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THE POLITICAL BANQUET CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE, 1847-1848

by

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by John J. Baughman

This study is the history of the movement for political reform in France as expressed in a series of political banquets held by the leaders of the opposition from July, 1847, to February, 1848. For the first time the banquets have been located, catalogued, and analyzed. The study looks upon the campaign as an entity in itself, showing how the banquets were connected with one another by ideas, leadership, and organization. It relates the banquet campaign to the development of liberal and democratic political institutions in nineteenth century France, to the liberal thought of the French bourgeoisie during the closing years of the reign of Louis Philippe and the period of the Second Republic, and to the immediate background and causes of the February Revolution of 1848.

The study examines first the political situation in France at the end of the July Monarchy, observing the reasons for the reform banquets. Next the banquets themselves are discussed with particular emphasis on their organization and political position. The story of the fifty-nine banquets is told with two banquets being especially noted, that of Paris which served as a model and that

of Lille which initiated the split of the campaign into two factions, moderate and radical. The position of the campaign in the outbreak of the February Revolution and the reaction of both local and national government to the banquets are examined. Certain parallel reform movements, such as the use of petitions, the work of conseils-généraux, and the attitude of the French press are investigated. The men and ideas of the campaign are analyzed, and finally the reaction of the banquets upon France is studied.

The banquet campaign failed to accomplish its goals, to arouse the French people to act for political reform, to encourage the Government to initiate reform legislation, and to unify all the factions of the opposition. The indirect results were important in the history of France: (1) the campaign was significant in the struggle for free political assembly in France; (2) the attention of France was focused upon its political difficulties in 1848; (3) a new vigor was brought into French political life; (4) electoral and parliamentary reform was made the order of the day; (5) for the first time there was an organized political opposition to the domestic policy of Louis Philippe.

The study reaches three general conclusions. The banquet campaign was significant in the development of the right of free assembly, the right of free political expression, and the increase of manhood suffrage in France. The banquets were an expression of the political philosophy of the French liberals of the early nineteenth century,

especially the men who determined the course of the Second French Republic. Finally they formulated the political causes of the French Revolution of 1848.

PREFACE

The history of the banquet campaign of 1847-1848 is the story of a great failure, and like all such it is worthy of study because it aroused some men to great heights, some ideas to glorious expression, and some events to moments of heroism. The campaign did not succeed because of man's inability always to be guided by reason, but its story does demonstrate a truism of history: that men do not always rise to the possibilities before them or exert intelligence in the realm of practical living. This failure is the campaign's greatest lesson.

The French Banquet Campaign was another in the long succession of attempts of the French to order their universe, to control their destiny. The issue of 1847-1848 was once more whether men can so manage their lives collectively that tyranny shall cease and reason and happiness shall reign. In 1847 a small group of wise and learned Frenchmen sought to widen the political base of their government by increasing the privilege of voting. The method they used was reasonable and orderly, and had all the prospects of success. The program was to combine the power of the spoken word with that of the written and to stir in all French hearts the vision of a great political future. This would be done by showing the error of the past. By this

action it was hoped that Frenchmen would participate actively in removing the political restrictions inherited from earlier days. These men in their wisdom and intelligence were searching for things as they ought to be; they were hurt in the end because they were not fully aware of things as they were. Their fight was uphill against the reality of insincerity, of ignorance, of selfishness, of fear, of lethargy. Their vigor was extraordinary, their enthusiasm overwhelming, but they struggled against heavy odds. That they failed in their mission in the end does not soil the vision for which they fought in these months, that it is possible for men to govern themselves. The people of France today believe they were correct.

The plan of this dissertation is to look upon the banquet campaign as an entity in itself. The movement, loosely organized, widely spread about France, often obscure in its goal, is unified by the forces of ideas and leadership. This study plans to emphasize this unity in the campaign, rather than the diversity found in fifty-nine banquets taking place between July, 1847, and February, 1848.

The study first will note the causes for the campaign and the milieu of French political life in which the banquets arose. The story of the banquets will be told in chronological order, emphasizing their activity, their political positions, and their immediate accomplishments. The results of the campaign will be discussed along with

its role in the outbreak of revolution in February, 1848. The reaction of the Government and the people to the campaign will be noted, as well as the parallel movements in the reform program of 1847. Finally an analysis of the personnel and premises of the campaign will be made.

The study emphasizes three contributions of the campaign to the history of France. First is the position of the banquets in the light of the political development of French constitutionalism, liberty, and democracy in the nineteenth century. They stand out in the struggle for increased suffrage, for free assembly, and for free political expression. In these rights France had come far by 1847; she was to go further after 1848. But no worthy political right comes easily. It must be fought for by work and patience and wisdom, and often by sword. Except for the latter, the banqueters of 1847-1848 operated in this spirit; the sword came after.

The banquet campaign was a forecast of the ideas of the Second French Republic. The men who were the banqueters of 1847 were those who created and determined the path of the Second Republic. The ideas, the beliefs they discussed in the autumn of 1847, they tried to put into practice in 1848. The men were bourgeois and their ideas we call liberal, ideas going back to the eighteenth century with its reason and Revolution. These beliefs were tempered by the romanticism of a post-Napoleonic Europe. This study shows who these men were and what they thought.

The banquet campaign terminated in a great revolution, brought on by many factors. Not the least of these was the political cause which was focused upon in the campaign. The banquets did not cause the revolution, but the situation that did also caused the banquets. This dissertation will show how this campaign is related to the revolution.

I shall seek to show that the banquets served a meaningful purpose, that political reform was needed in 1847. The banquets were the result of a political frustration that drew men of differing political philosophies together. One group dominated the banquets with their ideas, and this same group managed the Provisional Government of the Second Republic. They were the moderate republicans. They dominated because they controlled the mechanics and because they were the most vigorous in ideas and action. Contrary to most past study, I shall prove that from the beginning the banquets were republican and radical for 1847, and that the thesis of a growing radicalism has been exaggerated because the most dramatic personality of the campaign participated only in the last stages. I have added to the evidence that after the first week in November the campaign was split into two movements, alike in methods but dissimilar in aims. I shall also show that in face of Government attack these two movements could unify to fight against oppression.

I shall demonstrate that the Government did not openly attack the banquet program until the end of December, although it had the legal right to do so. It blocked the

banquets only when it became convinced that they threatened the internal security of France. The banquet of Limoges will be argued as the most plausible reason for this change of attitude, rather than the Ledru-Rollin banquets. I shall show that the role of Adolphe Thiers in the campaign should be minimized. Finally I shall reveal how the three goals of the campaign failed in accomplishment: the arousal of France to political action, the persuasion of the Government to initiate political reform, and the unification of the political opposition. I will show that the indirect results of the campaign were unexpected but very real. For the first time the banquets have been located, catalogued, and analyzed.

There were no heroes in this last year of the July Monarchy, and there were no tyrants. Only four men stand out in the banquets, Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne, Charles Pagnerre, Odilon Barrot, and Alexandre Ledru-Rollin. The banqueters were simply trying to find a satisfactory and workable basis for government. Those in power were convinced of the correctness of their own solution and misjudged the temper of their times; they must share the responsibility for the results of their error. Those out of power believed they had a more reasonable and happier approach and they in turn misjudged the dangerous repercussions to themselves of their ideas as well as the obstinacy of their opponents. The mistakes were fatal for the Orleanists and opportune for the democrats.

There are many whose names should be included in a list of acknowledgements, for many have given of their wisdom and money and time that this dissertation might be a contribution to the history of France in the nineteenth century. I am particularly grateful to the chairman of my committee, Professor Arthur L. Dunham, for his encouragement and assistance and to the others of my committee who have given generously of their time and advice.

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To list all the librarians who have assisted me is a task. To name those of the University of Michigan Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Archives Nationales is only to begin the list. I would, however, like to single out Mille Mireille Zarb of the Archives Nationales. Seven Parisian libraries and twenty-three French departmental archives and municipal libraries gave assistance.

Finally I wish to thank the Service Photographique of the Bibliothèque Nationale for the pictures, and the Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques in Paris for permission to have made a copy of the picture of Charles Pagnerre from the Nador Collection possessed by the French Government.

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CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN 1847

It was good to be a Frenchman in the closing days of the July Monarchy, days of calm, of quiet, of prosperity, of peace, of mellowness. There was some unrest and disillusionment, yes, but it passed most Frenchmen by. Besides, there was money to be made, and from peasant to king, all were searching for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

In 1847, France continued to enjoy the tolerable amount of political stability in which it had basked for the past seventeen years.[1] There was no reason to doubt its continuance. The average Frenchman could well afford to indulge in his usual lack of interest in things governmental, leaving this to young editors and old men sunning themselves in village markets. Political power had drifted into the able hands of the king and his ministers, and although the premier was a figurehead, the old military hero Soult, the government was safe in the hands of Louis Philippe and the stern Protestant Minister of Foreign Affairs, François Guizot. Upon Guizot and the Minister of Interior, Duchâtel,

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[1] A bibliography of the period of the July Monarchy in France will be found in the Bibliographical Essay on page 283.

rested most of the responsibility for operating the laissez-faire regime.

The Charter of 1830 had not defined the respective roles of king, ministers, and parliament. In this sphere the French, like the British, were making their own unwritten rules for parliamentary government. In his own limited way, Louis Philippe was a strict constitutionalist. He had not usurped political power outside the confines of charter and law. He had had, however, a definite constitutional problem, namely that the Charter of 1830 had not defined his or the legislature's prerogatives adequately. Consequently the early years of the July Monarchy had seen a continuous struggle between the executive and legislative branches, each seeking supremacy over the other and both hampered by the lack of a satisfactory constitutional or traditional precedent.

Louis Philippe treasured his loyalty to his dynasty and to the monarchical principle, and he was not so weak a character as to sit idly by and permit the legislative body to usurp what he believed to be his functions, particularly that of initiating legislation. His rivalry with the legislature had finally met with success, and by 1847 most of the Chamber had accepted the position of Louis Philippe and willingly turned over to him full control of the executive. The majority of the legislature now supported Louis Philippe's policy, and this group was representative of the voters of France. That the voters of France were not representative of the French people is another question.

In his freedom to wield the power weakly defined in the Charter, the king was expected to call upon the assistance of the leading members of the legislative body. It was only natural that he should select as his ministers those who could command the support of the legislature in carrying out the program decided upon by himself. He had found this a necessity when, in the few times he had become his own chief minister, the operations of government had deteriorated. If Louis Philippe had really been a tyrant, as some were ready to make him out to be, these ministers could not have increased their important role in the government.

Again it followed that, in order to maintain his prerogatives, to follow his program of peace and prosperity for France, Louis Philippe and his ministers needed a political party, or political grouping, which could see to it that the members in the Chamber voted correctly. In this too came success. By 1847 there was a definite government party submissive to the program of king and ministers, and the Government was comparatively safe as long as parliamentary opposition remained divided into quarrelling groups, all of which happened until the fatal year of 1847.

The legislative body under the July Monarchy consisted of two bodies, a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. The former was unimportant in the legislative process, particularly after the hereditary peerage was abolished in 1831, and its membership became subject to appointment by the king. The Chamber of Deputies was by far

the more important body. Eligibility to hold office was granted by law to any Frenchman who had property annually taxed to the amount of five hundred francs and who was thirty years of age. Six elections in all were held under the July Monarchy, each an electoral victory for the Government.

The fact that no true twentieth century political parties were in existence is primary. There were no real party leaders outside the Chamber, no executive committees, no headquarters for propaganda, no published platforms or programs. French parliamentary groupings in the July Monarchy were as numerous and divided as they came to be under the Third and Fourth Republics. The tendency for French voters to select their candidates on the basis of local rather than national interests remained predominant. With a suffrage based upon property qualifications, French candidates were usually of a like opinion on national issues and substantially in agreement with the policy of the Orleanist Government. In such a situation there was no necessity for strong political organization and discipline. This is not to deny, however, that there were definite alignments of varying opinions on politics. The most important and clearly defined division in the Chamber was based upon support or non-support of a monarchy.

The supporters of the monarchy were overwhelming in size in the Chamber, although in turn broken up into certain shades of political opinion. The principal group

was that of the Conservatives, who grew in power and influence under the Guizot leadership. Their general policy has been stated by Barbé.

> 1. A contract has been formed between the people and their king. . . . 2. By the Charter and by the character of monarchical heredity, the monarchy acquires a sort of legitimacy, not as a right inherent in itself, but as a right which is allowed to it and which perpetuates itself, in time becoming more and more solid. 3. The Crown has personal power, independent and influential on the affairs; power, altogether, of direction and control, of action and moderation.[2]

Facing the pro-Government majority was a minority who disapproved of the Guizot policy, but who still supported the monarchical system and the Orléans house. This group had a confused history for the eighteen years because of disunity and weak organization, representing a united front only in later days after years of making little political headway against the Conservatives.

The two principal groupings of the parliamentary pro-Orleanist opposition were the Centre Gauche and the Gauche Dynastique. The Centre Gauche, strictly Orleanist, was the opposition group closest to the Conservatives. These men maintained a vacillating program, being in opposition when the Government went too far to the right, and yet supporting the Conservatives at such times as the other opposition groups displayed a too radical program. Among their prominent leaders were Adolphe Thiers and Prosper Duvergier de

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[2]Maurice Barbé, Étude historique des idées sur la souveraineté en France de 1815-1848 (Paris: F. Pichon et Durand-Auzias, 1904), pp. 268-269.

Hauranne. The second important opposition grouping was the Gauche Dynastique, centering around the leadership of Odilon Barrot, which increased its power in the later years of the monarchy. They were as radical as good Orleanists could be, but always more interested in overthrowing the ministry than in offering any constructive political program of their own. These two groupings of the parliamentary opposition split over the regency question in 1842; not until 1845 did they achieve any sort of political intimacy.

In the late forties, a new group came to the fore, called by some, Progressive-Conservatives, an intellectual leadership represented by Tocqueville, Billault, Rémusat; men who believed in the inevitability of democratizing principles, although preferring the action in the salon to that on the barricade. Another small alignment revolved around Montalembert and worked for pro-Catholic legislation.

Aside from the Orleanist opposition there were several non-Orleanist factions with representatives in the Chamber. Berryer led a small group of Legitimists of little political significance. Somewhat better organized and certainly noisier were the republicans who remained few in number but extremely active in support of such radical causes as universal suffrage. By the enactment of repressive measures in 1834 the July Monarchy had succeeded in reducing their numbers and influence. The more radical elements had been driven underground to work in the secret societies; likewise the limited suffrage plus the lack of salaries for deputies prevented the poorer and more radical

republicans from having any significant representation in the Chamber. Their chief parliamentarians were Marie, Garnier-Pagès, and Ledru-Rollin.

The strong Orleanist parliamentary government would have remained politically, economically, socially advantageous except for two fatal defects that were emphasized in the last eight years of the reign. The first was the very human difficulty that men grow old, and with age comes the desire for safety, security, and stability. Louis Philippe in 1847 was nearly seventy-four years of age; the idealism, the strength, the vitality were gone, and he would not listen to his sons. Content to enjoy the pleasures of family and the memories of a full life, he more and more permitted affairs to be guided by Guizot and to practice parliamentary government only within the strict legal limitations imposed by the Charter.

Although the tendency has been to heap scorn upon Louis Philippe for absolutist inclinations, the truth is that, while in his old age he became more intolerant and insistent upon stronger executive control, he also came to rely more and more upon the assistance of the younger Guizot, who was able to relieve Louis Philippe of responsibility and continue their policy of internal conservatism. Guizot himself asserted that when any differences arose between them "the king ceased to urge or resist, and gave way to the objections or demands of his responsible ministers."[3]

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[3]François P. G. Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London: R. Bentley, 1867), p. 83.

After having gained complete power, the Orléans House was no longer providing leadership. Hence government and politics suffered from a political hardening of the arteries in a sterile and lusterless policy of keeping things as they were.

The second defect in Louis Philippe's government was the emphasis placed upon foreign policy by the executive branch, far out of proportion to its importance at this time. Foreign policy had always remained primary for Louis Philippe, perhaps because his formative years had been spent abroad, perhaps because of a feeling that after all he was a usurper of the French throne. He was interested in continually strengthening his dynasty and his position abroad to the neglect of French internal policy. He believed that internal policy is determined by foreign policy, a belief not altogether unfamiliar to moderns. It has been said that Louis Philippe read only the British newspapers and not the French, since he wanted an unbiased and outside view of French affairs.[4]

It was this interest in foreign affairs that attracted the king to such a man as Guizot. Guizot loved the intrigue, the fascination of foreign affairs as no other statesman of his time save perhaps Metternich or Palmerston. A scholar, a historian, Guizot was blind in that he frequently saw too many big issues while neglecting the less obvious

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[4]Catherine I. Gavin, Louis Philippe, King of the French (London: Methuen and Co., 1933), p. 64.



LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH

but equally important smaller ones. He knew more about European politics and the French position in them than he ever knew of French internal affairs. The Guizot papers contain dossier after dossier concerning foreign affairs, and absolutely nothing concerning the domestic activities of his period as chief advisor to Louis Philippe and the most powerful and influential man in French government. It was this blindness to internal stresses and strains that brought the Orleanists to the disaster of February, 1848.

Outside the realm of politics there were significant social ramifications in French life in the eighteen forties. Much, perhaps too much, has been made of unrest and the assumption that underneath the superficialities of a stable political system lay a seething cauldron of humanity ready to overflow into revolution.[5]

There was injustice in France in 1847. The ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity had not been achieved. There were men and women, ill-paid, ill-housed, ill-fed, over-worked. There were thousands for whom the future offered nothing but drudgery, tuberculosis, and early death. These were the have-nots known to all time, the poor unfortunates for whom life was always difficult, unrewarding. Fate, through no fault of their own, had turned its back upon them.

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[5]Karl Marx, La Lutte des classes en France, 1848-1850 (Paris: Schleicher, 1900). This book develops the thesis of the rise of the proletariat in 1848.

Most of these Frenchmen in 1847 were the forerunners of the modern urban proletariat, many of them poor rural peasants who had been attracted by the wiles of the new industrial cities which offered gas lights, street magicians, steam cars, and the excitement lacking in the little French villages where one worked so hard to enjoy the simple homely pleasures of one's foyer. These men and women crowded into filthy city districts such as the Faubourgs Saint Antoine in Paris and Saint Sauveur in Lille, finding instead of the opportunities for economic advancement only the trap for catching new industrial workers set by ignorant and grasping entrepreneurs, intoxicated by the profits of a new industrial capitalism. Nineteenth century France was not immune to the struggles derived from the rising industrial machine.

