie

**Crimean War 1854-6**

France sided with Britain and the kind of Sardinia against Russia the policy of the integrity of the Turkish empire.

Nap III had a personal grievance against the Czar who had refused to greet him as ‘brother’ as fellow sovereigns are supposed to.

no clearly defined military purpose, and continued in a hesitating way

* Napoleon also wanted to wipe away the blot of Napoleon I’s defeat to Russia in 1812. Napoleon also argued with the Czar over which Church the protect the Christian Holy Places in Palestine (Turkish empire), the RC Church or the Russian Orthodox
* Czar refused to hand over the role to the French and the RC Church and then went a stage further by demanding the role of protector of Christian people throughout the Turkish Empire
* Backed up by Britain and France Turkey refused this and Russia invaded
* Britain, France and Turkey attacked the Crimean Peninsula to drive the Russians back
* Peace treaty was signed which excluded Russia from the black sea

**Success**

* Despite 65,000 French and British troops dying in awful conditions the Crimean War was a success of sorts
* Treaty of Paris forced Russia to abandon her claims within the Turkish Empire and to accept the neutralisation of the Black Sea
* Napoleon had also worked successfully in partnership with Britain

**Italian Intervention 1858-9**

Nap III at first seen as a barrier to Italian unification, then a keen supporter and military ally and then abandoned the Italians half way through the campaign

**orsini bomb plot**

* Nap III appears to have been converted to the cause of Italian unification by an attempt on his own life by an Italian patriot!
* In Jan 1858 whilst driving to the Opera Nap and Eugenie where subject to a bomb attack orchestrated by an Italian patriot called Felice Orsini. 8 bystanders were killed by the bombs and 150 injured but the emperor and empress survived
* Orsini arrested and sentenced to death
* There then followed a bizarre set of letters between Orsini and Nap III which seemed to convert Nap III to the cause of Italian unification
* It had only been Napoleon’s failure to support the Italians which had let Orsini to try and kill him
* “The happiness or unhappiness of my country depends on you”
* Napoleon was either genuinely converted OR used these events as an opportunity to divert attention away from economic recession at home – what is clear however is that his policy towards Italy radically changed

**Napoleon and Cavour**

* A few months later Napoleon met the Sardinian PM Cavour in Plombieres to plot the liberation of the rest of Italy from Austrian control
* A plot was hatched to go to war with Austria to create 3 autonomous Italian Kingdoms in the North, Centre and South loosely joined together in a Conferastion of States
* In return for military help Cavour would give Napoleon the French speaking territories of Nice and Savoy

**War with Austria**

* Began in 1859. Nap III took personal charge of the campaigns and won 2 big battles at Magenta and Solferino
* 2,300 French deaths in battle and another 4,500 from diseases on the battlefield
* Napoleon found real war far less romantic than the Bonapartist myth describing the battlefield as, ‘a half fainting, half vomiting mass of misery’

Half way through the campaign to liberate Italy Napoleon sought peace with the Italians without telling Cavour at the Peace of Villafranca 11th July 1859 possibly out of war weariness or possibly out of a recognition that overall victory was going to be much harder to achieve and that even defeat was a possibility.

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| **Consequences of the Italian events**  |
| * Lost support of Cavour and the Italians
* Gained lingering resentment of Austria
* Lost support of Britain who saw the Italian campaign as clear signs of an ‘expansionist’ France
* Antagonised Catholics within France
* France beginning to appear rather isolated in Europe
 |

**Mexican Adventures 1861-67**

Mexico had been part of the Spanish empire which included much of America – during Napoleonic wars they had all broken free/gained independence

Mexico = politically unstable, inefficient with a corrupt government which had many changes – governments rarely lasted more than a year

Despite this Mexico easily gained loans from Paris and London – soon they were borrowing money to pay off previous loans

A constant plea for armed intervention

* 1861 following a long civil war the leader of the Mexican republic Juarez defaulted on all foreign loans and cancelled payments to creditors
* Britain, Spain and France immediately sent a military delegation to Mexico to enforce payments
* When payments resumed Britain and Spain withdrew
* Napoleon however, egged on by Eugenie, planned to overthrow the republican and anti-clerical regime of Juarez and replace it with a ‘Catholic Empire’

