EUROPEAN STUDIES SERIES

General Editors Colin Jones
Richard Overy

Series Advisers Joe Bergin
John Breuilly
Ruth Harris

This series marks a major initiative in European history publishing aimed primarily, though not exclusively, at an undergraduate audience. It will encompass a wide variety of books on aspects of European history since 1500, with particular emphasis on France and Germany, although no country will be excluded and a special effort will be made to cover previously neglected areas, such as Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and Southern Europe.

The series will include political accounts and broad thematic treatments, both of a comparative kind and studies of a single country, and will lay particular emphasis on social and cultural history where this opens up fruitful new ways of examining the past. The aim of the series is to make available a wide range of titles in areas where there is now an obvious gap or where the existing historical literature is out of date or narrowly focused. The series will also include translations of important books published elsewhere in Europe.

Interest in European affairs and history has never been greater; *European Studies* will help make that European heritage closer, richer and more comprehensible.

EUROPEAN STUDIES SERIES

Published

Michael Hughes	Early Modern Germany, 1477–1806
Martin Lyons	Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution
Pamela M. Pilbeam	Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814–1871

Forthcoming

Robert Aldrich	Greater France: A Short History of French Overseas Expansion
Nigel Aston	Religion, Revolution and the Churches in France, 1780–1804
Christopher Black	The Counter Reformation in Italy
Gail Bossenga	The <i>Ancien Régime</i> and the Coming of the French Revolution
Janine Garrisson	A History of Sixteenth-Century France
Mark Greengrass	Continental Calvinism: The Shaping of a Confessional Identity, 1541–1618
Susan Grogran	A History of Women in France, 1750–1914
Stuart Jones	A History of France, 1870–1924
Hugh McLeod	Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848–1914
Richard Okey	The Habsburg Monarchy, 1780–1918: The Improbable Empire
Richard Overy	Nazism
Jonathan Powis	Office-Holding in Old Régime France
Stephen Salter	Imperial Germany, 1871–1918
Tom Scott	A Social and Economic History of Early Modern Germany
Richard Vinen	A History of France, 1934–1970

Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814–1871

PAMELA M. PILBEAM

M
MACMILLAN

© Pamela M. Pilbeam 1995

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

First published 1995 by
MACMILLAN PRESS LTD
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS
and London
Companies and representatives
throughout the world

ISBN 978-0-333-56672-5 ISBN 978-1-349-23860-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-23860-6

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
04 03 02 01 00 99 98 97 96 95

To the memory of
Professor Alfred Cobban

To be governed is to be kept in sight, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, estimated, valued, censured, commanded by creatures who have neither the right, nor the wisdom, nor the virtue to do so.

(P.J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la Révolution*)

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Plates</i>	xiii
1 The Republic: Idea and Image	1
2 Historians and the Republic	23
3 The Legacy of the First Republic and the Napoleonic Empire	40
4 Conspirators and Parliamentarians: Republicans 1814–1830	60
5 Revolution and Popular Unrest: Republicans 1830–1835	95
6 The Republic Outlawed: Insurrection and Reform 1835–1848	129
7 Socialist Utopians and Reformers before 1848	155
8 Universal Suffrage and the ‘Right to Work’: The Second Republic, February–April 1848	185
9 The June Days: Bonapartism; the Decline and Fall of the Second Republic	210
10 From the Silent Years to Bloody Week: Republicans 1852–1871	243
Conclusion	264
<i>Notes</i>	277
<i>Appendix One: Chronological Table</i>	313
<i>Appendix Two: Biographical Sketches</i>	318