Always there appear the leaders for the humanity who receive inhuman treatment. Every century has men and women who speak out in sympathy for the victims of injustice. France was well supplied with these new messiahs in 1847; the jails were filled with them and good old Louis Philippe was always pardoning them so that they could continue to plot against him. Some were dreamers and some were quacks and all were serious; none had any influence upon government. But the Fouriers, the Cabets, the Proudhons, the Blancs, the Blanquis could not accept man's inhumanity to man, and they struggled helplessly against a placid society until the opportunity for violence came in 1848.

That was basically the social problem of France, and it centered in the provincial cities and in Paris where the revolution was to break out. The spring election, the failure of the June Days, the election for the republic in 1848 showed that the number of discontented in France was small and weak, and that the French people were not suffering appreciably more than they had in the past or would in the future.

The banquet campaign was built upon the desire for political reform, and it offered the advocates of social reform a sounding board. Let us turn from the general political and social situation in 1847 to the specific problem of the 1847 campaign.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL REFORM IN 1847

I

The banquet campaign of 1847-1848 was the result of political frustration. It came as the result of the continual defeat in the Chamber of programs for political reform and the unification of the parliamentary Orleanist groups opposed to Guizot with the moderate republicans. For seven years Guizot and the king had been able to maintain order internally and to keep France at peace; yet there had been increasingly bitter opposition from the parliamentary Centre Gauche under Adolphe Thiers and the Gauche Dynastique under Odilon Barrot. Both these men were capable leaders who saw no opportunity for either advancing their ideas or their political careers under the existing political conditions of the forties. Actually the reformers were eager to destroy the Guizot ministry rather than to present any constructive programs of their own. They were fortunate to have such a program opportunely provided for them by the issue of electoral and parliamentary reform.

To understand the electoral reform movement it is necessary to go back to the basic law concerning voting under the July Monarchy, the Electoral Law of April 19, 1831.

This was a creation of the Restoration Chamber, a body itself elected upon a limited suffrage. In considering the actual provisions of the law one wonders why the Chamber bothered to enact a new one at all, but at the time France still remained under the spell of the recent revolution, and the Chamber could not abstain from making some effort at broadening the suffrage. The elderly Lafayette, so active in recent months in the efforts to rid France of the remnants of Bourbon absolutism, made every effort to bring the Chamber around to universal suffrage; but Lafayette's influence was gone, and the Chamber was not yet willing to risk its own political future on the radical theory of universal suffrage with all its implications of the Great Revolution.[1]

The basic provision of the electoral law was the granting of suffrage to all males twenty-five years of age and over who paid annually a sum of two hundred francs in direct taxes.[2] The figure was called the _cens_, and those who exercised the vote were known as _censeurs_. As a body they were called the _pays légal_. The difference between the _cens_ of the July Monarchy and that of the Restoration was small; for the Restoration it had been three hundred

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[1] Sherman Kent, _Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe_ (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 133.

[2] For a complete copy of this law see J. D. Duvergier, _Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlemens et avis du Conseil d'Etat_ (Deuxième Édition; Paris, 1838), XXI, p. 177.

francs and the age qualification had been thirty. Under the new law the number of *censeurs* in France was raised to approximately 200,000.

The law also revised the eligibility requirements for becoming a member of the Chamber of Deputies; formerly one had to have property annually taxed the amount of 1000 francs and be aged thirty. Under the new law the assessment was reduced to that of 500 francs.

Suffrage was so limited that, in the last general election held under the July Monarchy in 1846, there were no more than 241,000 enrolled on the electoral lists. "This figure represented about 2.8 per cent of the adult males and about two-thirds of one per cent of the nation."[3] A second significant fact was that the majority of the voters and deputies were large landowners. The heaviest direct taxes were levied on land and real property, and therefore suffrage was restricted in the industrial, professional, and peasant groups.

> Between 82 and 90 per cent of the voters derived their livelihoods from one of the many forms of agriculture; between 3 and 5 per cent belonged to the new class of industrial entrepreneurs; between 5 and 9 per cent came from the liberal professions . . . an arbitrary electorate of 200,000 was made up as follows: 164,000 to 180,000 men from the soil; 6,000 to 10,000 men from industry; 10,000 to 18,000 men from commerce; and 4000 to 8000 men from the professions.[4]

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[3]Kent, *Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe* (New Haven, 1937), p. 25.

[4]Kent, *Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe* (New Haven, 1937), p. 54.

In addition to the obvious provisions in the law, additional articles favored the landowner over the city bourgeois. In 1836 and again in 1844, revisions of the law and a new tax interpretation only increased the privileges of the landowner.[5]

One of the consequences of the limited suffrage was the charge of political corruption that was continually hurled at the Government in the closing days of the July Monarchy. In any government ready evidence of corruption can be discovered, the seriousness of which is often less in actuality than it is in the minds of the populace. The discovery of documentary evidence of corruption is difficult; in the period from 1840 to 1848 there is hardly a single government document in France showing any government concern with corruption and the electoral system.[6] The republican deputy Marie probably came closer to the truth when he spoke of the electoral system as a bargain between the deputy and elector in which the elector put the deputy in a position where he in turn could grant favors back to the elector.[7]

What were some of the means used that were considered corrupt? The electoral law based the electoral colleges not on equal membership but on wealth, population, and physical size. Thus 459 colleges ranged from thousands of voters to

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[5] Ibid., pp. 181-186.

[6] Ibid., p. 112.

[7] Eugène Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris: Jules Rouff, 1906), p. 441.

as low as one hundred and fifty, the small ones being more easily manipulated. A major difficulty for the censeur came in the unusual amount of red tape in registering to vote. The function depended upon the efficiency and incorruptibility of the election official, who, being immune from prosecution, was subject to governmental pressure in making discrepancies. Another method of control was that the Government selected the town in which the electoral college met. The decision on the date of the election remained in the hands of the Government, which was accused of making suitable party preparations ahead of public announcement.[8]

The usual method of Government influence was the use of state funds for patronage and the pork barrel. The Ministry of the Interior had moneys voted in secret funds for its operations; Kent suspects that some of these found their way into the hands of the election officials. Use of the official frank on postal and telegraphic communication for political purposes was considered another dishonest method, as was the use of government funds for subsidizing the press. Another method used was to have the government officer threaten a voter if he did not vote for the official candidate and if he did not write an identifying mark on the ballot.[9]

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[8]Kent, Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe (New Haven, 1937), pp. 3, 87-88, 96.

[9]Kent, Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe (New Haven, 1937), pp. 114-122.

The actual amount of corruption was negligible, but the opposition seized upon these instances; the failure of the government to recognize and prosecute these few cases created sufficient evidence for broad generalizations of corruption. Before the Chamber of Deputies on August 31, 1846, Guizot denied the existence of great corruption. In later writings he defended the government against these charges.

> I maintain the conviction, resting on facts and authentic documents, that, from 1840 to 1848, whatever may have been in the depths of men's souls, the temptations and obscure desires which traverse them when opportunity presents itself, loyalty and sound sense presided in the cabinet over the relations of political men and regulated their mutual conduct. No intrigue, no ministerial crisis disturbed internal government during that epoch; and public interest, the good administration of public affairs, not the passions of inherent manoevers, as was said, of the parliamentary system, alone determined the personal incidents.[10]

The government failed to provide timely electoral reform and to prevent the political corruption that resulted from the operation of the Electoral Law. Never was any initiative taken by the government to widen the qualifications for suffrage. The failure of the king and his ministers to take cognizance of the electoral inequalities led the opposition to criticize severely the Government and to undermine the political system. From 1831 on continual attempts were made to revise the suffrage provisions by certain interested groups, particularly the republicans,

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[10]François P. G. Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London: R. Bentley, 1867), p. 481.

who in their newspapers and societies discussed and demanded universal suffrage.

One of the first efforts for revision of the suffrage came from the strange direction of the Legitimists. Berryer proposed in the Chamber that the suffrage be granted to all those twenty-five years of age or older who had paid a land tax for one year. Petitions seeking universal suffrage were brought to the Chamber in 1834 and 1835 and met with scorn from the deputies. Not until the national guard became interested in the vote did the Chamber begin to pay any attention. In 1838 the National Guard in Paris petitioned for the grant of suffrage to the men of the national guard throughout France.[11] This idea spread to the departments, and many of the communes began to organize political banquets attended by the petit bourgeoisie, the national guard, and other disenfranchised persons. The radicals held one banquet for twelve hundred seeking electoral reform and emancipation for the workers.

A number of suggestions for electoral reform were put forth in 1840, one seeking universal and direct suffrage, another making all the national guard electors and fixing a minimum of six hundred in the electoral colleges, a third granting the vote to all those on the jury list.[12] Electoral reform was not voted upon by the Chamber until the Ducos

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[11] Sébastien Charléty, La Monarchie de Juillet (Paris: Hachette, 1921), pp. 344-346, 162-163.

[12] Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris, 1906), pp. 384-386.

proposal in 1842. This bill gave the right to vote to all those inscribed on the jury list, but after the debate and under the influence of Guizot the Conservatives defeated the bill by a vote of 234 to 193.[13] All in all electoral reform was proposed and discussed only three times during the whole Guizot ministry.[14]

The other program offered by the opposition in 1847 was that of parliamentary reform. The question of allowing government officials to sit in the legislative body was an old one. In the France of the July Monarchy the number of fonctionnaires in the Chamber increased out of all normal proportions. Legal recognition of this procedure had been established by the Law of September 12, 1830, which provided that anyone holding a seat in the Chamber could not accept a salaried administrative post without resigning and thereupon presenting himself to his district for immediate re-election. If re-elected the fonctionnaire was permitted to remain in the Chamber. Similarly any promotion in administrative office required a like operation.

Figures vary as to the exact number of these officers in the Chamber, but they all indicate an increase in the eighteen years of Louis Philippe's reign. Fournière, who is far from favorable to the regime, gives the most complete figures for the Chamber, stating that in 1828 there were 130

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[13] Pierre de la Gorce, Louis Philippe (Paris: Plon, 1931), p. 380.

[14] Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London, 1867), p. 481.

fonctionnaires; in 1832, 129; in 1839, 150; in 1842, 167; in 1846, 185; and in 1847 over 200.[15] Duvergier de Hauranne gives the number as 167 in 1842; 184 in 1846, and 193 in 1847.[16]

Nearly one-third of the Chamber received a part of its income from governmental positions. These individuals tended to vote in support of the party in power that could promote or demote them. A specific example of the use of the fonctionnaire support by the Government appeared in the case of the recall following the debate on the Pritchard question of Count Alexis de Saint-Priest, minister to Copenhagen, and Drouyn de l'Huys, a director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later quite active in the banquet campaign. Both these men were members of the Chamber and had voted with the opposition.[17] It is to Louis Philippe's credit that he vainly opposed their dismissal in the cabinet.[18]

Throughout the July Monarchy movements were on foot to achieve parliamentary reform with the total or partial

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[15]Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris, 1906), p. 419.

[16]Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne, De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale (Paris: Paulin, 1847), pp. 146-149. The figures for 1847 are broken down into 24 for the administration centrale; 5, corps diplomatique; 24, Conseil d'Etat; 10, Cour des Comptes; 47, magistrature inamovible; 20, magistrature amovible; 17, administrations diverses; 31, armée et marine; 14, maison civile et militaire du roi.

[17]Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris, 1906), pp. 514-515.

[18]Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London, 1867), pp. 84-85.

exclusion of fonctionnaires from the legislative body. From 1831 to 1839 this was proposed eleven times and from 1841 to 1847, seven times.[19] At the same time as the Ducos proposal for electoral reform in 1842, Ganneron made a motion asking for the exclusion of fonctionnaires in the Chamber of Deputies and also providing that no deputy could accept a public office during the year following his return to private life.[20] This motion was turned down in the Chamber by a vote of 198 to 190. Guizot declared the act to be inopportune and unjustified.[21] The press and public continued to urge parliamentary reform, but, as the number of fonctionnaires increased in the Chamber, the Government majority increased.

By 1847 the issues of electoral and parliamentary reform could be used effectively as keystones in a program for the political opposition to the ministry. The hazy reform program in the forties offered by the Centre Gauche called only for the reform of suffrage to permit men of ability to vote, capacité, as it was called.[22] But the Gauche Dynastique appeared to accept eventual universal suffrage, even if for the moment it wished only a lowered cens with admission of men of capacité, the eligibility of all voters for office, salaries for deputies, and the

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[19] Charléty, La Monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1921), p. 347.

[20] Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris, 1906), p. 428.

[21] De la Gorce, Louis Philippe (Paris, 1931), p. 380.

[22] Ibid., p. 357.

reapportionment of representatives.[23] The republicans wanted immediate universal suffrage as a means for achieving social reform. It was out of the final opposition to these demands by Guizot that the banquet campaign was to grow.

II

In early 1847 two very pertinent pamphlets gave added impetus to the reform movement and the tendency for the opposition, both Orleanist and republican, to unite. One was De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale by Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne.[24] The book was widely read and in 1847 a new edition was published by Paulin, of which even the National, the newspaper of moderate republicanism, urged its readers to make serious note.[25]

Duvergier de Hauranne was strongly influenced by the development of political institutions in England. He was an astute scholar whose case for electoral and parliamentary reform provided the intellectual leadership for the banquet campaign. A former colleague and devoted follower of Guizot, Duvergier de Hauranne had been forced to break with the Government and to devote his time to the reform

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[23] Kent, Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe (New Haven, 1937), p. 140.

[24] Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne, De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale (Paris: Paulin, 1847).

[25] National (Paris), July 12, 1847.

movement because he sincerely and honestly opposed the corruption of the electoral system. He was a monarchist and loyal to the Orleanist regime, but he foresaw the necessity of change and reform in order to strengthen representative government.[26]

In his book Duvergier de Hauranne gave three conditions which he believed necessary for representative government and which stated his political philosophy:

> 1. That the Crown, in conjunction with a ministry which governs, should always hold the high position granted to it by the Constitution.
> 2. That the elected Chamber, independent and jealous of its prerogative, must be, actually as well as legally, the true center of government and the supreme focus of power.
> 3. That the elections must be free and honest, and consequently be able to bring about an assembly representing the rights, interests, and opinion of the country.[27]

In six long chapters Duvergier presented the case for representative government and for administrative, electoral, and parliamentary reform. Duvergier de Hauranne's specific suggestions for electoral reform indicate his conservative position and that of the Centre Gauche, which would be contested by the republicans later in the banquet campaign.

> I have demonstrated that the law of 1831 has been unfaithful to the three principles upon which it rested, and that to restore these principles without bluntness and violence, it will suffice 1) to increase by

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[26] A. Debidour, La Grande Encyclopédie (Paris: Société Anonyme de la Grande Encyclopédie, 1892), XV, p. 149.

[27] Duvergier de Hauranne, De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale (Paris, 1847), p. 249.



DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE (CHER)

PROSPER DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE

> fifty or sixty the number of members of the Chamber and to allot these fifty or sixty nominations to the largest electoral colleges; 2) to make a serious and complete list of all the electoral aptitudes, in whatever way they manifest themselves; 3) to raise the minimum from 150 on the obligatory size of the electoral college and to lower by a general measure the electoral cens.[28]

Second to Duvergier's plea for reform in the immediate future was the olive branch he held out to the radicals. He urged the many parties to unite in order to convince the Government that the nation wished a more liberal regime.

> Moreover, because of the efforts made to prevent close agreement among us, the many factions of the opposition ought to realize how necessary is this accord; if they do not understand, or if, understanding it, they yet hesitate, they will deserve all the reproaches hurled at them, they will deserve the defeat which awaits them.
>
> My answer is that rather than awaiting the course of events and personal whims, the opposition, at the beginning of the present legislature, must adopt a program for reform and a plan for conduct from which it will not deviate; by perseverence and cooperation, it must restore courage, thwart the underhanded maneuvers, check the artificial dissidences; finally, they must with all the means at their disposal, create in each department a center of political activity, and make known everywhere its intentions and thought. At this price a legal fight is possible. It will cease to be possible if the opposition remains inactive and divided.[29]

Was there a reciprocal gesture on the part of the radicals to the unity suggested by a leader of the Centre Gauche? Indeed, there was, but it came from the right wing

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[28] Duvergier de Hauranne, De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale (Paris, 1847), p. 242.

[29] Duvergier de Hauranne, De la Réforme parlementaire et de la réforme électorale (Paris, 1847), pp. 261-263.

of the republican group, the more cooperative wing which dominated the republican grouping in the Chamber and which was to give the early republican impetus to the banquet campaign.

The cooperative voice was that of Hippolyte Carnot, republican deputy from Paris carrying on the tradition of his father. Carnot was of the extreme left in the Chamber, a passionate supporter of democracy. He made an address at the electoral reunion of the sixth arrondissement of Paris in July, 1846, which was soon printed by Pagnerre in 1847 under the title of Les Radicaux et la Charte.[30]

The significance of this speech and the subsequent brochure lies in the recognition by Carnot that it was constitutionally possible for republicans to work for many of the reforms which they sought within the limitations of the Charter of 1830. He interpreted the Charter to be far more radical than had been generally believed and showed that it could be applied to promote reform. Early in the discourse he stated:

> The Charter, expressing the spirit which reigned at the time of its promulgation, places no obstacle before democratic progress.
>
> There is in fact nothing that prevents electoral reform, there is no point of view so rash that it can not be admitted; the adjonction des capacités, the lowering of the cens, universal suffrage, either directly or by two degrees, none of this is in contradiction to the charter.

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[30]Hippolyte Carnot, Les Radicaux et la Charte (Paris: Pagnerre, 1847).

> The liberty of the press, liberty in teaching, responsibility of ministers, the prerogatives of the jury, all this is found explicitly in the Charter. If some of the principles have been changed in application, it is by special laws which can be modified; if some have remained only on the books, it is the fault of the legislative majorities who have prevented their development.
>
> Only one single electoral triumph by the opposition will suffice to bring about the most urgent democratic reforms.[31]

Carnot continued by criticizing the administration for not living up to the Charter and by voicing his fear of a royal "suicide" in the political sense. Carnot spoke for a certain type of moderate republicanism, but he did not speak for the more radical kind centering in the leadership of Alexandre Ledru-Rollin. In October, 1847, an editorial in Réforme, the republican newspaper of Ledru-Rollin, again spoke of its earlier nonacceptance of the Carnot thesis. ". . . we feel it a duty to combat the doctrines and tendencies which are found developed in it."[32] The republicans, like the Orleanist opposition, were divided.