**Mexican war**

* Resistance to French plans was fierce and the fighting prolonged and expensive
* However, by 1864 the French had prevailed and a minor Austrian Royal Maximillian had been persuaded to be installed as Catholic Emperor of French controlled Mexico
* In 1865 USA emerged from its own civil war to demand the immediate withdrawal of the French from Mexico or they would declare war themselves
* In 1867 Napoleon meekly withdrew leaving Maximillian to be captured and shot by the Mexican resistance

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| **Consequences of these events**  |
| * Napoleon gained then lost Catholic support
* Annoyed liberals in his own country
* Massive expense and loss of trade – whole adventure cost in access of £45 million
* Further alienated Austria
* Loss of reputation
* France further isolated in Europe
 |

***Poland***

* Treaty of Vienna – Poland was divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia – Poles traditionally looked for France in hour of need – Napoleon III similar connection to Poland as to Italy – 1863 major uprising took place in Russian Poland
* Urged by public opinion in France – Napoleon III protested to the Russians about the severity in the suppression of the uprising
* Ended relationship with Russia
* Bismarck knew Napoleon was weak – Austria and Prussia joined forces to fight Denmark – French protests meant nothing – again Bismark defeated Austria in 1866 – gaining control of the whole of northern Germany

**Franco-Prussian War 1870-1 - Outmanoeuvred by Bismarck**

**Causes of the Franco Prussian war**

**Ems telegram**

* The Ems Telegram was ostensibly a telegram from the Prussian Kaiser, Wilhelm I, to his Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck which, when published (and as anticipated by Bismarck) precipitated the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.
* The telegram's contents outlined the details of a disagreement between Wilhelm and the French ambassador concerning the succession to the Spanish throne.
* Bismarck subtly edited the telegram to give the impression that each side had insulted the other. so as to purposely offend the French government precipitated the Franco-German War.
* The publication of the ems telegram unleashed noisy demand for war from the press and parliament. Few dared to dissent and they, notably theirs, Gambetta and the republican jules favre, were howled down in parliament. Parisians believed victory was certain
* Created an intensified demand for war in Paris and Berlin, and France declared war on July 19.
* The incident provided the excuse for a trial of strength that was sought by both France and Prussia, but because of Bismarck’s dishonest editing of the Ems telegram, it was France that was the first to declare war.
* This circumstance helped enlist the southern German states to Prussia’s side in the ensuing war, which resulted in the unification of all the German states (except Austria) into modern Germany.
* Bismarck’s determination to unify German speaking states

**Napoleon mistakes**

* withdrawal of Leopold’s candidature in france had not justification for war.
* Theirs – ‘a fit of pique’
* Believed the French army was superior – an opportunity to redress the balance
* drive for glory – continuously trying to prove himself

**Napoleon Bonaparte**

* desire for revenge of napoleon Bonaparte advances in Prussia and geran lands

**Why did France lose**

**Prussia was a more industrialized country.**

* The chaos of the French Revolution many years earlier set back the industrialization of France.
* France didn't have many large sources of coal like Britain and Germany did. After the Napoleonic wars.
* France didn't make the same leaps in industry as other countries did.
* Prussia's greater industrialization, it not only had a greater manufacturing based for arms and munitions but also could mobilize troops quickly with its extensive rail systems.

**Prussia’s weaponry advances**

* Prussians had better artillery and used it effectively. Guns where superior in range and fire
* While Prussian troops were outclassed when it came to their issued rifles, they had a strong advantage in artillery. They had all steel, breech-loading guns manifested by the Krupp Company. These guns outclassed the French breech-loading artillery.
* French had a much better rifle in the Chassepot (vastly superior to the Dreyse needle gun) but were never able to use it much to their advantage – it by far caused the most causalities. As well as a better machine gun but it has been argued they didn’t know how to use it/hadn’t been trilled in manoeuvre – easily shot before use

**Population**

* Prussia had the most developed general staff system in the world at the time. Their command structure made the control of their large armies very efficient. Most powers would later model their own general staffs on the Prussian model.
* Prussia marched deep into French territory before the French were fully mobilized. They found it easy to encircle French forces with their greater numbers and caused huge numbers of casualties with their more modern artillery.