<i>Appendix Three: Maps</i>	327
<i>Bibliography</i>	335
<i>Index</i>	364

List of Illustrations

Plates

1 The First Seal of the First Republic (<i>Photothèque Musée Nationale</i>)	xiii
2 The Seal of the Second Republic (<i>Photothèque Musée Nationale</i>)	xiii
3 La France Républicaine (<i>Bibliothèque Nationale</i>)	xiv
4 The Republican Calendar (<i>Musée Carnavalet</i>)	xv
5 The Republic, by Honoré Daumier (<i>Musée d'Orsay</i>)	xvi
6 Liberty guiding the people (1830), by Eugène Delacroix (<i>The Mansell Collection</i>)	xvii
7 The Bastille – the Annual Procession (<i>Musée Carnavalet</i>)	xvii
8 The Republic (<i>Image d'Epinal</i> , <i>Pellerin</i> – 8 June 1794) (<i>Mary Evans Picture Library</i>)	xviii
9 The Tree of Liberty (<i>Musée Carnavalet</i>)	xix

Maps

1 The victory of the liberals: the elections of June and July 1830	328
2 The Second Republic: the presidential election, 10 December 1848: Bonapartist memories – the vote for Louis-Napoleon	329

3	The Second Republic: votes for radical-republicans (democ-socs) in legislative elections, 13 May 1849	330
4	Republican resistance to the <i>coup d'état</i> of December 1851	331
5	Criticism of the Second Empire	332
6	The republican vote in the early Third Republic, 1876	333

Preface

British observers of France are inclined to approach the story of the repeated political upheaval of the nineteenth century with a certain puzzled superiority. Marxist historiography used to appear to explain the successive revolutions which followed 1789. French republican historians have always been confident of the inevitability of the triumph or the republic. But which republic? And why three attempts over nearly a century before a permanent republican regime could be established?

This investigation is based on archival research in Paris and a number of departments and on printed material, including an invaluable, if not always well reproduced, multi-volume collection of reprints of republican and socialist pamphlets. It is an attempt to synthesize these findings with the ever-growing number of specific, particularly regional, monographs. I make no pretence that my reading is exhaustive. My own life-long preference for republicanism will be transparent. I am indebted to archivists and librarians in Paris, provincial France and in London. I am grateful to the French government for an award which allowed me to do research in France in the summer of 1985 and to the Research Committee of the Department of History of my own college, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, which provided me with a grant for research in Paris and the provinces in the summer of 1991.

I thank the many colleagues in French history who listened to and offered constructive criticism of aspects of this book, in particular the Society for the Study of French History in 1992, French Historical Studies and the Western Society for French History in 1992. My gratitude is also offered to the British Academy which made my two American visits possible. Above all I thank my students and friends in

the Modern French History Research Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, and the *Institut Français*, who have given excellent advice. In 1991–2 this seminar ran a year-long celebration of the declaration of the First Republic, and my debt to our many speakers from France and Britain is recorded throughout this volume in the Notes. Undergraduates in the colleges of London University, in Ontario and Vancouver, extra-mural, sixth-form and other audiences, have generously challenged me to clarify my ideas and justify my preoccupation with France. Above all, this volume has been refined and completed thanks to the patience and self-sacrifice of my own family, who have even come to enjoy (?) research/camping trips to France. If there are any lucid snatches herein recorded, they owe much to the comments of my husband Stephen and daughter Ashka, the latter of whom, a critical and busy undergraduate, simplified a little of my more wordy prose.

Hampstead

April 1993

Plate 1 The First Seal of the First Republic
(see page 6)

Plate 2 The Seal of the Second Republic
(see page 6)

Plate 3 La France Républicaine
(see page 6)

Thermidor

Fructidor

Vendémiaire

Brumaire

Frimaire

Nivôse

Pluviôse

Ventôse

Germinal

Floréal

Prairial

Messidor

Plate 5 The Republic, by Honoré Daumier
(see page 8)

Plate 6 Liberty guiding the people (1830), by Eugène Delacroix
(see page 8)

Plate 7 The Bastille – the Annual Procession
(see page 9)

Plate 8 The Republic (*Image d'Epinal*, Pellerin – 8 June 1794)
(see page 9)

Plate 9 The Tree of Liberty
(see page 10)