Carnot and Duvergier de Hauranne were not the only ones writing seriously about reform; in August, 1847, Andrieux offered a similar program in Flux et reflux.[33] But these two brochures were of particular significance because while both were stating the necessity of political reform, both were searching for constitutional methods,

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[31] Carnot, Les Radicaux et la Charte (Paris, 1847), pp. 4-5.

[32] Réforme (Paris), October 8, 1847.

[33] M. Andrieux, Flux et reflux (Paris: Sirou et Desquers, 1847).

both suggesting a unification of the Orleanist and non-Orleanist opposition, and both representing positions of leadership in their particular party wings. However, Carnot in no manner represented all the republican opinion, in fact only the most conservative parliamentary thought, while Duvergier de Hauranne spoke only for his clique in the doctrinaire Centre Gauche.

III

In 1846 Guizot dissolved the Chamber, only to have his forces returned by a sizable majority. There was no reason to doubt that the king, Guizot, and the Conservative majority would be able to maintain constitutionally the status quo for many years to come. Only the possible death of the king and a liberal regency might break up the firm coalition. But in the background new events were taking place. In the election of 1846 some of the men of the opposition had drawn closer together than at any time since the regency debate in 1842. They created a cooperative organization for supporting opposition candidates. The nucleus, which included at one time Odilon Barrot, Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne, and Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, called itself the Comité central des électeurs de la Seine.[34]

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[34]Kent, Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe (New Haven, 1937), pp. 158-159.

Although it had disintegrated after the election, the bureau had continued to function, becoming almost completely republican. It was around this body that the men of the banquets of 1847 were to rally and they used it for the campaign organization.

In early 1847 a gradually unifying opposition had its first major success when Hébert vacated his post as Vice-President of the Chamber to become Minister of Justice. Guizot named his candidate, but the opposition managed to gather enough dissidents to elect a partisan of electoral reform, Léon de Malleville. This was a warning to Guizot of the insecurity of his policy, but it was a warning he never heeded.

In February, 1847, Guizot reaffirmed his past declaration that when the time for reform was appropriate the ministry would initiate the necessary legislation, but until such time he would make no further statements.[35] However, on March 6, 1847, Duvergier de Hauranne introduced his bill for electoral reform. The provisions called for a lowering of the cens to one hundred francs, the fixing of four hundred as the number of necessary electors for a college, and the addition of electors of capacité.[36] On March 23, the author opened the debate stating that without electoral and parliamentary reform it would be impossible to save the

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[35] Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London, 1867), p. 499.

[36] Moniteur universel (Paris), March 6, 1847.

government; he even mentioned the danger of revolution.[37] In the debate Duvergier de Hauranne received the support of Barrot and the Gauche Dynastique, but he had no active support from Adolphe Thiers of his own group.[38]

Thiers' reasons for inaction are inadequate because at a reunion of the Centre Gauche in August, 1846, he spoke out for electoral reform, but as 1847 approached he came to believe that foreign policy was the best issue upon which to attack the Guizot group.[39] There was a tendency for many of the Centre Gauche to be avidly pro-reform in closed sessions, but to give it little public support.

In the discussion over the electoral proposal the Government spokesman, the Minister of Finance, asserted that parliamentary and electoral reform did not hold a very big place in French opinion at that time. He stated boldly that the Government considered the vote to be one of confidence in itself.[40] Led by Guizot, a vote of 252 to 154 defeated the bill.[41]

Shortly after this vote Rémusat on April 9, 1847, introduced the parliamentary reform bill in the Chamber of Deputies. It provided that "members of the Chamber of

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[37] Moniteur universel (Paris), March 23, 1847.

[38] De la Gorce, Louis Philippe (Paris, 1931), p. 381.

[39] Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Troisième Édition; Paris; Plon, 1904), VII, pp. 6-7.

[40] Moniteur universel (Paris), March 25, 1847.

[41] De la Gorce, Louis Philippe (Paris, 1931), p. 381.

Deputies who are not public salaried *fonctionnaires* on the day of their election can not become such while they are members of the Chamber, nor during the year following the expiration of their mandate."[42] Excepted were members of the ministry, ambassadors, and a few other officers. The bill met with the same reception as that of electoral reform and was defeated 219 to 170, a majority of 49 votes.[43] With the defeat of these two bills the final rupture came between the parliamentary opposition and the Government.

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[42] *Moniteur universel* (Paris), April 9, 1847.

[43] *Moniteur universel* (Paris), April 22, 1847.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CAMPAIGN

In the month following the defeat of the reform bills in the Chamber the opposition, particularly the Orleanists, sought to work out a program of extraparliamentary action. Several preliminary meetings were held, usually at the home of Odilon Barrot.[1] According to Garnier-Pagès, the leading source of this period, the center turned first to the right. At the first meeting a number of Legitimists were present. "But it was soon evident that close association was impossible, and that it would be necessary to leave outside of an action undertaken in the name of the sovereignty of the people, a party which was opposed to the fundamental dogma of the Revolution."[2]

The next move by the center was in the direction of the moderate republicans. Agreement could be worked out between the two groups on the basis of the Carnot thesis that the republicans would find it advantageous to work for some reform at the moment, although never losing sight of

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[1] Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Troisième Edition; Paris: Plon, 1904), VII, pp. 80-81.

[2] Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1861-1872), IV, p. 97.

the goal of universal suffrage. In turn the dynastics were willing to go part way in reform, although they refused to follow along the path of the true republicans for any great distance.

A second meeting took place in May, apparently again at the home of Barrot. The meeting was most important because it formally initiated the extraparliamentary reform program and because it had definite representation from the various interested political groupings. Barthélemy gives Barrot credit for taking the initiative and making the appeal to the now radical Comité central.[3] The participants at this meeting have been fairly well established. Garnier-Pagès stated that from the Centre Gauche came the deputies Duvergier de Hauranne and Léon de Malleville. From the Gauche Dynastique came the deputies Odilon Barrot and Gustave de Beaumont; and from the extreme left, or republican group, came the deputies Garnier-Pagès and Carnot. Duvergier and Carnot have been noted earlier for their pamphleteering on behalf of reform. Representing the Comité central des électeurs de la Seine were four leaders in the radical movement, not deputies, Pagnerre, Recurt, Labélonye, and Biesta.[4] It is known that other deputies were present, specifically Berger, Abattuci, Havin and Thiers.[5] Of these four extra men, Abattuci was a fervent

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[3] Charles Barthélemy, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Gautier, 1887), p. 240.

[4] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 99.

[5] Barthélemy, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1887), p. 241.

supporter of Barrot; the others were allied with the Centre Gauche. The group then most strongly represented at this initial meeting was the Orleanist opposition. The appearance of Thiers at this meeting is interesting because there is no evidence of his playing any further role in the banquet movement. The leader of the Centre Gauche, Thiers by his presence at this meeting as an auditor revealed his stand-off attitude toward the banquets. Each known member at this meeting, with the exception of Labélonye and Biesta, became a member of the Constituent Assembly of 1848.

At this important meeting of the representatives of the opposition groups it was decided that the Comité central, which included the most radical of the individuals present, should take the initiative in the extraparliamentary reform movement. Duvergier de Hauranne proposed, and it was accepted that Charles Pagnerre, the secretary of the Comité central, should draw up a petition for electoral and parliamentary reform.

Charles Pagnerre, along with Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, and later Ledru-Rollin, was to be one of the leaders of the banquet campaign. He was born in 1805 at Saint-Ouen l'Aumône near Pontoise, the son of a farmer and innkeeper. He attended the collège for only two years and was in turn the clerk of a notary, a soliciter, and even a cattle driver between Pontoise and Paris. Coming to the capital to seek his fortune, he worked for the publisher Boulland at the Palais Royal before establishing his own

librairie at the age of 26. A convinced republican, Pagnerre turned out from his press many radical brochures which brought him into several scrapes with the government. After 1837 he narrowed his activity to that of publishing more serious works such as those of Lamennais, Cormenin, and the Histoire de Dix Ans of Louis Blanc. By the eighteen forties his house in the Quartier Latin was a center of republican publishing. He participated in many of the secret societies meanwhile, and his contacts with the republican leadership were extensive. His occupation and his leadership made him one of the key men of the movement of 1848; yet of all the republican leaders he has been the most neglected by historians.[6]

The drafting of the reform petition rested in the hands of the moderate republicans. The task of defining in the form of a petition the position on reform taken by all the Guizot opposition was far from easy. It meant that the necessity for reform would be stressed at the expense of offering a specific program for reform. These men of the opposition could come together on what they were against. They were divided on what they were for. By the end of May, 1847, the draft of the petition had been finished by Pagnerre and approved by his friends Garnier-Pagès, Labélonye and Biesta.[7]

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[6]Robert Balland, "Pagnerre et ses amies," 1848--Revue des Révolutions Contemporaine, No. 187, p. 213.

[7]The petition and its role in the campaign will be discussed more fully in Chapter X.

Meanwhile another movement was on foot by Duvergier de Hauranne and the Centre Gauche. This was an approach to the journalists for support, which resulted in the negotiation of a treaty of peace between Duvergier and Armand Marrast, the editor-in-chief of the National, the newspaper of moderate republicanism. The meeting took place at the home of Edmond Adam, one of the editors of the National. These men had outlined an accord months earlier, but it was not until May that an agreement was made. The editor agreed to give his paper's powerful support to the reform movement now in the process of formulation and to refrain from attacking Adolphe Thiers, and presumably the Centre Gauche. Nothing is known of what Duvergier de Hauranne may have offered Marrast in return.[8]

During these May days the idea of having a series of banquets, or manifestations, for reform first began to take form. Élias Regnault states that the idea of the banquets was first put forth by Duvergier de Hauranne, who had made hints along these lines in his book on reform.[9] Thureau-Dangin speaks of seeing in the Notes Inédites of Duvergier de Hauranne reference to the idea of a banquet being first proposed by the deputies, mentioning no specific names.[10] Garnier-Pagès and Alton-Shée give the credit

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[8]Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1904), VII, p. 81.

[9]Élias Regnault, Histoire du gouvernement provisoire (Paris: Lecou, 1850), p. 19.

[10]Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1904), VII, p. 81. Footnote.

entirely to Pagnerre.[11] Until there is better evidence it is impossible to pin down further the origin of the idea. Pagnerre had been active in the banquets of the late thirties. Since Pagnerre was the more radical of the two men, and since the banquet movement was much more radical than simply drawing up a petition, evidence seems to point to Pagnerre. The new plan was to have a banquet given first in Paris for all the opposition deputies who had voted for electoral reform and for all the friendly journalists. After this great banquet local reformers would be urged to have their own local manifestations.

While the theme of banquets and petitions was making the rounds of the salons and sidewalk cafes of a late Parisian spring, the leaders were also discussing among themselves the formation of a permanent committee for directing the extraparliamentary reform program. This would consist of representatives from the Centre Gauche, the Gauche Dynastique, the radicals in the Chamber, the Comité central, the reform newspapers, and certain influential deputies.[12]

At the end of May another formal meeting was held with Barrot, primarily to accept Pagnerre's draft for the petition. This was approved unanimously by all present.

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[11] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 101 and E. D'Alton-Shée, Souvenirs de 1847-1848 (Paris: Dreyfus, 1879), p. 56.

[12] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 101.

It was then that Pagnerre put forth his plan, that the only efficacious thing to do was to hold a series of banquets, the first one in Paris and the later ones in the departments. There had been a past experience of banquets in France, in 1840; but these had accomplished little. Now France was psychologically prepared for a new and successful campaign. There was no question of their legality, because Guizot had himself spoken recently at a political banquet at Lisieux, and Lacave-Laplagne at Mirande, and Duchâtel at Mirambeau. These men were members of the ministry. Truly, the campaign was necessary to arouse the country to the need for reform and to hurl back in the face of the Government the charge that France was not interested in the suggested reforms. So ran the arguments of Pagnerre.

After a short discussion the meeting adopted the banquet program put forth by Pagnerre, along with the petition. Garnier-Pagès wrote of leaving this meeting and of walking for some time through the old streets of the right bank with his republican colleagues, Carnot, Pagnerre, Biesta and Labélonye. Approaching the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Guizot resided, in the old Rue des Capucines across the street from the present Crédit Foncier, Pagnerre spoke, "Really, I had not hoped that with our propositions we would receive as quick and as complete a success as we did. Do these gentlemen understand where this can take them? For myself, I confess I do not see clearly, but whatever it is, it should not frighten us radicals."

Garnier-Pagès responded, "You see that tree. Inscribe on its bark the memory of this day; that which we have just decided, it is a revolution."[13]

One must be sceptical of M. Garnier-Pagès' hindsight in overemphasizing his own foresight. Nevertheless the fact remains that the radicals were deeply conscious that there might be ramifications to these plans in the making, far exceeding the simple programs and desires of the Centre Gauche and the Gauche Dynastique.

During the first days of June Pagnerre's group, the Comité central, met at his home and agreed unanimously to accept the petition. The bureau of the organization was given the responsibility of promoting it. Thus not only had the petition received the support of the Orleanist opposition but also the nod of approval from the cooperative Paris politicians.

After the May meeting further action on the banquets had been postponed until a meeting could be called at which various representatives of the press would be present. This took place on June 8, at the home of Charles de Lasteyrie, who was destined to become president of the banquet committee. Here the representatives of the three opposition elements of the Chamber and the leaders of the Comité central met for the first time with editors-in-chief of the leading liberal and republican newspapers, the National, the Siècle,

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[13] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 102-103.

the Constitutionnel, the Courrier français, the Démocratie pacifique, the Charivari. It is significant that the Réforme, the newspaper of Ledru-Rollin's radical republican group, was not included. Prominent among the editors were several who came to be leaders in the campaign, such as Chambolle of the Siècle and Marrast of the National.

Pagnerre, in the name of the Comité central, offered the following resolutions to the group, all of which were accepted:

> A special committee on reform would be made up of all the persons present; the Comité central des électeurs de la Seine would be in charge in all measures taken for promoting the petition; a banquet would be offered by it and by the committees of the arrondissements of the department of the Seine for the parliamentary committees of the centre gauche, gauche dynastique, and extrême gauche (the republicans) in the early days of July; the number of subscribers would be placed at a thousand; the cost would be 10 francs; that all the deputies of the opposition would be invited; and that all the toasts would be agreed upon in advance.[14]

The reason for having the banquet in early July was that the Chamber would still be in session and the deputies would not have departed from Paris for the country.

It was one thing, however, to provide ideas and leadership and organization; it was another to have followers. Would all the politicians of the opposition follow the example of these few leaders? Would the departments follow Paris? Would France be aroused and follow the banquets? Would Louis Philippe, Guizot and the ministry respond? These

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[14] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 103.

questions were uppermost in the minds of many. Only the next few months could determine this, but events proved that the meeting of the Comite central at Pagnerre's home early in June marked the definite beginning of the active banquet campaign.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHATEAU ROUGE

I

The special reform committee organized at the meeting in early June at the home of De Lasteyrie was in charge of all the banquet preparations. This group in turn received local assistance from the committees of the many arrondissements of Paris. Most of the arrangements, however, remained in the hands of the bureau of the previously organized Comité central, which must be given credit for the program's success. According to Garnier-Pagès, "The influence of the Comité central increased considerably; its influence was from that time on accepted universally and without reservation."[1] The same author does speak of the assistance given to these men by many additional loyal workers, such as the deputies: Duvergier de Hauranne, Malleville, Beaumont, Carnot, Garnier-Pagès, Vavin, Berger; also MM. Recurt, Labélonye, Pagnerre, Biesta, Lecompte, Hamelin, Thierry, Ségalas, Riglet.

These, then, were the men who spearheaded the movement in Paris, the ones who did the tiresome work of making

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[1] Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1861-1872), IV, p. 105.

arrangements, addressing invitations, finding a meeting place. While the work was shared by a general committee, whose largest number came from the Centre Gauche, the working bureau consisted of two stalwart republicans, Pagnerre and Recurt.

After obtaining a subscription of 2000 to 3000 francs for expenses, the committee set a specific date.[2] Plans called for fixing the date at such a time that all the deputies would be in Paris, as there was a tendency for the deputies to escape the summer heat of Paris during the closing days of the sessions. Since the 1847 session would be over by the end of July, and because it would be futile to have the banquet so far away from the closing date that any reform enthusiasm might be cooled by the time the deputies had returned to their constituencies, an early July date was decided upon. It gave the committee almost a month in which to make arrangements.

Another point the committee kept in mind was that the Teste-Cubières trial was scheduled to begin on July 8. This was the trial of two of Louis Philippe's former ministers for misuse of public funds and was sure to reflect adversely upon the honesty of the Government administration. To have the reform banquet take place at the same moment as the trial would be to have all Paris gossiping about the need for reform. As originally scheduled the banquet was

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[2]Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 104.

to take place on the date of Wednesday, July 7, but it had to be postponed to the ninth.

The men of the banquet campaign were men for whom legality was important. Many of them had been nurtured on English constitutionalism and the question uppermost in their minds was that of the legality of the banquet. The first assumption was yes, that it was legal because only recently Guizot himself had addressed a political banquet at Lisieux. Yet there were some with faint hearts, who feared a government suppression of their project.

It was decided, that in order to be safe, the proprietor of the premises which had been rented for the banquet would make a declaration with the prefecture of police. The committee had arranged to rent a public garden on the outskirts of early nineteenth century Paris on the Rue Neuve Clignancourt near Montmartre and called the Chateau Rouge. This was a rendezvous for "la jeunesse élégante de Paris," where such performers as the Chicard dancers, the Frisettes, the Rigolletes helped entertain bourgeois society. Like the Moulin Rouge and the Moulin de Galette this was a popular dance hall beyond the confines of the Boulevards. It could contain from a thousand to twelve hundred persons, and, except for the distance from the center of the city, it was an ideal spot for the banquet.[3]

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[3]Charles Simond, Paris de 1800 à 1900 (Paris: Plon, 1900), II, p. 276.

Several days after the declaration by the proprietor of Chateau Rouge and almost on the eve of the seventh, the police forbade the gentleman from renting his hall for this occasion. However, upon steps taken by the Comité, the ban was lifted after a warning by M. Janvier of the number of deputies of the dynastic opposition who were expected to participate.[4] On the third, the National and the Siècle assured their readers that all the legal difficulties had been smoothed out. On the sixth the Siècle announced that the banquet had had to be postponed for two days to Friday, July 9.