**Incompetent moves**

* Bismarck had expected that this war would come and thus had prepared for it, they had a strategy for how to defeat the French. Germany – 2-year planning for battle
* The French had no real strategy and expected to win easily
* Louis napoleon advanced swiftly and unorganised “towards berlin”– lack of skilled position.

**Isolation in Europe**

The main French army and Emperor Napoleon III was encircled and forced to surrender at Sedan. A provisional government was set up in Paris but the city was put under siege and eventually surrendered itself after a brave but futile resistance

By 1870 France had been totally isolated in Europe.

* Britain mistrustful of expansionism; Italians resentful of ‘betrayal’
* Russians angered by Crimea AND in 1863 napoleon’s public support for polish rebels
* Austria had been crushed by Prussia in the 1866 Austro-Prussian War from which France had remained neutral
* Prussia, led by Bismarck, was determined to complete German unification by taking the ‘French’ states of Alsace and Lorraine.

Opposition to the regime was also mounting at home and in July 1870 a ‘decaying regime and diseased emperor’ blundered into the Franco Prussian war which proved an unmitigated disaster for Napoleon and for France

**German unity – fighting for a cause - Watch on the Rhine**

* **"**The Watch on the Rhine!" or "Die Wacht am Rhein!" is one of the most famous patriotic songs in German history.
* Max Schneckenburger wrote "The Watch on The Rhine" in 1840. It became very popular among Prussian and other German troops during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).

**Consequences of the Franco Prussia war**

* elimination of Napoleon III and the dominance of conservative monarchical rule.
* unification of Germany - This significantly changed the balance of power in Europe. But it occurred at a time when the European powers were carving up Africa and Asia.
* Germany without a substantial navy was unable to obtain a colonial empire merited by its self-image.
* The unification occurred around Prussia, the most conservative and militaristic of the German states. The War left Germany convinced that this security was ensured with the acquisition of new fortresses in Alsace Loraine.
* The German military was left convinced of the superiority of the Germany Army. Alsace-Loraine raher than ensuring German security, bought the perpetual enmity of the new French Republic.

French foreign policy was thus directed at developing treaty relations with Britain and Russia. This was not possible while Bismarck was Chancellor, but when Wilhelm II became Kaiser, he quickly retired Bismarck and pursue a new more aggressive foreign policy. And the German Army was confirmed in its traditional opinion that the path to victory was rapid mobilization and deployment for a primitive offensive.

**Europe**

* The Franco Prussian War involved more than the fate of the countries involved.
* The restoration of conservative royal governments by the Congress of Vienna after the defeat of Napoleon was an attempt to turn back Europe to monarchical government.
* Despite the growing importance of the middle class, as late as the American Civil War, the United States was the only democratic Republic in the Western world.
* This is why Lincoln said in his Gettysburg address, that the Civil War would resolve the issue of whether "governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth".
* It also settled the issue of whether Europe would be governed by liberal democratic republics or authoritarian military backed monarchies.
* The revolutions that broken out in 1848 had gailed. The Franco-Prussian War created a new unified Germany with its Prussian military aristocracy that was the dominant continental power. One historian writes, "Military monarch, rather than socialism or liberalism, had won the battle for the 19th century." The terrible history of the 20th century with World War I and II was in many ways the consequence.

**Consequences**

* Few European wars ending in such major developments as the abolishment of the Third French Republic and the German Empire.
* There were other major consequences of the War. As is often the case of a defeated country, France studied the Germans. There was considerable effort to in effect adopt the Prussian model in both the schools and army.
* We have, however, few details yet on the precise details of how the Third Republic went about this. We have very few details at this time on the schools of the French Third Republic. Secondary school boys wore uniforms. There was a wide range of uniform styles. Uniforms were worn, however, before the War.
* The Third Republic instituted significant educational reforms, but we are unsure to what extent these reforms promoted militarism and hatred of the Germans in French schools. French desire for revenge and reclamation of Alsace-Loraine strongly motivated French national policies after the War. As one historian explained, "From now on, every foreign enemy of the new born (Prussian) Empire could count on French support."
* The French persuade a domestic policy of revanchist, a national renewal. French republicans tended to peruse revanchist through a colonial civilizing mission. Right wingers usually with a Catholic royalist outlook focused more on anti-German and anti-Semitic efforts