The committee early faced problems in trying to reach harmony with local units in the arrondissements. The union of moderate republicans with the aristocrats of the Centre Gauche was not easy. Actually the movement was slow in starting, and only toward the end of June did it appear that the hall would be filled. Invitations had to be sent to all the deputies who had voted for the reform bills with the exception of Berryer's Legitimists. This meant approximately one hundred and fifty-four individuals. Not only were the deputies invited but also the editors of the leading opposition newspapers. With the confusion of having the date changed at the last moment the committee was not free from many headaches. In a letter to Pagnerre dated Monday, the fifth, Duvergier de Hauranne indicated that

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[4]Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 106-107.

several radical deputies, such as Tassel and Demarçay, had not yet received their invitations. Duvergier de Hauranne was demonstrating a fretful last-minute nervousness since both these deputies mailed in their acceptances on the sixth.[5]

What was to prove more serious later was the question of which of the opposition journalists were to be invited. Many who were not, principally departmental, bitterly attacked the banquet and threw their support to the radical Ledru-Rollin and Flocon in the Réforme. Nevertheless, these papers were too extreme for the moderate committee to stomach.

Concerning the exact number of participants and deputies present there is no accurate record, only the disputed figures of the partisans and their opponents. The committee gave the number of deputies as eighty-six, but among those named by the newspapers are some who sent regrets to Pagnerre, although the change of dates forced some rapid changes in individual plans. On the basis of available evidence it is impossible to know exactly how many deputies were present. Of the hundred and fifty-four invitations Thureau Dangin says were sent, fifty-three responses have been preserved, and from the penciled numbering on the letters probably by Pagnerre, it can be safely

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[5]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 36).

asserted that at least seventy-nine were received by him at the committee headquarters of 14 bis, Rue de Seine, a busy thoroughfare in the Latin Quarter. What has happened to the other letters is a mystery.

The average deputy gladly accepted and voiced approval of the course of action of the banquet committee. Many letters were encouraging. Sénard of Rouen represented the optimism so prevalent among the leaders.

Monsieur,

> I accept with pleasure the invitation with which the Comité central has honored me. I shall be happy and proud to be present at a reunion which includes within its number the men whom France rightly honors, and which will have, I hope, the result of arousing public opinion and causing, by its influence, those reforms which each day shows all the more sadly how urgently we need them. . . .[6]

Sénard
Rouen, July 3, 1847

Albert Marvin, the editor of Le Commerce, journal politique, industriel, et littéraire, on the rue Saint Joseph, wrote, "It is the duty for the representatives of the independent press to take part in every manifestation in favor of political reform."[7] From the deputy Théodore Ducos in Bordeaux, ". . . I wish to give by my presence strong support to the propagation of the principle of parliamentary and electoral reform which we are pursuing together."[8]

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[6]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 11).

[7]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 78).

[8]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 33).

Some of the recipients of invitations went all out in their Gallic enthusiasm for the banquet. One Ph. Boucher, the editor of a small Paris newspaper, La Voix Nouvelle, was so moved by the invitation that he volunteered to deliver a speech at the banquet, urging the reduction of the cens. He even included a copy of this prepared speech for the perusal of Pagnerre, all this within two days of the actual banquet itself.[9]

Not all the responses were so favorable. Duvergier de Hauranne voiced his fears five days before the banquet when he wrote to Pagnerre.

> Monsieur,
>
> Several deputies of the left, among them Tassel and Demarçay, have not received their invitations. It makes little difference as to who receives, because there will be many empty places. The parties around Billault seem to have discussed the situation, and they say that all of them will abstain. What frightens me more, is that in our centre gauche there will be many defections.
>
> . . ., Rémusat, Jules de Lasteyrie and others moreover announce, they say, the intention of not coming. . . . is the same with M. Arago for another reason. [Poor health]
>
> You see the deputies are not much braver or vote any better than the electors. Despite that, it must turn out well, and I shall be pleased to be there. . . .[10]
>
> Duvergier

Some of the letters and comments of deputies refusing are interesting. Reasons of health, previous engagements, illness in the family were in many cases legitimate, but

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[9] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 9).

[10] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 36). The letter was not decipherable in two places.

many are not above suspicion. Some pled the necessity of absence from Paris. Raimbault could not attend, but his regrets were sincere because he later spoke at two banquets, over one of which he presided at Chateaudun.

"This great manifestation can not help but have a happy influence for our country, and I am truly sorry not to have been present," wrote Monthierry from Fougère on the 21st. He had received his invitation two weeks after the banquet.[11] The young new deputy from the Sarthe, Jules de Lasteyrie, about whom Duvergier de Hauranne fretted, sent his regrets saying that he must attend a cousin whose son was dying.[12] Guyot-Desfontaines, who sent his regrets saying that he had to leave Paris the evening of the banquet for forty-eight hours, was counted present by the committee in the list of deputies they gave to the press.[13]

A deputy from Calvados frankly stated that while he would always support the reform program with his vote in the Chamber, he did not approve of the use of the banquet and believed it a "deplorable practice."[14] Abraham Dudoing wrote,

> I know that manifestations of this kind are useful; but for the fifteen years I have been in the Chamber,

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[11] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 68).

[12] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 51).

[13] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 45).

[14] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 26).

> where I have sat first with the majority and now with the opposition always near the same notabilities, I have constantly refrained from any participation in these activities. Permit me to conform to my preceding action, while yet remaining faithful to my voting record and my political friendships.[15]

Boudourgin, the deputy from Lot, wrote in a similar vein, ". . . I regard the extraparliamentary manifestations for the citizen as more dangerous than useful. . . ."[16] Billault gave the same excuse.[17]

The letter that caused the most furor, according to Garnier-Pagès, came from Malgaigne, a deputy from the fourth arrondissement of Paris. Garnier-Pagès stated that the deputy "posed a condition; he demanded that a toast be made to the Charter and to the King; the Comité central did not answer him."[18] Thureau-Dangin takes up the same story without giving his source, although it was probably from Garnier-Pagès. "Two days before the banquet, a deputy of Paris, M. Malgaigne, wrote the committee to demand that this omission [toast to the king] be redressed and made the condition of his attendance. Under pretext that all had been decided, he was not answered."[19] Perhaps Thureau-Dangin had access to unknown papers, but this demand has been used as evidence

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[15]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 13).

[16]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 11).

[17]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 5).

[18]Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 108.

[19]Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Troisième Édition; Paris; Plon, 1904), VII, p. 87.

that certain members of the opposition were demanding a toast to the king, an issue becoming more important later in the campaign.

One letter from Malgaigne in the Pagnerre Papers enlightens us. Addressing De Lasteyrie and Pagnerre, he wrote as follows:

> Messieurs,
>
> Thank you for the honor you have done me, and I will accept with gratitude. I am a partisan of electoral and parliamentary reform; and this great project will find no worker more devoted and persevering than I. However, as a new deputy and little au courant with men and events, permit me to ask you for some elucidation.
>
> I would like to have you tell me the toasts which you have decided upon. It would appear equally desirable to me, in a political manifestation so imposing, that the first toast should be carried at the same time to the Charter and to the King; in order to show to all that we have united to consolidate and ameliorate the existing institutions; which will be the goal of my career and the object of all my vows. . . .[20]

This letter is dated the fourth of July, 1847, five days before the banquet. Whether Malgaigne attended or not is not known, although no mention of him is made on the official list which is subject to correction. In reading his letter his query seems not to have warranted the place the republican Garnier-Pagès gives it in the history of Chateau Rouge. The fact that Malgaigne is reiterating Carnot's suggestion indicates that for this deputy the toast to the king was significant only in the strictly Orleanist constitutional sense.

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[20] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.1 59).

Despite Duvergier's fears and the fact that many turned down the invitation to attend the banquet, it was in the end well subscribed. On the day before the banquet the National and the Siècle printed the announcement of the commission for the banquet, that the list of subscription had been entirely filled and that it would be impossible to supply all the demands for tickets which had been addressed to them.[21] The number in attendance reached nearly twelve hundred.

II

The evening of July 9 was favorable, the weather was clear. The partisans of the banquet have always emphasized this. The banquet according to one source began at six, according to another at seven. Anyone who has attended a French meeting knows that it is usually impossible to establish a definite time for commencing. Inside the tents and beneath the gas chandeliers were arranged the tables, each seating perhaps a hundred individuals.[22] The deputies, newsmen, and guests, ushered to their places by committee members, were scattered among the tables. At a center table sat those who had been asked to give toasts. In the center

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[21] National (Paris), July 8, 1847, and Siècle (Paris), July 8, 1847.

[22] Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition du département de la Seine, Banquet de la réforme électorale et parlementaire (Paris: Pagnerre, 1847).

of the tent was a seventy piece orchestra which alternated between playing the Marseillaise and other patriotic tunes.[23]

Outside the garden a considerable number of citizens had arranged themselves to look on at the festivities. The prefect of police had been asked by the committee to send some municipal guards to the banquet in case of any trouble from the crowds, but he had refused. The crowd was quite orderly, spending most of the time singing, particularly the Marseillaise. Since the banquet was rather lengthy, most had wandered home by the end of the evening.[24]

Marie speaks of an incident not perceived at the time, but which later he felt reflected the position of some of his conservative colleagues.

> About two hundred men of the streets had surrounded the premises where we were meeting, where they were loudly singing the Marseillaise. M. Duvergier de Hauranne, whose delicate ears were more familiar with the buzzing of the parliamentary opposition than with the animated songs of the crowd, suddenly left his place, and came to ask the commissioners with a little anxiety, if there might not be a danger of invasion. He was willing to fraternize with democracy, but at a distance. The commissioners hastened to reassure him, some even left the banquet and sought out the singers. The police soon arrived and silence was re-established. . . . M. Duvergier again regained his composure and his smile.[25]

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[23] Siècle (Paris), July 11, 1847.

[24] Siècle (Paris), July 18, 1847.

[25] From the private papers of Marie seen and quoted by Aimé Cherest, La vie et les oeuvres de A-T. Marie (Paris: Durand et Lauriel, 1923), pp. 76-77.

After the guests had taken their seats Pagnerre made a short address on behalf of the Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition du département de la Seine.

> The comité central has taken the initiative for a great effort; it has submitted to the committees of the arrondissements a project of a petition for electoral and parliamentary reform. All have adopted it.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But it was necessary that this triple assent [shades of opposition in the parliament, press and electoral colleges] should be started with a brilliant manifestation which should resound and propagate itself in all the country. It was for that reason, Messieurs, that the banquet for electoral and parliamentary reform was organized. An appeal has been made by the comité central to the comités d'arrondissement; they have responded to it. And if the impossibility of finding a larger meeting place had not forced us to limit the number of participants, we would have seen united by the same sentiment, pursuing the same goal, these 10,000 electors of the Seine, who, at the last election, gave to the French electorate an example, alas, too little followed. . . .[26]

Following this introduction the guests proceeded to the dinner. In analyzing the toasts that followed we shall establish a norm and then see how the speeches followed it and how they deviated from it. The banquet was organized to unite the supporters of electoral and parliamentary reform. In order that the base of support might be as wide as possible these reforms had never been precisely defined. Because the left and the predominantly republican Comité central was represented, it was necessary that nothing should offend them; on the other hand, to keep the support of the

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[26]All the discourses were published in a brochure of the Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition du département de la Seine, Banquet de la réforme électorale et parlementaire (Paris: Pagnerre, 1847).

Centre Gauche it would be impossible for the speakers to sound too radical. Assuming that the one thing that would result in general acceptance would be a highly generalized discussion of reform, the deviation of the speakers from this center and in which direction can determine the tenor of the banquet. As one of the dynastics is reputed to have said, "What is required is a very moderate radical discourse and a very strong Centre Gauche discourse."[27]

The toasts were decided ahead of time by the committee. They reflected the fact that the committee had representatives from all parties, although the gentlemen from the Centre Gauche were not the most conservative of that group, while the republicans were not the most radical of their group. The two vice-presidents who did most of the work were republican, Dr. Recurt and Charles Pagnerre.

The first toast had been given to the elderly president of the banquet, De Lasteyrie, who had no enemies and who linked the banquet with the traditions of the past. Charles-Philibert de Lasteyrie du Saillant well represented in his long life and in his intellectual interests the liberalism of the banquet movement. If ever someone could be called a child of the eighteenth century enlightenment it was this man; indeed he was one of those relics of a past period which made the banquet people worship and use him.

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[27] Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1904), VII, p. 84.

Born in 1759 in Brives in the Dordogne, De Lasteyrie was the son of a marquis. Educated in Limoges and Paris, spending the period of the Revolution in continental travel until 1799, refusing to participate in Empire, Restoration, or July Monarchy, De Lasteyrie managed to live a life of comparative ease and yet one of tremendous industry. He remained always a true encyclopedist. He was married to a niece of Mirabeau and was the dear friend and brother-in-law of Lafayette. He shared with Condorcet a blind faith in progress and the perfectibility of man, and he was convinced of his own responsibility in the progression. Principally interested in agriculture, De Lasteyrie wrote many books in the field. He was one of the first members of the Société centrale d'agriculture. He sought to introduce into France new ideas from abroad, such as Spanish methods of raising sheep and grinding gypsum for fertilizer, the use of metal pen points which he had seen in England; American methods of the culture of indigo, cotton and rice; the German use of slate. He introduced to France the rutabaga from Sweden; he worked with Parmentier in spreading the use of the potato; and he campaigned widely for the use of vaccination. After visiting in Bavaria he introduced the art of lithography into France. In 1830 he wrote a brochure, De la liberté de la presse illimitée, and in 1843 he was one of the founders of the short-lived Journal de la liberté religieuse.[28]

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[28]François Labrousse, Charles Philibert de Lasteyrie et la lithographie. Souvenirs de 1848 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1947).

This indeed was the type of man who could take over the figurehead position of president of the Paris committee. Respect, connection with the past, liberalism in the eighteenth century manner came from De Lasteyrie; this solid support was his main contribution to the banquet campaign. His actual speech was uninspiring and falls in line with the norm of reform generalization. The old liberal made a toast à la souveraineté nationale. The conservative Journal des Débats said that it was very violent.[29] But the radical Réforme snorted at its ineffectuality.

> To what school does this legend belong? It is not surely the democratic school. Our motto is: la souveraineté du peuple! . . . La souveraineté nationale is a word empty of sense. It is applicable in London as in Vienna and St. Petersburg. La souveraineté du peuple is French, and France will be free only when this sovereignty is exercised with all its power.[30]

The Réforme was close to the truth because De Lasteyrie's speech said nothing and meant nothing.

Recurt, the republican, presented the second discourse which began to tangle with issues, à la Révolution de 1830. Recurt was not a deputy, but he was an active republican and shared with Pagnerre the honor of being vice-president of the Comité central. He was a physician and a former adjoint au maire of Paris; in the provisional government of 1848, he was to become minister of public works.

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[29] Journal des Débats (Paris), July 10, 1847.

[30] Réforme (Paris), July 13, 1847.

His practice was extensive and included the area of the old Faubourg Saint Antoine where he ministered to the poor and nurtured his republican prejudices.[31]

Recurt's talk was sharp, but not revolutionary. He looked back to the Revolution of 1830 and discussed the disappointments it had brought, how it had begun with so many hopes for an end to government by the few, but that these hopes had not been fulfilled in the years that followed. It was the kind of speech that all could support, for all the guests were hostile to the Louis Philippe-Guizot policy. The Journal des Débats said that this speech too was quite violent. Five days later the same paper reiterated its hostility, talked of the passionate invectives used by M. Recurt against the government of July.[32] The Réforme commented, "It was a good piece of work, and the words of the orator were worthy of the subject. We would only congratulate him, if he had not had the misfortune to furnish a text for the disguised eloquence of M. Odilon Barrot."[33] Recurt's speech was radical, not too extreme however, but enough to win good republican approval and the lifting of an eyebrow or two in the Centre Gauche.

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[31] Biographie des représentants du peuple à l'assemblée nationale constituante (Paris: Bureau de Notre Histoire, 1848), p. 319.

[32] Journal des Débats (Paris), July 10 and 15, 1847.

[33] Réforme (Paris), July 13, 1847.

Recurt was followed by one of the star performers of the evening, Odilon Barrot, who was to give the response to the toast to the Revolution of 1830. It was intelligent planning; first De Lasteyrie said nothing well and offended no one; then Recurt added a bit of ginger and moderate republicanism; now Barrot of the Gauche Dynastique could soothe the conservatives without frightening the republicans.

Barrot was the biggest name present, not so much because the orator was a great man but because he led such an important wing of parliament. Barrot, more than anyone else, has been given credit for the political banquets of 1847. Certainly no one worked harder or was more devoted to the reform banquet movement than Odilon Barrot. One is continually amazed at the time he spent speaking and spearheading the national movement. Yet again and again one comes back to the point that he really never said very much that was significant. In the preparations for the campaign in May and June his name is not prominent.

However, Barrot's role should not be underestimated. Certainly he was the most eloquent and the best known nationally of the reformers. He was the effective leader of the Orleanist opposition in the campaign as long as Thiers gave no obvious support. Barrot was more radical than Thiers; his supporters were as far left as good monarchists could go, and when he gave his undivided support to the movement and his almost tireless activity, he brought the Gauche Dynastique with him. In the end he saved the

banquets from becoming completely republican and revolutionary. He did not, however, prevent the revolution.

At Chateau Rouge Barrot repeated much of the scorn Recurt had thrown upon the July Monarchy, although Barrot's position gave his words more weight. He dwelt on the corruption of the present ministry and of the necessity to be rid of it. In his eloquent manner Barrot put on a good demonstration, flayed the July Monarchy for its disappointments, and by his person stamped the banquet with the unanimous support of the Gauche Dynastique. He ended on a stirring note, "France will do again, under the glorious flag of the revolution of July, what she failed to do in 1830."

The Journal des Débats was favorable. "M. Odilon Barrot emphatically recalled and condemned all that he called the acts of corruption of government."[34] La Réforme could never say anything praiseworthy about Barrot; it was not the Réforme's nature.

> M. Odilon Barrot and the revolution of July, what a contrast. Does M. Barrot believe that we have forgotten what he has done from the very first days of July and since? He turns his tears on this mutilated revolution, smothered in its cradle, which was betrayed by him, abandoned to the slaughterers, and in which all his political career has come to terminate in the imprisonment of Paris, the armament abandoned without guarantee to the ministry of Guizot.[35]

When venom was to be spewed, the Réforme always turned to Barrot. He was too powerful for their editors

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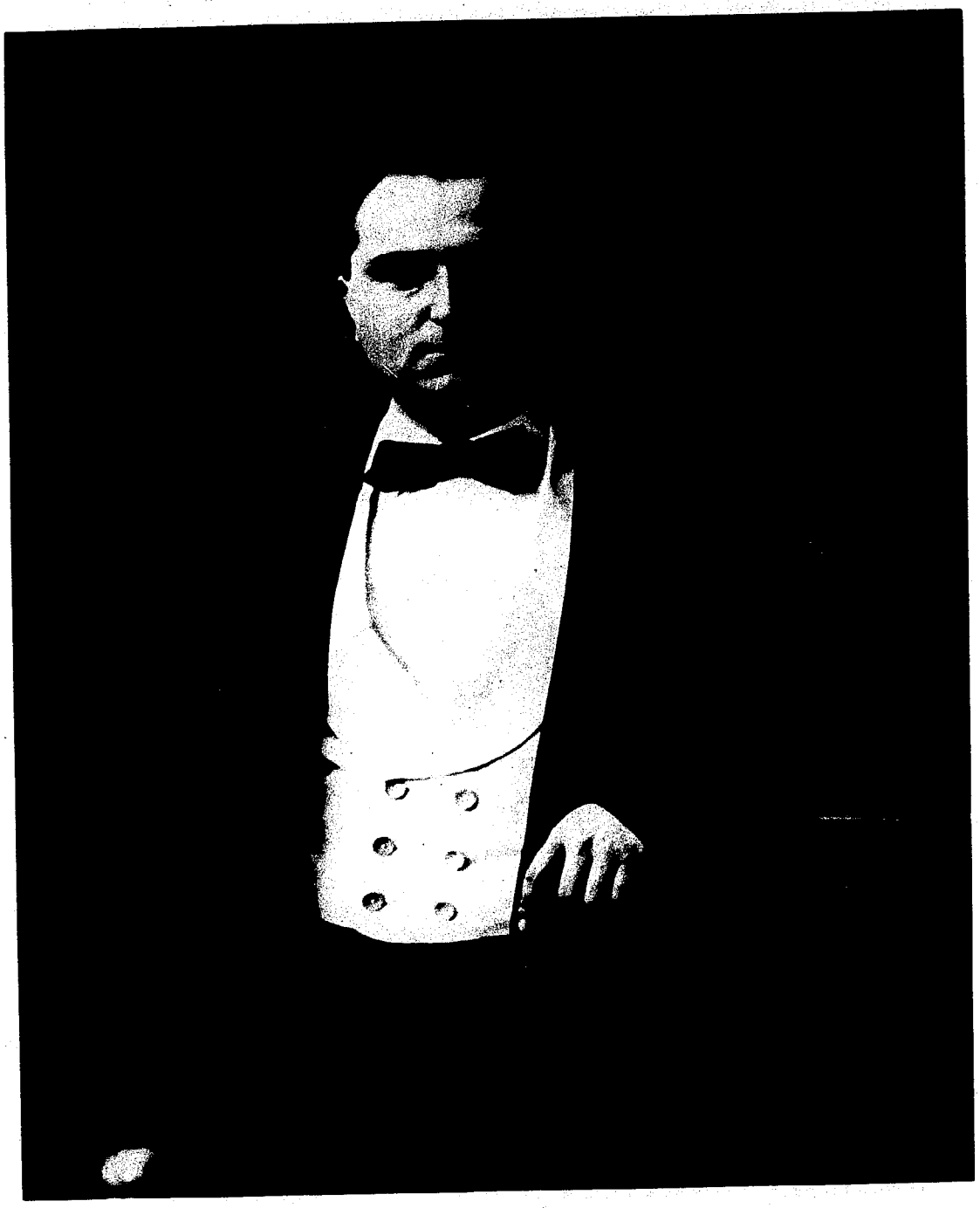
[34] Journal des Débats (Paris), July 18, 1847.

[35] Réforme (Paris), July 13, 1847.

to ignore. Barrot's speech soothed the moderates and did not disturb the republicans.

Pagnerre spoke next. As the organizer of the banquet it was only appropriate that he should speak, although he was far from being a great orator. Pagnerre's toast was to electoral and parliamentary reform, the idea for which they had united. Following those who had pointed up the evils of the existing regime, Pagnerre brought forth the need for unity. "The flag of reform must be carried by all, with no one doing anything to disavow these principles; because reform is as much a means as an end; the beginning and end of our hopes." All could agree with even a republican's generalized reform, but if the speech is read carefully something comes out that the contemporaries missed, something quite ominous for the future of the reform banquets.

> Join us then, you who are disquieted by the waste in our finances, you who are indignant at corruption above and humiliation below, you who are asking for postal reform, the abolition of the stamp on newspapers, the conversion of the rentes, the truthfulness of the jury; you who, lamenting the lot of the laboring classes, seeking the reduction of the tax on salt, the modification of the duties and customs; you all, wishing any reform whatever and to whatever intensity, economic, commercial, industrial or political. (Très bien! Très bien!)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Let us work then! That our reunion, consecrated by the presence of this courageous parliamentary minority which has just struck out for reform, shall become the signal for similar manifestations all over France. That everywhere committees will organize, that everywhere the work of patriotism will put itself in order (Très bien! très bien!). To a party which, under the pretext of conserving, has brought the government to disorder and anarchy, let us oppose with the example of union, order and discipline. (Oui, oui)



CHARLES PAGNERRE

This is the rallying cry for the provinces. But as Pagnerre demonstrates in his speech, the movement welcomed all who sought reform. Is not the republican Pagnerre making the call to all reformers? There were those present who sought only a slight electoral reform; they sought no economic reform, no industrial reform, no postal reform. While, like all the speeches, Pagnerre's is colored with French oratory in its best tradition, it brings in the element of the universality of reform that might well bring chills to the Centre Gauche.

Having heard from the left, the audience was next approached by the right; the speaker was Duvergier de Hauranne, representing the Centre Gauche and giving the response to Pagnerre's toast to electoral and parliamentary reform.

> M. Duvergier is a little fellow with curly hair, a roguish mouth, eyes shining under his spectacles. A firm supporter of the centre gauche, he serves less by his speech than by his pen, but when he does mount the tribune he always achieves success. One feels even then that he is more the writer who recites rather than an improviser, nevertheless attention is long held by a lucid statement of facts, by the ingenious flashes, a subtle and witty critique, all carried on in good style.[36]

Actually Duvergier de Hauranne's speech added little to this occasion. It was good but not exceptional. Since it was impossible to formulate a definite program for electoral and parliamentary reform for fear of alienating certain potential factions of the opposition, the deputy

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[36]Anonymous, La Chambre des députés actuelle, daguerréotypée par un sténograph. Legislature de 1847 à 1851 (Paris: P. Lesigne, 1847), pp. 105-106.

from Cher stuck to criticizing the regime of July and repeating much that Recurt and Pagnerre had said. "They have not broken our institutions, they have falsified them; they no longer violate our consciences, they buy them." It is a tiresome speech to read, but the listeners at Chateau Rouge were much in tune with it. Most of them were convinced that Duvergier de Hauranne was the spokesman for Thiers and what he said represented the views of the leader of the Centre Gauche. Duvergier's violent, but modified attack upon the Government leadership reassured the moderates. The Journal des Débats said it was the most passionate speech of the evening, which only confirmed all the more Duvergier's passion for electoral and parliamentary reform.[37] La Réforme said he was insincere, and besides that he was simply a mouthpiece for Thiers.[38]

Chateau Rouge next turned to hearing from the provinces. The committee had decided to call on Antoine-Marie-Jules Sénard, president of the committee of electors of the opposition in Rouen, for a toast to the city of Paris. Sénard was a lawyer from Rouen, a former declared partisan of the king, now a leader of the opposition to Louis Philippe. President of the agricultural society at Rouen, a liberal of the old school, Sénard had avowed

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[37] Journal des Débats (Paris), July 10, 1847.

[38] Réforme (Paris), July 13, 1847.

republican principles.[39] As an out-of-town guest Sénard was in no position to be controversial; no one could quarrel with a toast to Paris, even Guizot himself. Sénard appealed to public opinion as something not asleep and challenged his audience to go out and "make an appeal to France."

The Parisian deputy from the fifth arrondissement, Marie, followed up Sénard's toast with one to the union of Paris and the departments. Marie was the most important of the republican speakers, the only one who sat in the Chamber. Garnier-Pagès plays down his role, but Garnier-Pagès felt himself entitled to give the speech and had been piqued when the committee turned down the speech he had suggested. Marie, consequently, spoke for the republicans at the banquet, as Duvergier had for the Centre Gauche and Barrot for the Gauche Dynastique.

Marie rehearsed the Carnot thesis that the republicans could work within the Charter, but he reasserted that they would not hesitate to continue to work for something beyond the mere modification of the electoral law. "To each day its job, and to arrive at some goal it is not too much to press. . . . We associate ourselves with the work that has begun, to the party which will develop it, assured that, when we have achieved our mission, we will find in

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[39]Charles Leroy, Lettres inédites provenant de la correspondance de Dupont (de l'Eure) et de celle de Mlle Pauline Dupont, sa fille (Rouen: Albert Lainé, 1932), pp. 25-26. Footnote.

our turn, as allies, all those with whom we are working today." The republicans were facing the facts without committing themselves; the Orleanist opposition was committing itself without facing the facts.

The next speeches were the most amazing of the evening, devoted to toasts for the amelioration of the lot of the working classes. How this came to be worked into a banquet for electoral and parliamentary reform is indeed curious, since the subject is a far cry from the banquet's stated purpose. Little is known of Grissier who gave the initial toast. It has been said that he was a member of the Comité central and that he was a merchant of some sort. More important was the response to the toast given by Gustave de Beaumont.

Under the Restoration, De Beaumont had been a magistrate and in the early July Monarchy, a procureur du roi. In 1831 he had gone to America with de Tocqueville to study the American penitentiary system and had returned to collaborate with him in a book Système pénitentiaire. He had also a book on slavery to his credit. In the Chamber he had represented the Sarthe from 1839, always as an ally of Barrot.[40] No republican, he did represent doctrinaire liberalism and humanitarianism, crying out against human misery no matter what form it might take. In his speech he criticized the immorality of the upper classes.

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[40]Adolphe Robert and Gaston Cougny, Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (Paris: Bourloton, 1891), I, pp. 223-224.

> Now what is the means of pulling the Government away from this fatal indifference? It is for those who believe they can carry out social reforms independently of all political reforms. In my opinion this is a great error. Really, it is a question which appears outside of party quarrels, because it dominates them yet is well above them, it is that of the amelioration of the lot of the working classes.
>
> All of us present here are electors or deputies, that group which the country calls pays légal. . . . The introduction among us of a most popular element will it add nothing to the ardor of our convictions, of our sympathies and of our wishes in favor of the laboring classes? No, without doubt. Nevertheless, be sure, nothing which we desire, of all that we want in the social interest, will come about as long as power continues along the same political lines. The system which is frightened of all political progress repulses, even by instinct, all social progress. Let us pursue then, Messieurs, with zeal, with perseverance, the political reforms; they are the only method of arriving at the end which will always be the object of our most cherished vows, as it is at this moment of our unanimous sympathies, the amelioration of the lot of the working classes. (Vifs applaudissements)

Here is something new, something not entirely desired by the moderates. Actually as a plea for social reform it is a temperate speech, but it definitely links social reform with political reform. The existence of this speech gives all the more evidence of the dominance of the Pagnerre-Recurt republican element in the make-up of the banquet committee.

There followed a series of three toasts to the press, all unimportant except that two of the speakers were republicans. Riglet was a former judge of the Tribunal of Commerce and a republican member of the Comité central. Chambolle was a deputy and editor-in-chief of le Siècle, the newspaper of the Gauche Dynastique. Armand Marrast of the National had been on the program, but a sudden illness forced him to leave early. The third speaker was a good friend of Charles

Pagnerre, the republican editor of the Progrès du Pas-de-Calais, Frédéric Degeorge. The speeches were colorless and moderate, giving additional weight to the argument of the Journal des Débats, that the radical element was emphasized at Chateau Rouge.

The final speeches were superfluous. Hamelin, another merchant and member of the Comité central, toasted the deputies of the opposition, to which Léon de Malleville responded in conclusion with a toast to the Comité central. It was appropriate that the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies should close by toasting the predominantly republican Comité central, a gesture of harmony. "M. Léon de Malleville has a round face, open and smiling; he dominates the bench with his lofty frame and corpulence. He is the major drum of the legion of M. Thiers. . . .[41]

The banquet of Chateau Rouge was over at eleven. A collection for charitable uses was made, and one thousand francs were sent later to the central administration of hospitals and asylums to be distributed among the various bureaus of charity in the department of the Seine.

After looking over the banquet what general conclusions may be drawn? First, criticism of the Government was emphasized. The speakers revealed disappointment with the regime, but no overt hostility or belief that the situation could not be remedied. They were all optimists. There was

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[41]Anonymous, La Chambre des députés actuelle, daguerréotypée par un sténograph. Legislature de 1847 à 1851 (Paris: P. Lesigne, 1847), pp. 102-103.

a general idea that this was only the first of many such banquets, and that the government would be influenced by the reasonableness of the argument to bring about the desired reform. The criticism was general rather than specific. The constructive program also was general. There was no definite plan for reform, mainly because the banquet was attempting to unite many differing views. The element of the press was emphasized because the banqueters were seeking as wide a journalistic support as possible, and because the leadership of the press itself was very much involved in politics. Most of the speeches were moderate, for the opposition, in good taste, and with the proper display of Gallic eloquence. The element of social reform brought in by Grisier and De Beaumont was unexpected and not in accord with the announced purpose and tenor of the banquet, although only the conservative press seems to have been upset by it. It did cause the banquet to move to the left of the norm, revealing the light touch of a dominating but tactful republicanism.

Was the banquet really a success in unifying the various elements seeking parliamentary and electoral reform and in awakening public interest in them? That the banquet idea itself grew is proof of the last premise; but whether true unity was achieved may be questioned. Certainly the support of the central core of the reform movement was present and active, namely the Gauche Dynastique led by Barrot and De Beaumont and the conservative republicans led

by Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Pagnerre, with the complete support of the moderate republican newspapers. With the conservative opposition, the Centre Gauche, the story was different. Many of the most prominent leaders were conspicuously absent: Dufaure, Rémusat, Billault, and particularly Thiers. Thiers spoke with approval of Chateau Rouge to some associates and with disapproval to others. According to Regnault he said confidentially, "My presence would be an embarassment for the orators; if not their speeches would be an embarassment for me."[42] Alton-Shée believed that the failure to toast the king was the main reason for the absence.[43]

On the other hand, the radical republicans, Flocon, Blanc, Caussidière, and Ledru-Rollin disapproved of the alliance and refused to make any concessions in their own approach to reform. Apparently Ledru-Rollin wrote a refusal, although it is not among the Pagnerre papers, stating that not having received a communication of the toasts he feared to support by his presence any formulas that might appear too dynastic.[44]

Thus Chateau Rouge became the model banquet for the campaign that was to take place in the months ahead. It now became the duty of the departments to follow the call for reform that had been sounded by Paris.

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[42]Élias Regnault, Histoire du gouvernement provisoire (Paris: Lecou, 1850), p. 22.

[43]E. D'Alton-Shée, Souvenirs de 1847-1848 (Paris: Dreyfus, 1879), p. 58.

[44]Regnault, Histoire du gouvernement provisoire (Paris, 1850), p. 22.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BANQUETS IN THE DEPARTMENTS: EARLY STAGES

I

The immediate reaction to Chateau Rouge was a little disappointing. The Teste case kept stealing the headlines, and a few days elapsed before the full compte rendu was available for publication. The Paris newspapers battled one another on the issues of the banquet. Gradually, the press excitement died down as the editors became interested in other things. A week after the banquet the National and the Siècle announced the publishing of the official compte rendu of the banquet.[1] A considerable number of these pamphlets were printed for all those present at Chateau Rouge and for all others who might be interested. Pagnerre was in charge of this project, and special prices were made for those wishing large quantities for distribution.

Chateau Rouge was to be only the first of many banquets, and the committee in Paris hoped it would serve as the model for the others. The next task then was to promote the petition and banquets in the departments. The opposition deputies were expected to carry the idea back to their constituencies, but the legislative session of 1847 was slow

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[1] National (Paris), July 18, 1847. Siècle (Paris), July 19, 1847.

in dying. Parliament remained in session until July 26, and it officially continued on until August 9, when the Chamber of Peers completed its vote on the budget.

Even with the help of the deputies, it was not an easy task to arouse the departments. It was one thing to have a successful banquet in Paris where radicals could always be found, and another thing to have a series of banquets in the country areas and smaller cities where Conservatism was strongest. The most difficult task was for Paris to make contact with committees of opposition in the local areas. Typical of the looseness of French political organization, local opposition committees usually acted independently of one another and of any central organization. In many rural areas there were no opposition groups around whom banquets could be organized; often in campaigns for the Chamber the Centre Gauche, Gauche Dynastique, and republicans did not even present separate candidates. Frequently it was only at election time that opposition supporters would ally themselves in order to name candidates. This difficulty naturally limited the banquet campaign to those areas of France which could boast of some organized opposition, usually centering around an opposition deputy or an opposition newspaper.

Most local groups had watched with interest the efforts for electoral and parliamentary reform which were defeated in the spring of 1847, and they were more than pleased with the petition and the banquet of Chateau Rouge. It was only logical that they in turn would take up the

challenge presented by Pagnerre and his Paris committee. The Paris committee, except through the deputies and personal acquaintances, however, had little contact with the local leaders; yet the committee was fortunate that the power of suggestion was sufficient to initiate the campaign program. The result was that throughout France in July and August these small groups, perhaps including an editor, a merchant, several lawyers, a member of the municipal council, would meet informally to discuss the possibility of having a local banquet during the autumn months. These opposition leaders would organize themselves usually into local banquet committees. Each community would have someone like Pagnerre in Paris, who would be responsible and who frequently molded the banquet to his own way of thinking. In some areas it was obvious from the very first that a banquet was foolish because of a lack of physical facilities. Many French cities like Blois or Narbonne initiated banquets, never to have their plans realized.[2]

Many of the problems faced by the local committees were similar to those of the Paris committee; others were far different. Some local committees believed that the emphasis should be merely on promoting reform and the signing of the petition; others especially wished to honor the local opposition deputy and to praise him for his support of reform; others still wanted to emphasize the questions

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[2] National (Paris), October 2, 1847. Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 14).

pertaining to local politics. In most cases these could be tidily accomplished in one banquet. The most important problem was the same as that of Paris, the unifying of groups with varying political opinions so that none would be offended. In many cases the committees succeeded; in others they failed tragically.