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| **Defeat of napoleon** |
| * By September 1 Napoleon and 84,000 troops he was personally leading, had been surrounded at Metz and forced to surrender
* When this news reached Paris the Mob stormed parliament, a new Republic declared and a government of National defence set up led by Gambetta
* Napoleon was captured and taken prisoner in Germany – later exiled to Britain were he died in 1873
 |

**Interpretation’s**

* Many historians regard Napoleon III’s disastrous foreign policy as the main reason for his regimes demise
* Mistakes were made all the more telling as Napoleon III took personal control of all foreign policy and military decisions
* **roger Magraw** – ‘retracted embarrassment’ in Italy

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| **Foreign policy** |
| **Successes**  | **Failures**  |
| * Napoleon III had aspirations but even here there was inconsistency. There was never any convincing explanation if the Empire was about peace or war. Napoleon seemed to want glory but lacked the desire to take convincing action. Napoleon’s policy flittered according to circumstance
* L’Empire, c’est la paix had a hollow ring to it when Napoleon so willingly went to war in the Crimea within 18 months of having said it. This might be combined with the fact that he became increasingly subject to events here rather than the master of them
* The Treaty of Paris did however, despite this inconsistency of objective, see success. Napoleon had effectively split the unity of powers established post Vienna and had ended the diplomatic isolation of France
* The Italian crisis showed a clear change in Napoleon’s objectives mid-way through and indeed it is difficult to argue that Napoleon was ever really in control of events. Whilst events did run away from Napoleon, it might be argued that this was not entirely of Napoleon’s doing – he reacted as best as he might to an evolving crisis which only seems poor with hindsight The apparent triumph of the unification of Italy in 1861 might well be considered to have actually included a series of failures. Certainly the rise of a secular Italy was uncomfortable and did little to appease the pope
* Napoleon’s involvement in Mexico was a key failure. Certainly it damaged Napoleon’s reputation. Given the expectations that were aroused by French intervention, the eventual collapse of French policy was all the more keenly felt. The execution of Maximilian in 1867 after the complete withdrawal of French forces became symbolic of Napoleon’s foreign policy delusions
* Defeat in the Franco-Prussian War caused the collapse of Napoleon’s regime. The war itself might be used as further evidence of Napoleon’s disastrous inability to comprehend the changing realities of international relations in this period
* The disaster of 1870 came on the back of a decade of embarrassing snubs in the European sphere that sat very uncomfortable with French public opinion. Napoleon himself had failed to appreciate the rise of Prussia.
* The Crimea was hardly a success for any power, yet France emerged reasonably successful. In addition, it is unclear if the French actually desired an extensive foreign policy of aggression
* Some students may cast Napoleon as a victim of Prussian aggression and of Bismarck’s wider policies. The EMS telegram might be used as evidence of this.
* Support from catholic peasants and the clergy
* Friendship from Britain in the Crimean war
 | * Napoleon III clearly had high expectations for foreign policy and believed that the period of France’s foreign subservience should come to an end this aim was balanced by the need for moderation ‘l’Empire, c’est la paix’
* hence Napoleon set out to destroy the territorial settlement of Vienna but to do so peacefully
* The decision to fight in the Crimea might indicate a strong sense of purpose: the desire to protect the Holy Places simply an excuse for an entirely reasonable policy aimed at keeping Britain and Russia at loggerheads and to give Napoleon an early foreign policy success. The failure was that he could not foresee or control subsequent events, and especially the actions of the Turks
* Italy had proven how little Napoleon was able to advance his clear objectives. Rather than French aid for reunification, Napoleon had created a resentful, partial state that was secular and had done little to appease the Pope
* Involvement in Mexico was a clear failure. The execution of Maximillian in 1867 became symbolic of the abject defeat of French foreign policy
* increasingly ignored, for example in his Polish policy, Napoleon’s foreign policy increasingly angered a population eager for glory
* The Franco-Prussian war caused the collapse of Napoleon’s rule. The war itself was prompted by Napoleon’s extravagant claims and sense of importance and he was quickly bettered by the politics of Bismarck. The siege of Paris a visual testament to the utter failure of policy.
* Personal vendetta against the Czar
* It is difficult to conclude that the whole period was one of complete failure. In Italy there were obvious successes from 1858 to 1861 – judgements of failure can only be made in hindsight
* Napoleon had good reason in 1861 to believe that his own and France’s international prestige had been significantly increased and that France had again become the power of note
* The Crimean War did much, at least initially, to strengthen France’s position in Europe, and might be considered to have led in turn to a series of successful foreign policy events such as the creation of Romania under French auspices. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 could be used as evidence of a successful foreign policy and the emergence of a renewed prestige for France.
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| **End of the Napoleonic empire** |
| * The 2nd Empire was destroyed by war not by internal opposition, although internal opposition had been growing in the form of republicanism and socialise
 |