The selection of speakers was a problem for most committees. Usually three types of individuals were considered: the local opposition deputy who had had national experience and had participated at Chateau Rouge; the local opposition leader, particularly one with a close connection with the liberal movements of the past such as the revolution of 1830 or even the revolution of 1789; or a figure of the opposition who was of national importance and who might be persuaded to speak. Whenever possible the latter individual was sought, with the local personalities supplementing the visitors. It was the Comité central in Paris who often suggested this national speaker, contacted him, and brought pressure upon him to accept the invitation of the local committee. Many times the Comité central sent its own representative to the banquet.[3] The obvious result was that there soon came to be a nucleus of speakers of national reputation from whom the local groups could draw. This and free advice were the principal methods that the central committee in Paris used to influence the course of the banquets.

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[3]Saint-Quentin, Meaux, Le Neubourg serve as examples of banquets where this was done.

The banquet at Chartres is an example of how the Paris committee provided speakers. Lefèvre, a local lawyer, was secretary for the Chartres banquet committee, and he wrote to Pagnerre asking for speakers for the banquet. He suggested that if possible they would like De Lasteyrie, Garnier-Pagès, Subérvie, Barrot, Chambolle, Crémieux, Abattuci, De Beaumont, or Tracy.[4] The results were not quite satisfactory, because the banquet had to settle for men less well-known, the deputy from Paris Vavin, the deputy from Chateaudun Raimbault, and Pagnerre himself. These men were true to the ideas of the Comité central, and consequently made the tone of the Chartres banquet republican.[5]

There were of course great difficulties arising from decentralized control and discipline and which had the effect of making the campaign loosely organized. While each banquet's common purpose was that of promoting electoral and parliamentary reform, local autonomy was such that many times the banquets gave the appearance of incoherence and frequently tended to become the tool of particular local, as well as specialized national, interests. It was entirely possible for a group of extreme radicals in a community to organize a banquet of a radical nature while still operating under the aegis of the campaign program proper. The Ledru-Rollin

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[4]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (2845.2 17).

[5]National (Paris), October 27, 1847.

wing in the later months took full advantage of these possibilities. This method of organization led frequently to the corruption of the original theme of the banquet program and the outward appearance of a complete lack of discipline, which was in truth simply following a French tradition of political individualism.

With Chateau Rouge serving as a model for them, the local committees began surveying the possibilities for banquets in July and August. The Teste case and the Mâcon banquet honoring Lamartine kept interest in reform alive, while in mid-August the Choiseul-Praslin murder case intensified the criticism of the Government. The amazing thing is that the Government appeared not even to notice the movement; while, actually the dossiers of the Ministry of Justice show that it was quite alert to the situation. If these reports ever reached the eyes of the policy making officials, these men certainly gave no indication of alarm or concern.[6] During the summer months the government reports were routine; the banquet campaign was watched, but the obstacles placed before the local committees were the work of local patriots. There was no organized program of hindrance by the Guizot Government, but the local committees invariably suspected the worst of the local governmental officials.

On August 1, the Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition de la Seine sent out an open letter from Paris

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[6] François P. G. Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London: Bentley, 1867), pp. 486-487.

in brochure form.[7] Included with it was the suggested petition used by the Paris banqueters, and it was signed by De Lasteyrie and Pagnerre, president and secretary of the Comité central. The letter without the attached petition was published without editorial comment in the National and the Siècle on August 6; the Journal des Débats did the same on the seventh, pointing out, however, its dangerous and radical tendencies.[8]

Addressed to each citizen, the letter spoke of the great banquet that had taken place in Paris, in which representatives of all shades of the opposition had met together to further the general welfare of the country. The Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition du département de la Seine had made the appeal, and it had been heard in the capital. The efforts would be vain, however, unless the hostile Chamber was encouraged to act on reform. The question was how to approach this obstinate majority. "It is in the law, in the Constitution itself, that we must find our means of action, because it is with the law, by the law, according to the law, that we want to fight. The law furnishes us with an efficacious arm, powerful, irresistible, in the right of petition."[9] Success would depend entirely on the union of good citizens who could help by spreading

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[7]Comité central des électeurs de l'opposition du département de la Seine. (1er Août) - Pétition pour la réforme électorale et parlementaire (Paris: Claye, Taillefer et Cie., 1847).

[8]National (Paris), August 6, 1847. Siècle (Paris), August 6, 1847. Journal des Débats (Paris), August 7, 1847.

[9]Ibid.

the petitions for electoral and parliamentary reform in their arrondissements. The Comité central did not want to impose their form of petition upon others, but it had been accepted by all the arrondissement committees of Paris, by the deputies of the left, of the left center, and the extreme left, and by the leading opposition newspapers.

> The electors of the departments will be like them [electors of Paris] and will consecrate by this fraternal communion, the irresistible principle of unified action. In these banquets the petitions will be read, signed, and spread among the participants, who in turn will obtain new signatures from outside. The prompt formation of electoral committees in the arrondissements in which they are lacking, their further development in the arrondissements where they already exist will be the most powerful means of propagation and will give an active circulation to the petition. It is equally hoped that the councils of the arrondissements and the conseils-généraux will express themselves in favor of electoral and parliamentary reform.[10]

This was the clarion call to legal arms made by the Paris committee. "The Chamber is able to ignore the views of the deputies of the parliamentary minority; it will not dare ignore the views of the entire nation."[11]

II

Beginning with the banquet of Colmar on August 8, the twenty-two banquets before the important banquet of Lille on November 7, reveal a pattern of political temper.

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

Generally the banquets were less disciplined in their ideas than those after Lille. The first two banquets in August showed no connection with Paris or any use of the services of the Paris committee; indeed, the second one, at Le Mans, was a source of embarrassment to the moderates. Except for that of Strasbourg late August and early September saw a series of five conservative reform banquets. The radicalism of the banquet of Le Mans had thoroughly frightened some of the moderates and conservatives; thus the Centre Gauche dominated these five which reached their high point at Reims on August 31, and Bar-le-Duc on September 9.

The period of conservative dominance was brief. By the end of September the ideas of the moderate left and the Paris committee again became evident. This was the period in which Odilon Barrot began to campaign actively. Moderate radicalism then dominated the banquets until the decisive division of the campaign into two parts with the banquet of Lille.

These twenty-two banquets varied in size and significance and whether they were all part of the campaign has been even questioned. The Guizot Government denied that some were so or were even political banquets; others the Comité central and the republican newspapers hesitated to accept. Nevertheless all twenty-two banquets were part of the campaign since each one was organized specifically to urge political reform, although that idea at times became lost in the cry for social reform.

Of these banquets before Lille five were definitely conservative in outlook; three were very much in the center and took relatively weak positions on reform ideas; and the other thirteen were of varying stages of radicalism, often going way beyond the Paris model. A look at examples of these gives an indication of the type of pattern established.

Reims, Bar-le-Duc, Soissons, Forges, and Melun were the five conservative banquets. The banquets had had a tendency in August to be radical, but the one at Reims on August 31 brought the campaign back to the right. Reims was a true conservative reform banquet with no hint of republicanism, no thought of the sovereignty of the people, no toast to the organisation de travail. It was of the type that Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers, and the Centre Gauche favored with nothing resembling extreme ideas. It is no surprise that Garnier-Pagès chose to ignore the banquet in his history and the National believed it necessary to edit certain parts of the discourses which sounded not only too conservative, but even reactionary.

This banquet was dominated by Léon Faucher, for whom Reims had a great deal of respect which it came to lose by the spring of 1848. Faucher was a clever young journalist and economist who had achieved a position of some favor in certain French circles, and was actually in the pay of James de Rothschild. He had worked and married his way into the bourgeoisie of intellectuals where he was able to forget his discouraging childhood in the south of

France and the nights after school when he had made designs for embroideries in order to earn enough to eat. By 1847 he had become an expert in all kinds of things like prison reform, free exchange, and customs unions. Since in French politics one can represent in the Chamber a district of which one is not a resident, Faucher came to Reims from Paris in 1844 to present himself as candidate for the Chamber of Deputies.[12] At the banquet of 1847 he was the honored guest. On that evening Adolphe David stood before his audience and proposed a toast to Faucher; seven months later he wrote of Faucher, "You have taken the wrong road; you are frightened, frightened of anarchists, frightened of communists, frightened of the workers. You must rally freely to the cause of democracy."[13]

The banquet took place before nearly four hundred guests at the Besnard gardens and under a huge tent, placed there to protect the guests from any rain. The gardens are now gone, but they once stood near where the Rue de Templiers runs into the Boulevard Lundy in the second canton. In 1847 it was outside the city ramparts, although today it is in a working class area hedged in by the champagne caves. This was one of the few banquets in which the caterers were to be especially complimented for the food and wine, of

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[12] H. Monin in La Grande Encyclopédie (Paris: Société Anonyme De La Grande Encyclopédie, 1886-1902), XVII, pp.39-40.

[13] Gustave Laurent, "Les Evénéments de l'année 1848 a Reims et dans la Marne," in Le Département de la Marne et la Révolution de 1848 (Chalons-sur-Marne: Archives départementales, 1948), p. 47.

which the Champagne country is so proud. Included at the main banquet table besides Faucher was Pérignon, the deputy from Sainte Menehould in the Marne, a councilor from the prefecture of Chalons, a member of the conseil-général, four members of the conseil d'arrondissement, the mayor of Champigny, a lieutenant colonel from the national guard, and three municipal councilors.[14]

The thirty-four year old Reims lawyer, E. Dérodé, a great grandnephew of Linquet, presided and his first toast established the temper of the banquet, au roi constitutionnel. On March 8, 1848, Faucher wrote to Sir Henry Reeve explaining the banquet's action on this.

> As early as the month of August, frightened at seeing the reformist movement taking on revolutionary proportions in spite of us, and because of our adversaries and allies, I resolved to mark out well a line of conduct. At the banquet of Reims which was offered me, and which was a great sensation, I demanded that they have a toast to the king. . . .[15]

The speech of Dérodé assured the king of continued support.

> Of popular origin, the dynasty of July is for us the highest expression of the sacred dogma of national sovereignty. To honor it is to honor the nation itself. Without doubt the government has made mistakes. . . . Chef inviolable [the king] he reigns and does not govern.
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> . . . . . .
>
> For us, who seek reforms and not revolutions, let us demonstrate, in addressing the king our first toast,

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[14] Extrait de "l'Industriel de la Champagne," du 1er septembre 1847. Compte rendu du banquet réformiste qui a été donné à Reims, au jardin Besnard, le mardi 31 août 1847 (Reims: E. Luton, 1847).

[15] Gustave Laurent and Georges Boussinesq, Histoire de Reims depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours (Reims: Matot-Braine, 1933), II, p. 546.

> that resolved to pursue with an unshakable firmness the realization of all legitimate progress, we leave the constitutional royalty in the inaccessible sphere where the charter of 1830 has placed it.
> . . . . . .
> Our form of government is compatible with all progress.[16]

The speech met with loud approval and cries of *vive le roi constitutionnel* were heard. It was obvious from the start that the banquet would not be radical and that constitutionality would be emphasized.

Faucher himself spoke next on electoral reform. He recalled the evils and difficulties which beset the opposition. If there were not enough petitions sent this year then more would be sent next year. "We have a bad government because the majority of the Chamber does not represent the majority of the country, and the composition of the Chamber reflects the vices of the electoral system. The electoral law must be changed, this reform before all others."[17]

What the *National* omitted in its account of Faucher's speech is even more interesting. These were suggestions for reform, actually the most specific program offered in the campaign and one which provided for increased enfranchisement for propertied individuals and for intellectuals.

> We want . . . to bring companions to the electors of 1831; we want to give, not by a vain artifice of language, but in deed and in fact, the government of the country to the middle class.
> . . . . . .

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[16] *Extrait de "l'Industriel de la Champagne," op. cit.*

[17] *Ibid.*

> But when the middle class possesses the government we shall say to it: 'Remember that, even if you have the power, you are not the country; that behind your army, numerous as it may be, remains an army almost innumerable, that of the working classes, who confide their interests to you and who charge you with their destiny. The greater your privileges, the larger your responsibility. . . .'[18]

The friend of Duvergier de Hauranne was followed by Pérignon, the friend of Barrot, who had represented Sainte Menehould in the Chamber since 1837. Hastening from a session of the conseil-général at Chalons, he made a toast à la conscience et à la probité politique. That the Duc de Choiseul-Praslin had just murdered his wife and had sent France gossiping again about immorality among those in public life, added to the impact of the speech upon the audience. Magloire Leroux, a lieutenant-colonel in the national guard, toasted à la France; Carpentier, à la garde nationale; Rousseau-Lemaire, à l'inauguration d'un système de gouvernement honnête.

The toast of Édouard Henriot, a municipal councilor of Reims, brought forth a new element in the banquet campaign, that of religion. Because in Reims the Catholic Church had significant political power it was not unusual that a toast be made to l'immortel Pie IX. "Let us recognize the efforts made by this august Pontiff, whose wisdom and brilliance of mind so well remind the earthly powers of those sublime maxims of Christ."[19]

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Extrait de "l'Industriel de la Champagne," op. cit. Laurent and Boussinesq, Histoire de Reims (Reims, 1933), II, p. 511.

The banquet closed with a toast made to Faucher by Adolphe David, a merchant, a mild Saint-Simonian, and a student of international affairs.[20] The reform petition was passed around the audience for signatures and a collection made for the poor totalling 407 francs.[21]

Just as at Paris a large crowd of working people gathered outside the gardens, singing the Marseillaise and other patriotic tunes, applauding and adding to the commotion of the banquet. This was to be only the first of the disturbances in the Reims area that fall and winter. The socialist doctrines were popular. The mayor Carteret wrote to the Ministry of Interior on September 15, "The secret societies, particularly the communist associations, are tending to increase." In December Cabet spoke at Reims and recruited several followers for his trip to Texas. Early 1848 saw increasing economic unrest in Reims with growing unemployment.[22]

However to think of Reims as a radical center in 1847-1848 is to exclude the political reform banquet of August. For reform, yes; for democracy, no. The banquet was for the bourgeois conservatives, and the proletariat was once more reminded that the middle class would represent its interests in the coming bourgeois utopia.

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[20] Laurent, "Les Événements de l'année 1848 à Reims et dans la Marne," in Le Département de la Marne et la Révolution de 1848 (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1948), p. 54.

[21] Extrait de "l'Industriel de la Champagne," op.cit.

[22] Laurent, "Les Événements de l'année 1848 à Reims et dans la Marne," in Le Département de la Marne et la Révolution de 1848 (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1948), pp. 45-46.

Reims was the first strictly conservative banquet of the campaign, but soon after Bar-le-Duc again presented the conservative position, although this time there appeared a new problem of a dissident radical element. The banquet followed that of Strasbourg whose republican tendencies had even won a little nod of approval from the Réforme. The Journal de la Meuse reported the early subscription to this conservative banquet of Bar-le-Duc by saying, "The former officers of the Empire, the national guard, commerce, industry, the bar and the electoral corps will be heavily represented there."[23]

One must not gloss over Bar-le-Duc as simply another banquet, because it is here that the first report of an overt clash between opposition groups is found, shattering the thesis of unity. It is a forecast of what was to happen in November in Lille. The banquet of Bar-le-Duc took place on September 9, and was dominated by the Centre Gauche. To read the program and speeches is to find clear exposition of the platform of the conservative opposition. M. Paulin Gillon, the mayor of Bar-le-Duc, presided and gave the toast au roi constitutionnel des Français; Etienne, a deputy of little distinction from the Meuse, toasted à la moralité des pouvoirs publics; Chadenel, secretary of the conseil-général, à la réforme électorale; Brien, a local honorary judge, à l'honneur national; and Grenier, a lawyer, à l'union des patriotes de la Meuse.[24]

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[23]Siècle (Paris), August 22, 1847.

[24]Journal de la Meuse (Bar-le-Duc), as quoted in National (Paris), September 15, 1847.

The banquet commission had also assigned a speech to Émile Hannotin. On the morning of the banquet the commission assembled and reviewed the various toasts, accepting them all unanimously including that of Hannotin, which was really quite advanced in democratic ideas, à l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses. The president of the banquet, Mayor Gillon, was present at this time. During the day, however, certain backstage maneuvering took place, and the conservatives convinced Gillon that he might be dismissed as mayor if Hannotin spoke. Just before entering the banquet hall Gillon, Pagès, the newly elected deputy from Montmédy, and some others stated that they would retire from the banquet if Hannotin insisted on giving his toast. Because the immediacy of the banquet required the presence of the president, Hannotin was pressed to retire; he was urged to make this sacrifice as a sign of his devotion to reform. With nearly five hundred guests growing impatient in the hall as they waited for the appearance of the speakers, Hannotin gave in.

The radical Hannotin had been one of the early sponsors of the banquet, along with a number of other democrats, and had been one of the hardest workers in obtaining petition signatures. He did not hesitate to publish his speech anyway, an action greatly upsetting the local administration because it was in the school of

radical democracy.[25] It would truly have been provocative at the banquet.[26]

Despite the mayor's action, the Government considered the banquet radical, and the dossier of the Ministry of Justice possessed an account of Gillon's toast as taken from the Journal de la Meuse of September 12, 1847. Gillon struck out at corruption but exempted the house of Orléans from personal responsibility. It was a toast to the person of the king rather than to the King as represented by the Government. Actually the speech was coldly received and only a few timid cries of vive le roi were heard. Perhaps the audience was more in a mood to listen to Hannotin than the bureau realized.[27]

The banquet of Bar-le-Duc can not be judged on what it might have been. It was like Reims, strictly of the Centre Gauche, but for the first time it became apparent that there would be extraordinary difficulty in bringing real unity to the men and programs of the campaign. The partisan French press would not permit these kitchen quarrels to be kept secret long.

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[25] Réforme (Paris), October 16, 1847. The Réforme cited a personal letter from Bar-le-Duc as its source of information concerning the Hannotin maneuvers. The writer of the letter is not named, but internal criticism would indicate that it came from a member of the banquet commission.

[26] Réforme (Paris), September 21, 1847.

[27] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296.

The other pre-Lille conservative banquets, Soissons on the twelfth of September, Forges on the same day, and Melun on October 17, were simply repetitions of Bar-le-Duc, all controlled by the Centre Gauche and all with their toasts to the king.

Of the banquets of the center, those which followed the norm and really did not commit themselves when it came to being either radical or conservative in their reform manifestations, Pontoise is a good example. Coulommiers and Saint-Marcellin were others.

Nothing very exciting has ever happened in Pontoise. Because it was a good place to cross the Oise, the Romans built a bridge there. Like so many other moderate sized French towns it has existed quietly ever since, remembering that the Estates-General met there three times, and satisfied with possessing one of those churches that ably demonstrates the evolution of French ecclesiastical architecture from the time of the late Middle Ages.

The banquet of Pontoise centered around Albin de Berville, deputy. De Berville was one of those individuals who makes revolutions, never by building barricades or firing muskets, but by simply always being in the right place when the opposition counts noses. He had a warm heart, a ready tongue, and an honorable and influential position. A distinguished lawyer at the cour royale in Paris, he always sat in the political center of the Chamber

of Deputies, respectably voting with the opposition, supporting the king, and being agreeable enough to be elected later to the Constituent Assembly, although not rallying to the republic.[28] Of him a contemporary writer said he "breathed good-will," and that he "was the type of man who won everyone to him by his character;" that he "had only smiles for men."[29]

The harmlessness and mediocrity of this banquet at Pontoise is not disappointing. One hundred guests appeared which showed some opposition strength. Only three men spoke. Coulbeaux made a toast au roi constitutionnel des Français, which was coldly received.[30] It was a gesture which would not get Pontoise into trouble with anyone except republicans who had no interest in the town. One of the councilors of the arrondissement, Martel, toasted their deputy and president, M. De Berville. That individual next discoursed on electoral and parliamentary reform and toasted the electors of Pontoise. The speech was dull. The petition of Pagnerre made the rounds, everyone signed it, and Pontoise settled down once more to a routine existence. No one could object to this banquet, not even Guizot or Louis Philippe. It was a good example of how sterile a banquet could be.[31]

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[28]Adolphe Robert and Gaston Cougny, Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (Paris: Bourloton, 1891), I, pp. 300-301.

[29]La Chambre des députés actuelle, daguerréotypée par un sténograph. Legislature de 1847 à 1851 (Paris: P. Lesigne, 1847), p. 223.

[30]National (Paris), August 28, 1847.

[31]Siècle (Paris), August 27, 1847.

The radical banquets, as one might expect, were the most interesting, exciting, and significant. Of the thirteen banquets that were dominated by the radicals those of Le Mans, Strasbourg, and Autun indicate the most extreme position before Lille.

On the tenth of August took place the banquet of Le Mans. This has been included in the campaign or excluded from it according to the political viewpoint of the historian.[32] For the moderates and their allies to the right the banquet of Le Mans was not part of the banquet campaign and hence something to be overlooked. The nineteenth century historians sympathized with the moderates, and they too ignored it. Their successors sought evidence of social and economic unrest outside the banquets.

The French Government of 1847, however, considered it very much a part of the reform and banquet campaign.[33] Guizot's Government did not worry about distinctions; the opposition was initiating a reform program by the use of banquets, and if Le Mans was a banquet seeking reform like all the others, then as far as the Government was concerned it was part of the campaign begun at Chateau Rouge. If the moderates were getting burnt in the campaign, they would have to take the responsibility. The Ledru-Rollin

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[32] Garnier-Pagès, Thureau-Dangin, De la Gorce, Charléty ignored the banquet in their histories.

[33] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9.

republicans, seeing how closely the banquet fitted their own ideas, had to accept it, support it editorially, and describe it as an anti-banquet in order to make it consistent with their own opposition to the campaign.[34] In truth the banquet of Le Mans differed from the others only in the sense that it was too radical for most of the moderates to stomach and hence for them to claim. If history accepts the banquet as it must, then its existence destroys the thesis of the banquet campaign as one of an evolving radicalism in 1847.

Early in August the National was willing to accept Le Mans. "The inhabitants of Mans, who also wish to have their reform banquet, have selected the tenth of August for the day. Many citizens of Mans and the chefs-lieux of the Sarthe have placed their names on the subscription list."[35] The tenth of August was a propitious day for a banquet because of all the memories it evoked of the taking of the Tuileries in 1792 and the fall of the monarchy in the Great Revolution. The Criminal Office of the Ministry of Justice felt called upon to inform the Ministry of the Interior of the activities after it received a letter from the Procureur-Général of Angers telling that the radical opposition of Le Mans was preparing a political banquet for the tenth.[36]

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[34] Réforme (Paris), August 16, 1847.

[35] National (Paris), August 10, 1847.

[36] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1441. Dossier 1992a.

It was necessary to limit the number of participants to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred individuals, representing according to the Courrier de la Sarthe all classes of society.[37] V. Louchet was the president and made the first toast to the sovereignty of the people and to the future. He recalled the long history of the struggle against despotism.

> Bourgeois, see what you have prepared for us! You who have allowed yourself to be governed by fear, you who have destroyed all your natural alliances in taking this egotistical motto: Chacun chez soi, chacun pour soi; you who have placed conscience, honor, courage even on a sac d'écus; you who have weakened the laws in allowing them to be violated; finally you, men of peace at any price . . . your role is finished. Do not put yourself at the head of the people; you have lost their confidence, put yourself behind them, if danger approaches, courage and honor must save the country and liberty! To the people the full exercise of the sovereignty which was proclaimed the 10th August, 1792. To you, citizens, whom materialism has not yet atrophied . . . march with the people, and if the dangers grow, grow with the dangers.[38]

The toast of Hippolyte Lecornué to the tenth of August, 1792, was of a similar nature, praising the sovereignty of the people. Napoléon Gallois, the editor-in-chief of the Courrier de la Sarthe toasted the memory of the federation of August 10, 1793.[39] Finally Quetin ended

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[37] Courrier de la Sarthe (Le Mans), as quoted in Réforme (Paris), August 16, 1847.

[38] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The extract of Louchet's speech in the files of the Ministry of Justice was taken from the Courrier de la Sarthe (Le Mans), August 13, 1847.

[39] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of M. Gallois was likewise taken from the Courrier de la Sarthe (Le Mans), August 13, 1847.

the banquet by a toast to the next triumph of reason, democracy, and equality. The guests sang the Marseillaise and the Chant du départ, and marched two by two through the city to the place des Halles where they broke up. Before they left the hall a collection was received of seventy-nine francs for detained political prisoners, an added affront to the Government of Louis Philippe.[40]

The banquet of Strasbourg on September 5, was republican, although not so extreme as Le Mans. The eastern departments had been among the earliest to have banquet programs, for the most part independent of Paris in action and planning and directed by the moderate republican elements. Colmar was the first true banquet after Paris, and on September 5, Strasbourg repeated the story. Its banquet was held in the Halle aux Blés and was much larger than that of Colmar with seven hundred participating according to republican sources and five hundred and fifty according to Government sources.[41]

The auditorium was richly decorated and outstandingly displayed were the flags of Poland, Switzerland, and Italy. Deputations came from many of the Alsatian towns such as Colmar, Mulhouse, Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, Ribeauville, Sélestat. Three former deputies, Martin (de

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[40] Courrier de la Sarthe (Le Mans), as quoted in Réforme (Paris), August 16, 1847.

[41] National (Paris), September 9, 1847. Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. Statistique des Banquets Réformistes.

Strasbourg), Coulmann, and Nicholas Koecklin, a president of the tribunal of commerce of Strasbourg, and many members of the local council were present. Unfortunately a session of the conseil-général of the Haut-Rhin prevented a number of its members from attending.

The Government kept itself well informed of events and on the thirty-first of August the Procureur-Général of Colmar sent a letter to the Police Division of the Ministry of Justice which indicated the position of the Government.

> He [substitute] writes me today that, according to all appearances, the banquet will give place to no eccentric manifestations that we need fear, especially in view of the presence of M. Arago in the neighborhood. Those who organize it seem to wish to keep on the terrain of reform by legal means, and that which makes us hope that it will be so, is the fact that the expression of radical sentiments will no doubt reach a good number of conservatives strongly impressed by the latest events and who because of that have promised to be present.
>
> It is doubtful that M. Arago will come; he is watering at Preisbach several hours from Strasbourg.[42]

There were thirteen toasts given at Strasbourg: to national sovereignty, to the future of France, to political honesty, to electoral and parliamentary reform, to the organization of work, to the French Revolution, to the union of all liberal opinions, to honest men of all parties, to the union of all shades of opposition, to the patriots of Alsace and of Bas-Rhin, to the association of schools, to the president. For the most part the speakers

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[42]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. François Arago was a leading French scientist active in republican politics.

were local lawyers and politicians. The presiding officer, Lichtenberger, Lobstein, Chaffour, and Kugler were lawyers; Gloxin was a merchant and elector; Boersch was the editor-in-chief of the Courrier du Bas-Rhin and a municipal councilor; Steiner was a landowner and municipal councilor; Martin and Coulmann were former deputies; De Bancalis was the mayor of Gerstheim and councilor of the arrondissement of Sélestat. All of these were obviously men of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy.[43]

At Strasbourg, however, something unique in the way of speakers is noted, something that was to be duplicated at no other banquet. This was the use of representatives of the artisan class in the program, as well as of university students. Kayser, a young medical student, toasted the schools. The two artisans were Silbermann, a printer and municipal councilor, and the unidentified Monsieur B. . . , a tailor who toasted the organization of work.[44]

The Réforme, always ready to criticize the banquets, always eager to mention that the people stood outside the gates looking in, always scorning the sincerity of the banqueters, was the only newspaper to note the speech of the tailor.

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[43] Courrier du Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg), as quoted in the National (Paris), September 9, 1847.

[44] M. D. R., Campagne réformiste de 1847 (Paris: Paulin, 1848), pp. 86-87. Note B.

> But in the whole of these speeches there is only one which touched us deeply, it is that of a tailor. This brave citizen spoke for his brothers outside the hall, for those who suffer from incessant work and often from hunger.
>
> Up to this point the parliamentarians had forgotten this little detail in the great mixture in their unworthy toasts, and the newspapers of legal reform in Paris have scarcely mentioned it while they gathered in, like the staff of life, the smallest constitutional particles of the Alsatian banquet.[45]

The speech of B... was not unusual. He toasted the organization of work, a term really little understood then. But the speech does illustrate the craving of nineteenth century man for social justice.

> The organisation de travail is a labor of justice, because it guarantees existence to those who wish to work; it is a work of humanity, because in giving the necessities to the aged and sick, it tears a large part of society away from anguish, from the misery which draws at the body and soul. . . .
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> . . . . . .
>
> Eighteen centuries ago, gentlemen, a democratic and divine power brought to this world the word of equality and fraternity. Eighteen centuries ago the fundamental stone of the edifice of social justice was laid; all the revolutions which have followed since have had but one end to raise it, and today we ask it again from those who govern us. . . .
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> . . . . . .
>
> It is then necessary to institute electoral reform, source of the reform of the organisation de travail.[46]

No one paid much attention to this Alsatian tailor and his speech, but it was very much a part of the campaign. In its simplicity, in its plea for humanity, it perhaps best articulates those principles and ideals for which so many Parisians went to their barricades and to their graves

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[45] Réforme (Paris), September 10, 1847.

[46] Réforme (Paris), September 10, 1847.

in February and June, 1848. At Strasbourg someone did represent those who stood outside the gates, but no one bothered to leave us his name.

Of the radical banquets before Lille, that of Autun on October 27, was perhaps the most significant. The Constitutionnel and the Siècle were not able to repeat even the main discourse; the National could only grant the banquet two paragraphs.[47] Although the banquet eventually became a very important issue, the plans for it were begun very quietly. The local opposition committee in Autun wanted a reform banquet to place that city in the campaign, and Guillemin, a member of the local committee, wrote a good letter to Pagnerre asking for advice and a number of petitions for him to use as samples.[48]

Lamartine and other leaders of the opposition in the area were invited to speak. Lamartine sent his letter of acceptance, and by October 12, the press had announced that he was to preside.[49] Already two hundred and fifty had subscribed. Then Lamartine, demonstrating his usual undependability, retired, and he was followed by all the lesser stars in the galaxy, the moderate deputies. How

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[47] Discours de M. Ulysse Pic au banquet d'Autun. Lettres à plusieurs journaux. Opinion de M. de Lamartine. Lettre à M. de Lamartine. M. Duvergier de Hauranne, à vol d'oiseau (Autun: Dejussieu, 1847), p. 27. National (Paris), November 1, 1847.

[48] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 44).

[49] National (Paris), October 12, 1847.

much of this was premeditated and what his specific reasons were has never been discovered.

In desperation the committee turned to the editor-in-chief of the Union Libérale of Nièvre, one Ulysse Pic. A more fatal speaker could not have been chosen for the man was a communist in all the senses that can be included in pre-Marxian communism. The withdrawal of subscribers from the banquet reached epidemic proportions, and when it took place on the twenty-seventh only 105 were present, of whom just fifteen were electors and eighteen were not even residents of Autun.[50]

The radicals had easily captured the banquet. The president Martin, a councilor of the arrondissement and mayor of Couches, began with a mild toast to national sovereignty and the constitutional king. These ideas were soon lost in the toasts that followed, those to the people and to the advent of a government which was neither cowardly nor corrupt. The heavy blow was struck when Pic toasted electoral reform considered as a means of arriving at even greater reforms.[51]

Pic was a demagogue and rabble-rouser. His speech lasted an hour and contained all the hopes and dreams of the socialists of 1848. He attacked in all directions, with full blows. He violently denounced the aristocracy,

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[50] Éduen (Autun), as quoted in Journal des Débats (Paris), November 3, 1847.

[51] Discours de M. Ulysse Pic au banquet d'Autun (Autun, 1847).

the monarchy, the bourgeoisie, the Centre Gauche, and the Jesuits. Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne were thrown in the heap along with Guizot. Pic ridiculed. He snarled, he roared, he cajoled, he persuaded, and in a glory of French oratory he carried his audience with him into a future heaven on this earth with peace, prosperity, and equality.

The Procureur-Général at Dijon wrote to Paris "that this manifestation was completely insignificant," which indicates a serious laxity on the part of Louis Philippe's civil service.[52] The Conservative press let out a roar at the impudence and threat to order of banquets such as that at Autun.[53] Most vehement of all was Lamartine in his Bien Public where he denounced the banquet as a demonstration of the danger of the campaign movement. The very man whose adherence could have prevented the radicalism of Autun became the most violent in his denunciation of Pic and published diatribes against him, which only served to emphasize the banquet. Pic was a capable opponent, and he took up the challenge in a series of editorials in his own newspaper.[54] This was going on while Lille was in preparation.

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[52]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB^{18} 1414. Dossier 7050a9.

[53]Journal des Débats (Paris), November 3, 1847.

[54]Extrait du "Bien public" du 14 novembre 1847. Le banquet d'Autun (Macon: Robert, 1847). Discours de M. Ulysse Pic au banquet d'Autun. Lettres à plusieurs Journaux. (Autun, 1847), p. 21.

III

These then were the three banquet patterns followed by the opposition, conservative, middle-of-the-road, and radical. It would then be well to look more specifically at all the banquets of the pre-Lille campaign.

By the end of August three banquets had taken place. Chateau Rouge had had definite republican overtones from the Pagnerre-Recurt wing. Colmar had been almost thoroughly republican except for a toast to the king, and Le Mans had been so radical that even the moderate republicans had chosen to disclaim it. Everyone agreed that the present regime was bad, but the only constructive suggestions for a change had been republican and democratic with social reform as part of the suggested innovations. By early September the moderates were in danger of losing any initiative they might have had after Chateau Rouge, and they were losing banquet supporters as well. It was time that the bourgeoisie returned from their holidays and regained the initiative, particularly since the Government had begun to see radical banquets where no real banquets took place. They had considered a meeting of twenty workers at Clermont-Ferrand on August 10 as a reformist banquet.[55]

The moderates regained ground by the banquets that completed the month of August, Pontoise and Reims, the

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[55]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. Statistique des Banquets Réformistes.

latter being quite conservative in nature. In France itself summer had closed with the great Praslin case, and the government showed signs of fear of scandal, but it refused to admit that the banquets were growing or threatening. On the other hand the Ledru-Rollin and Réforme republicans chose to ignore most of the campaign and placed it in the inner pages of their newspapers only when a banquet seemed to be of great significance or sufficiently radical.

However the Comité central had reason to be satisfied with the progress being made. In some cases they had no influence, as in the banquet of Le Mans, but in the more moderate and better organized banquets, as at Pontoise, their influence was proportionately greater. The Comité, and particularly Pagnerre, were called upon by local committees for assistance. In a letter of August in the Pagnerre Correspondence, signed P and probably Pagnerre, the writer acknowledged a letter from the departments which had included among other things a brochure on electoral reform.

> While waiting the session [Chamber of Deputies], we beg of you, Monsieur, to neglect nothing in order to obtain a large number of signatures for the petition of electoral and parliamentary reform.
> The efficacious way to stimulate interest and awaken spirits would be to organize a banquet. It will be important that the electors of the opposition have a manifestation in their towns in order to support them in the Chamber of Deputies.[56]

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[56] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 4).