**The third republic**

When news came to Paris of Napoleon's capture and defeat at Sedan the Paris Mob took to the streets and the Empress and her family fled to England. The Legislative Chamber proclaimed itself to be a Provisional Government and pledged to fight on against the Prussians

**Provisional government aims**

* Republicans in the assembly knew that if a Republic was to be successful and accepted it must expel Prussian troops from France – a regime associated with humiliation and defeat would be doomed to failure
* Thousands flocked to join the swelled ranks of the National Guard in Paris (nearly 400,000)
* However, Bismarck had occupied nearly all of the rest of France – After 4 months of siege Paris fell and an armistice was agreed in January 1871

**Peace terms**

* Bismarck was determined to make peace with a ‘legitimate’ French government and so waited until an election for a new National assembly had taken place in Feb. 1871
* Election returned 396 monarchists (Bourbons and Orleanists), 20 Bonapartists, and 228 republicans (mainly Paris)
* The new assembly immediately accepted the very harsh peace terms and national humiliation – loss of territory and huge indemnity.
* The republican Jules Grevy was elected president of the National Assembly with Thiers as ‘Head of executive Power’
* The assembly then relocated to Versailles away from the influence of the Paris mob

**Franco Prussian war (continued after Napoleon surrendered)**

 Why did the Provisional Government want to fight on?

* Republicans in the assembly knew that if a Republic was to be successful and accepted it must expel Prussian troops from France – a regime associated with humiliation and defeat would be doomed to failure
* Thousands flocked to join the swelled ranks of the National Guard in Paris (nearly 400,000)

1st army made to surrender at Sedan – 2nd army made to surrender at Metz

If Paris fell – very difficult to continue the war

Paris well defended – so many troops any attack = certain to fail

But to great surprise Prussians with help of German allies were able to lay siege to Paris

Gambetta –– tried to organise new armies from the provinces – little success

Paris no hope – 1871 an armistice was signed – allow elections for a new Assembly that would make peace with Prussia (now Germany)

**Treaty of Frankfurt**

* Election returned 396 monarchists (Bourbons and Orleanists), 20 Bonapartists, and 228 republicans (mainly Paris) – election was rushed – basic choice between peace or continuation of fighting
* The new assembly immediately accepted the very harsh peace terms and national humiliation – (they had little choice) loss of territory (Alsace and a large part of Lorraine and HUGE indemnity.
* The republican Jules Grevy was elected president of the National Assembly with Thiers as ‘Head of executive Power’
* The assembly then relocated to Versailles away from the influence of the Paris mob

**Paris Commune**

Republicans in Paris were deeply politically hostile to the new assembly in Versailles

Paris was in a state – during the war – impossible to earn money – families survived by not paying rent/pawning their goods/daily wage paid by joining the national guard

Paris faced with financial ruin – Paris isolated from rest of country – elites had left too

* This was made worse by 2 decisions by Thiers
1. He demanded immediate repayment of rent and debt arrears which had been suspended during the war
2. He refused to continue to pay the expanded National Guard and tried to disarm them – the Generals and troops sent to disarm the national Guard were captured and hanged – Paris was about to separate from France!
* The head of the new republican government Adolph Thiers after negotiating the virtual capitulation to the Prussians had to regain control of Paris. Paris was appalled by the terms of the armistice
* The city refused to disarm and to submit to the Thiers regime.
* The population formed the Commune of Paris.

**Paris commune values**

* The people taking control for the first time
* Democracy
* National liberation – unite France get rid of France
* Abolish religion – separate church and state because it reverts back to the ancien regime and endorses monarchy which they were against.
* Social - Better working conditions – guarantees of employment

**Divide**

* Thiers now withdrew all government departments and officials from Paris leaving the National Guard as essentially the only official body in the city
* The Central Committee of the national Guard then called for an election for a city government called the ‘Commune’
* Around 70% of the 250,000 Paris population voted and returned and radical and left wing collection of socialists, republicans, liberals, anti-clerics and radicals who swiftly introduced a radical programme of improved wages, free secular education and reduced working hours
* The Paris Commune has been a subject of endless historical debate. There are meant interpretations. Some see it as a episode of mob rule. Others view it as the first effort at a socialist "workers' state".
* The Commune took an increasingly radical left-wing shift, for example, arresting many clerics. Early efforts to take control of the city resulted in troops turning on their officers.
* Although the Paris communards developed the reputation as Marxist revolutionaries, they were more concerned with fighting the Germans than the national bourgeoisie.
* Expected social and economic revolution did not take place, There was divisions in the commune + Government in Versailles began second siege of Paris within a week
* Thiers in Versailles saw the commune as a direct threat to the legitimacy of the Third Republic and a direct threat to property rights and the ‘structure of society’

**Downfall of the Paris commune**

* Finally troops loyal to Thiers began the second siege of Paris (April-May 1871). The Commune was suppressed with considerable bloodshed.
* Thiers in Versailles saw the commune as a direct threat to the legitimacy of the Third Republic and a direct threat to property rights and the ‘structure of society’
* Thiers negotiated with Bismarck for the release of French POWs to crush the Commune
* Paris was besieged for a second time – not this time by the Prussians but by their own soldiers
* A force of 80,000 troops led by MacMahon bombarded Paris for 6 weeks
* Eventually they broke through and there followed a further weeks of brutal street fighting even more terrible than the June Days; 20,000 Parisians killed, 14,000 imprisoned, 7,500 transported

**Significance of the Paris commune**

* It was a direct threat to property and privilege
* It was a threat to the ‘legitimacy’ of the Third Republic
* Elites feared ‘socialism’ would spread through France with catastrophic consequences
* Thiers knew he had to crush the left to win elite support for the new republic
* The Commune inspired both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who saw in the Paris Commune a pattern of success that could be followed elsewhere
* Paris commune was that is served as a model for a socialist structure of government for the following hundred years.
* Mao, Lenin, Marx all considered it as a model, although general opinion was that the Commune should have shown more 'enthusisam' in preparing for, and fighting against, the invading army. In reality the commune avoided this because they wanted to retain the support of international opinion, and this would have been made impossible if they had employed more brutal and military rule and methods.
* The war to end all wars

**Effect of the Paris Commune**

* Within a short space of time
* Paris seemed to be back to normal: businesses continued, debris cleared
* France remained divided – either a supporter of the commune or not
* During 1870 to 71 = an explosive growth in working class activity – thereafter it ceased – nearly all ‘working class thinkers’ were dead/imprisoned
* Commune may have however caused a rise in socialism in Prussia

**Third republic**

**Third republic survival**

* The third republic survived the Paris commune upheaval
* socialist and radical treat died down.
* Republic was seen by powerful elites in France as non-threatening to structure of society.
* Thiers now in a very powerful position
* Crushing of Paris Commune also marked end of the disproportionate influence Paris had enjoyed over the politics of France – (traced back to 17th century and Louis XIV).

**Theirs aims:**

1. **War debt:** Pay off war indemnity to Germany (Treaty of Frankfurt) and thereby get army of occupation of French soil. Thiers managed to secure loans for the French government which resulted in debt being paid off by 1873 (September)
2. **Army reform:** lessons of the Franco Prussian War - Conscription introduced in 1872 and French General staff reformed modelled on Prussian army – more efficient, meritocratic, effective. Universal national service introduced 1873 – important step in breaking down class divisions in France. Result- much more professional, better equipped, better led army
3. **Secure a permanent national government:** Thiers actually favoured a limited constitutional monarch based on the British model However he accepted that France had to remain a Republic to avoid further revolution

“It is the republic which divides us least” Other monarchists didn’t share this view and Thiers was forced to resign in May 1873

**Who should replace Thiers**

* The monarchist majority in the National Assembly did not want his successor to have so much power.
* They therefore decided to separate the leadership of the government from the leadership of the State by introducing a 2 headed executive – a Prime Minister to head the government and a President to be head of State
* General MacMahon became President and the Duke of Broglie (an Orleanist) became Prime Minister.

**Why didn’t the monarchists restore the monarchy?**

* The underlying problem was the split between Legitimists (Bourbons), and Orleanists
* Even this division appeared to be settled when an agreement was reached for Charles X’s grandson the Duke of Chambord (who was very elderly and had no children) to become King on condition that his heir would be the Count of Paris (Louis Philippe’s grandson)
* The deal floundered however on Chambord’s refusal to accept the tricolour over the White Bourbon flag

“Without my principle I am but a fat man with a limp”

Hoping he would die soon the assembly made MacMahon president for an extended 7 years but the ‘fat man with a limp’ lived on – by the time he had died in 1883 the monarchist majority was crumbling and the monarchy was never restored

**Constitution of 1875**

* Evolved rather than formally announced!
* Between 1871-74 Republicans won 126 seats in assembly – monarchist majority gradually withering away
* Republican deputies won an important victory In June 1875 by formalising in law the office and election of future French Presidents – only passed by one vote in a tense debate but effectively committed France to Republican government. Known as the Wallon Amendment.
* **“**"The President of the Republic is elected by absolute majority of votes by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies united as a National Assembly. He is chosen for seven years and is re-eligible."
* The monarchists were prepared to accept this in return for some conservative concessions.
* Parliament was to be made up of a lower house a Chamber of Deputies elected every 4 years by universal male suffrage, and an upper house – a Senate – made up of 75 life peers chosen by parliament and 225 elected for 9 years by electoral colleges favouring agricultural areas
* The President chose the ministers in government and had the power to dissolve parliament

**Monarchists support**

* The Monarchists and Conservatives gained a Senate, which they could dominate, which also had equal status to the assembly
* They also gained a very powerful President which they believed could one day easily be replaced by a monarch
* In fact the 1875 constitution lasted until the collapse of the 3rd Republic in 1940

**The church in france 1789-1870**

**Church under the ancien regime**

* Roman catholic Church an integral part of feudal system
* Provided the ‘ideology’ supporting absolute monarchy – the ‘divine right of Kings’
* Employees of the Church – the clergy represented a privileged elite in Ancien regime system – the First Estate – exempt from tax, not subject to laws of country (Church law and Church courts), exempt from military service
* Church was wealthy owning 15% of all land and collecting 1/10th of everyone's income in church taxes (the tithe)
* Catholicism ran deep in rural France making much of the peasantry supporters of the Church, monarchy and the Ancien Regime system
* The urban population less tied to religion – emerging working class far more likely to be anti church or ant clerical – emerging middle class far more likely to be protestant and/or influenced by Enlightenment idea and anti the power of Roman catholic Church

**Church in revolution**

* One of the major reforms of the revolution was a series of measures effectively taking state control of the church called The Civil Constitution of Clergy (1790-1792)
* Under these measures Church remained official religion of France but lost much of its privileges and power

**Civil constitution of clergy**

* Church tithe abolished
* Monastic orders such as Jesuits not allowed to be involved in education
* Full civil rights for protestants (1789) and Jews (1792)
* In place of tithe Church lands confiscated by state and profits used to pay clergy salaries
* Exemption from tax abolished
* Clergy to take an oath of allegiance to civil constitution – many priests refused – major focus point for counter revolutionary forces

**Consequences of civil constitution**

* Splits country into supporters of Pope and catholic independence (monarchists, ultras, aristocrats and catholic peasants) and anti-clericalists (republicans, liberals, workers, middle class, protestants and other minorities)
* Big regional differences – general rural-urban division of religious grounds

**De-Christianisation during revolution**

* Splits country into supporters of Pope and catholic independence (monarchists, ultras, aristocrats and catholic peasants) and anti-clericalists (republicans, liberals, workers, middle class, protestants and other minorities)
* Big regional differences – general rural-urban division of religious grounds

**Consequences of de-Christianisation**

* Very popular amongst urban revolutionaries – ‘sans cullottes’
* Huge backlash against policy from rural peasants
* Policy slowed then dropped in face of widespread hostility

**The church under napoleon 1**

Emperor Napoleon I reached a religious settlement with the Pope and the Church called The Concordat of 1801:

1. Pope’s role as head of RC Church in France accepted by government.
2. Catholicism recognised as ‘religion of majority’ AND freedom of worship for Catholics guaranteed.
3. Pope and church in return accepted permanent of loss of church lands during the Revolution.
4. Napoleon I retained the right to appoint bishops – which he used to place supporters in positions.
5. Tolerance of Protestants and Jews guaranteed in law.

**Significance of concordat**

* A compromise which fed the ‘bonapartist legacy’ that the Bonapartes were ‘friends of Catholicism’ – religion had been under very real threat during the Revolution

**Religion and the bourbons**

* Catholics were enthusiastic supporters of the Restoration
* 1815 settlement saw a revival of Catholicism across Europe as absolutism was restored by Vienna Settlement
* Bourbons claims to legitimacy based on religion
* Restored to role in education and as the religion of France – Jesuits return
* The power of the Church grew steadily until 1824, riding a revival in popular spirituality and religious observance. This growth was linked to an Ultra agenda of conservatism

**Religion and louis and Charles**

* Louis 16th more cautious but couldn’t contain the religious zeal of the ‘ultras’ either during the White Terror or at the end of his reign
* Charles X with his feudal style coronation, belief in the ‘royal touch’ and Law of Sacrilege shatters the uneasy compromise in society set up by Napoleon – angers liberals, protestants, middle class and working class
* Religion a MAJOR factor in the downfall of Charles X
* Charles X’s close association with the cause of the Church was seen as an attempt to introduce a conservatism to France
* The Church’s, and especially the Jesuits’, increasing involvement in the provision of education became part of a belief that Jesuits were asserting undue influence over the King and his ministers. This was seen as an essentially conservative force

**The church under louis Phillipe**

* LP a deliberate attempt to steer a compromise between Catholics and anti clericalism
* Law of Sacrilege repealed and RC Church only to be ‘the religion of the majority’- minority religious freedoms guaranteed
* LP NEVER popular with Catholics or legitimists or for that matter peasantry – seen as an ‘urban bourgeois’
* From 1832 LP adopted a policy of ‘appeasement’ towards Catholics granting them some concessions over church appointments – backfires – stokes up legitimist opposition culminating in an attempted coup by Duc de Berri 1832
* However, LP regime always lacked support of RC Church (a reason for its fall?) – popular instead amongst protestants and sceptics (always the minority)
* the effort of Louis-Philippe to limit the role of bishops, and to force the Jesuits out of France, indicates that the Church was at least seen to have a substantial influence in government

**Church, education and louis Phillipe**

* ‘*Church and education… the twin pillars of ruling elite hegemony’ (Magraw*)
* Guizot’s 1833 Education Act unpopular with Catholics.
* A primary school in every village and a teacher training college in every department established by Guizot – new ‘bourgeois’ values of thrift and sobriety taught. Guizot believed education and the teaching of ‘moral values’ could calm social unrest. RC Church remained important BUT Guizot’s reform the start of much greater role for the State.
* Literacy up from 47-60% under LP
* Guizot also angered Catholics ny insisting catholic schools be inspected by the State
* The Party of Order that emerged under Louis Napoleon meant security and stability, and also an end to anti-clericalism. The Catholic Church was very influential in the party
* under Louis-Napoleon the Church attempted to re-establish their conservative hold over education lost in 1830
* The Loin Fallout illustrates the triumph of the Church and its opposition to change.

**The church and napoleon iii**

* Church and clergy fervent supporters of Louis Napoleon in Presidential election campaign 1848 and first to approve of the later Coup D’Etat
* Why - Napoleon seen as better alternative to ‘godless socialism’/ a restoration of the Bourbons not practical/ Bonapartist legacy won support from peasants –seen as ‘church friendly’
* Roman Church (and Napoleon’s catholic wife) also heavily influenced foreign policy in Mexican adventure