The opposition newspapers were encouraged by reports of prospective banquets, many of them never advancing beyond the blueprint stage. The National announced on August 3 that the national guard of Bourges was organizing a banquet to reawaken spirit.[57] Even Bordeaux, the center of Conservatism, seemed to be entering the movement. "The Indicateur of Bordeaux announces that there are circulating in this city lists of subscription for a reformist banquet. It seems that this city is beginning to understand that its ministerial devotion has been of no advantage to local interests."[58] Charleville, Troyes and Péronne were organizing banquets, but none of these ever took place.[59]

The September banquets were to follow more closely the spirit of Chateau Rouge and the guidance of the Comité central, that of splendid moderation tinged with spotty radicalism, attempting to destroy, divide, and confuse, rather than to build up, create, or contribute. The banquet of Strasbourg repeated the republicanism of Colmar on September 5, while Bar-le-Duc went back to the right. The banquet of Soissons on September 12 was the first banquet of Barrot after Paris and was quite mediocre.[60] This

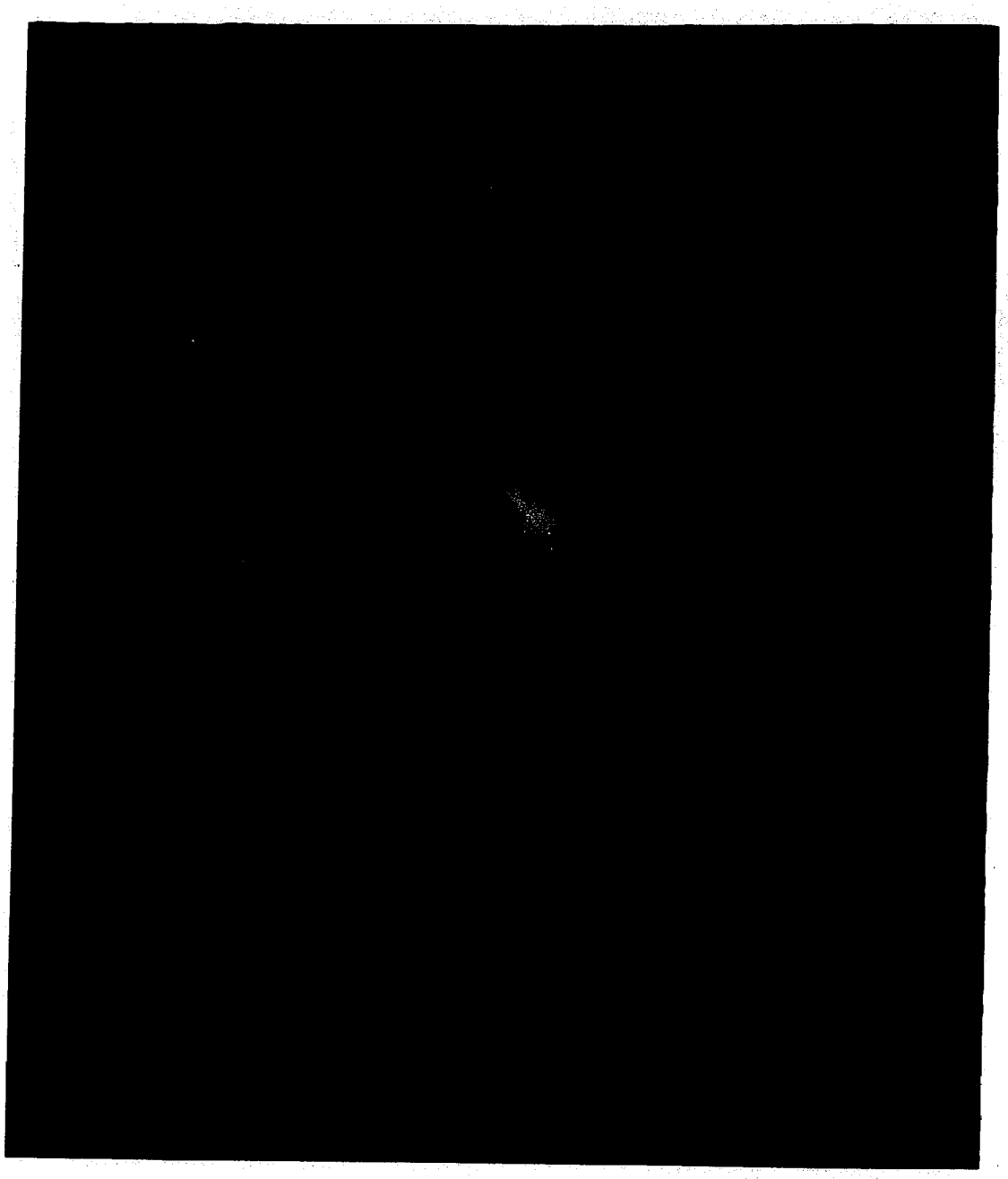
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[57] National (Paris), August 3, 1847.

[58] National (Paris), August 22, 1847.

[59] National (Paris), August 31, 1847. Journal de la Somme (Amiens), as quoted in National (Paris), August 6, 1847.

[60] National (Paris), September 17, 1847.



ODILON BARROT

mediocrity was repeated on the same day at the small watering place of Forges in the Seine-Inférieure.[61]

On the nineteenth of September took place the banquet of Saint-Quentin, not unusual for what was said but outstanding for its subscription of around 750 and its faithfulness to the Paris pattern. More than three hundred subscriptions had to be turned down.[62] The National reported on September 23 that "The deep quarrel and incompatibility of ideas, of opinion, of trends, and of desires which exists between our country and its government, the saddest one to which it has ever submitted, has never had a demonstration with such vigor and sensation."[63] A total of seventeen speeches made the banquet quite taxing and overly representative of opposition opinion. This variety of speakers included besides Barrot the voice of Victor Considérant, editor-in-chief of the Démocratie pacifique and the leading French disciple of Charles Fourier and the tradition of phalansterianism and socialism. He saw that in the first phase of France's noble role, the Great Revolution had brought the affranchisement of the bourgeoisie. The second phase was to be a democracy of the future, peace, work, and liberty.[64] The banquet was so long that time did

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[61] National (Paris), September 17, 1847.

[62] National (Paris), September 23, 1847.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Journal des Débats (Paris), September 24, 1847.

not allow for all the toasts, including the one the Réforme emphasized, that to the working class.[65]

The banquets of Périgueux on the 22nd of September and Isle-Jourdain on the same day were of little consequence in the history of the campaign.[66] The banquet at Orléans on September 23, was radical and saw the first appearance of the brilliant and eloquent Jewish republican and deputy, Adolphe Crémieux. There Marie repeated his implications of Paris that electoral reforms were only the beginning of the republican program.[67] The banquet of Meaux on September 26, had the aura of the Comité central about it, and many tears were shed in memory of the great Lafayette.[68] Coulommiers on the twenty-ninth was in the same spirit.[69]

October began with two small but fairly radical banquets, Vitré in Brittany and Damville in the Eure where Picard stated that, "The first remedy in such a state of affairs as we are in is a large and radical electoral reform. This is the key to all the other political and social

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[65]Réforme (Paris), September 24, 1847.

[66]Écho de Vésone (Périgueux), as quoted in National (Paris), September 26, 1847. Émancipation de Toulouse, as quoted in Réforme (Paris), October 12, 1847.

[67]National (Paris), October 1, 1847.

[68]National (Paris), September 28, 1847.

[69]Banquet réformiste de Coulommiers (Seine-et-Marne). Compte rendu. En vente au profit des pauvres, à la librarie Picard, rue du Marché, à Coulommiers (Paris: Maulle et Renou, 1847).

reforms."[70] Duvergier de Hauranne led the banquet of Charité on October 16, although it had been organized by republicans. It began with a mild toast to Louis Philippe and ended with one to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes.[71] The banquet of Melun on October 17 was dull like the other two banquets of Lafayette's old constituency, although these banquets helped restore the confidence of the moderate and conservative politicians.[72]

The banquet of Chartres on October 24, was much more radical than many expected; of it the Réforme spoke, "The day was a good one for the democratic party."[73] Everywhere was seen the influence of the Comité central. Saint-Marcellin on the same day was quite small but indicated considerable support for reform in the Rhône valley.[74] This was to be the end of the easy time for the reform campaign because radical Autun came next, and then Lille.

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[70] Journal des Débats (Paris), October 9, 1847. Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB^{30} 296. Picard's speech was quoted in the files of the Ministry from the Journal de Rouen, October 9, 1847.

[71] Compte rendu du banquet réformiste de la Nièvre, tenu à la Charité-sur-Loire le 17 octobre 1847. Extrait de "l'Union libérale" du 20 octobre 1847 (Nevers: Regnaudin-Lefebvre, 1847).

[72] National (Paris), October 20, 1847.

[73] Banquet réformiste d'Eure-et-Loir, qui a eu lieu à Chartres le dimanche 24 octobre 1847. Extrait du "Glaneur" (Chartres: F. Durand, 1847). Réforme (Paris), October 27, 1847.

[74] Patriote des Alpes (Grenoble), as quoted in National (Paris), October 30, 1847.

CHAPTER SIX

LILLE

I

The banquet campaign moved at an exceedingly rapid speed up to November. After the summer holidays the campaign enthusiasm had increased and to have had as many as twenty-two banquets in four months was to meet the highest expectations of Pagnerre and the Paris Comité. The banquets themselves are only a small indication of the expansion of the interest of the bourgeoisie in the campaign. Many communities attempted to have reform banquets but in the end were blocked by various circumstances: either lack of sustained interest; or lack of adequate facilities; or local governmental obstruction.[1]

The banquets were arousing considerable interest in reform among the bourgeoisie, but they had little influence on the Government and failed to unite the opposition up to the time of the banquet at Lille. The Government displayed no interest in the banquets and publicly ignored them. There was no indication that the Government would

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[1] Narbonne is a town whose interest diminished. Cosne could find no adequate building. Semur was prohibited by the mayor.

be more inclined to reform in 1848 than it had been in 1847. Examples of obstruction by local government could never be traced to actual interference by Paris. The opposition always claimed that Duchâtel had sent out instructions to local officials to obstruct the banquets, but no such circular has ever been discovered. The suspicion that one existed, however, was a good propaganda weapon in the hands of the banqueters.

It was on the second point, that of unity, that the campaign was fighting against very heavy odds. Most of the banquets up to the time of Lille were weighted in favor of the moderate republicans, although Le Mans and Autun were further to the left than the Pagnerre-Marie wing wished to go. By November the moderate republicans seemed fairly well in control of the banquet campaign; the local politicians and editors were the republicans whose ideas prevailed in the banquets. The bureau of Pagnerre in Paris offered free advice and always was able to supply some kind of a speaker, usually a republican. The banquet of Orléans revealed how well the moderate republican element could dominate the thinking of a banquet. The speech of Marie there demonstrated this position.

> There is only one remedy for these evils, gentlemen, and that remedy is reform. It is for that reason that I, in the midst of you, a man of the radical party, wish large extended reforms; large enough, extended enough that we can put an end to these senseless dreams of the new aristocracy. (Très bien! Très bien!) The reforms are a step toward equality; the conservatives do not want it. We want it, because, newcomers to

> political rights we wish to share with the workers those rights which work has given us. (Bravo! Bravo!)[2]

On the other hand, most of the deputies who had spoken at the banquets were of the Gauche Dynastique. As a matter of courtesy at every banquet the local opposition deputy had been asked to speak, and it was through these men that the Gauche Dynastique was represented best. As the campaign advanced Odilon Barrot grew in prominance, and his eloquence gave him the leadership of the constitutional wing of the banquets. By November he had already been present at five of the fourteen banquets at which he was to speak: Paris, Soissons, Saint-Quentin, Meaux, and Coulommiers. All had been safe banquets, none of them ever more radical than the one of Chateau Rouge. However, Barrot had not begun speaking until late September so that his sudden importance had been limited to about a month. Of his speech at Saint-Quentin, the Journal des Débats reported the following:

> M. Odilon Barrot finally congratulated himself, in a most serious tone, for being able to communicate with the flower of the patriots of the department of Aisne. The honorable deputy, who is old-fashioned, is evidently turning to mysticism. He believed himself to be at the Holy Supper when he was present at Chateau Rouge. He no longer dines, he is at communion. He no longer makes political speeches, he preaches. His homilies at least are not becoming worse, because he always says the same thing.[3]

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[2]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Marie in the ministry files was taken from the Journal de Loiret (Orléans), September 29, 1847.

[3]Journal des Débats (Paris), September 24, 1847.

As long as the moderate republicans and the Gauche Dynastique could control them and work in outward harmony, the banquets made a smart appearance and all went well.

In contrast, the actual participation of the weak Centre Gauche had been hampered a great deal by inner stress. The only leader who could have strengthened their position and who commanded enough respect in politics was Adolphe Thiers, and he had chosen to remain aloof. Duvergier de Hauranne had been considered his chief representative, but he was not a real political leader. The only appearance of Duvergier after Chateau Rouge had been at the banquet of Charité, where he had presided because of the illness of the deputy, Manual. He had given the first toast, à la souveraineté nationale et au roi constitutionnel, but the program thereafter had become radical and ended with a toast to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes.[4] Other Centre Gauche leaders such as Billault and Rémusat had not taken part from the first; Faucher, after his vigorous attempt on behalf of conservatism at Reims, had retired from the campaign.[5]

In the middle of October Dufaure dropped the bombshell that demonstrated the internal division of the Centre

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[4] Compte rendu du banquet réformiste de la Nièvre, tenu à la Charité-sur-Loire le 17 octobre 1847. Extrait de "l'Union libérale" du 20 octobre 1847 (Nevers: Regnaudin-Lefebvre, 1847).

[5] Léon Faucher, Biographie et correspondance (Paris: A. Thomas, 1884), I, p. 208, as quoted by Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1892), VII, pp. 104-105.

Gauche He had been a prominent leader of the Centre Gauche, representing Saintes in the Chamber of Deputies and serving in an earlier cabinet as Minister of Public Works. Since his integrity was notable he was often called the puritan of the Centre Gauche, a man who had refused the Legion of Honor because so many had received the ribbon who were not worthy. His ability counteracted what often appeared to his colleagues as an annoying political independence.[6]

In October Dufaure's home constituency of Saintes was preparing a banquet for which he was scheduled to be offered the presidency. He proceeded to write the following letter which publicly showed the division of the Centre Gauche and went beyond the mere aloofness of many of his colleagues. By the end of October the letter had been printed in so many newspapers that it had become common knowledge in France. Writing from Vizelle on October 11, 1847, Dufaure addressed his letter to the commissioners of the reform banquet of Saintes.

> Messieurs, I learn by your yesterday's newspaper that a committee has been formed in Saintes to organize a reform banquet, and that the presidency of this banquet is to be offered to me.
>
> I would await the invitation which you are sending to me making known your selection, but it appears to me more straight forward and more appropriate to declare myself in advance, since your newspaper has furnished me the occasion.
>
> I have often, whether at the tribune, whether before the assembly of electors who have sent me to

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[6]La Chambre des députés actuelle, daguerréotypée par un sténographe. Legislature de 1847 à 1851 (Paris: P. Lesigne, 1847), pp. 57-58.

> the Chamber, expressed myself on the necessity of modifying the electoral law of 1830; I regard a new manifestation, in the form in which you are projecting it, as superfluous as far as I am concerned, and as detrimental to the triumph of the principles which I defend.
>
> When in the month of June, the first reform banquet was prepared in Paris, we foresaw, my friends and I, that it would be of another political character than that which we would wish to give it; we refused to be present there. Events have justified our prophecy. If I receive an invitation to the banquet that you are preparing in Saintes, I will be obliged to answer as I did in Paris.[7]

Except for Duvergier de Hauranne and De Malleville there was no effective leadership for the banquets from the Centre Gauche. These men could not carry the burden alone, and their party hesitated to follow their lead.

If the brunt of the banquets was being carried by the Gauche Dynastique and the moderate republicans; and if the Centre Gauche had become more and more divided over the issue of support, what may be said of the attitude of the opposition wing of the extreme republicans dominated by Ledru-Rollin? From the very first the extremists had been critical of the banquet campaign, treating it simply as another plaything of Thiers, lacking in any sincerity in its call for reform. They believed that to make any compromise with the dynastics was to reveal a sign of their own weakness. Nevertheless in the early months the Réforme had been tolerant of the radical elements in the banquets. Recurt was a good friend of Ledru-Rollin, and he had been a leading organizer of Chateau Rouge. The Réforme had

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[7] Journal des Débats (Paris), October 27, 1847.

written enthusiastically of Le Mans and Autun when those banquets were a source of embarrassment to the party regulars.[8] Of the other banquets the extreme republicans had shown great contempt. Therefore the change in the extreme republican position at Lille made that banquet one of the most significant of the campaign.

II

It was at the Lille banquet that the radicals entered the campaign in earnest; after it the campaign was divided into two types of reform program. One was the new extreme radical banquet with the emphasis on social reform and universal suffrage in the political field. The second type was the continuation of the pre-Lille banquets. After Lille the Gauche Dynastique and moderate republicans with some support from the Centre Gauche increased their campaign. In the split the old moderate republicans of the Comité central tried to play a mediating hand, but found virtually no success; and they too became divided, most of them in the end continuing to work with the Gauche Dynastique.

The full story of Lille has yet to be written. From the first it was obvious that the city of Lille would be active in the reform campaign. A large industrial town with social problems, Lille began preparations for her

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[8] Réforme (Paris), August 16, 1847.

banquet early, and the date was set for November 7. As early as October 10 the Écho du Nord announced a large number of subscriptions; in the first eight days after public announcement there were more than four hundred applicants, and by October 21 there were seven hundred subscriptions that indicated that it would be one of the largest banquets held outside Paris.[9]

A rather large and representative committee had taken charge, dominated for the most part by moderates from the municipal council and national guard, representing the middle class and including a heavy sprinkling of entrepreneurs.[10] But the committee was infiltrated by the very active extreme republicans of Lille, such as the lawyer Fémy, the physicians Godefroy and Castelain, and the veterinary Loiset. The key man at the banquet was the secretary of the committee Testelin who, like Pagnerre at Chateau Rouge, wielded great power and who, along with Delescluze and Bianchi who were not committee members, was most responsible for the direction which the banquet eventually took.

Achille Testelin was born in Lille the sixth of January, 1814, the son of a lieutenant-colonel in the national guard. In 1837 he became a doctor of medicine. As a young man in Paris he had been involved in a shooting

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[9] National (Paris), October 10, 1847 and October 20, 1847.

[10] National (Paris), October 14, 1847.

affair in which he had been acquitted, although his friend Bianchi spent some months in jail for him because of it. Testelin was a physician in Algeria before returning to practice in Lille, where he became active in republican affairs.[11]

Alphonse Bianchi was a plasterer, a journalist, and a poet. A naturalized Frenchman, he had studied law in Paris, where he had gone to jail for his friend Testelin over the affaire des pistolets. After his prison term he returned to Lille and followed his father's trade of moulder and merchant of plaster. Meanwhile he became active in politics and wrote for the Écho du Nord.[12]

The third member of the triumvirate was Charles Delescluze, "un révolutionnaire jacobin" as a recent biographer has called him. Born in Dreux in 1809, Delescluze studied in Paris where he became imbued with social theories and ideas of democratic reform. He had participated in the Revolution of 1830, had been a member of the secret society of Droits de l'homme, fled to Belgium in 1836, returned to France in 1840, and in 1847 he was editor-in-chief of the Impartial du Nord. This was the beginning of the career that was to end in 1871 when he climbed a barricade of the Commune to be shot by the troops of Thiers.[13]

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[11] A. M. Gossez, Le Département du Nord sous la deuxième république, 1848-1852 (Lille: Gustave Leleu, 1904), p. 108.

[12] Ibid., pp. 107-108.

[13] Marcel Dessal, Charles Delescluze (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1951).

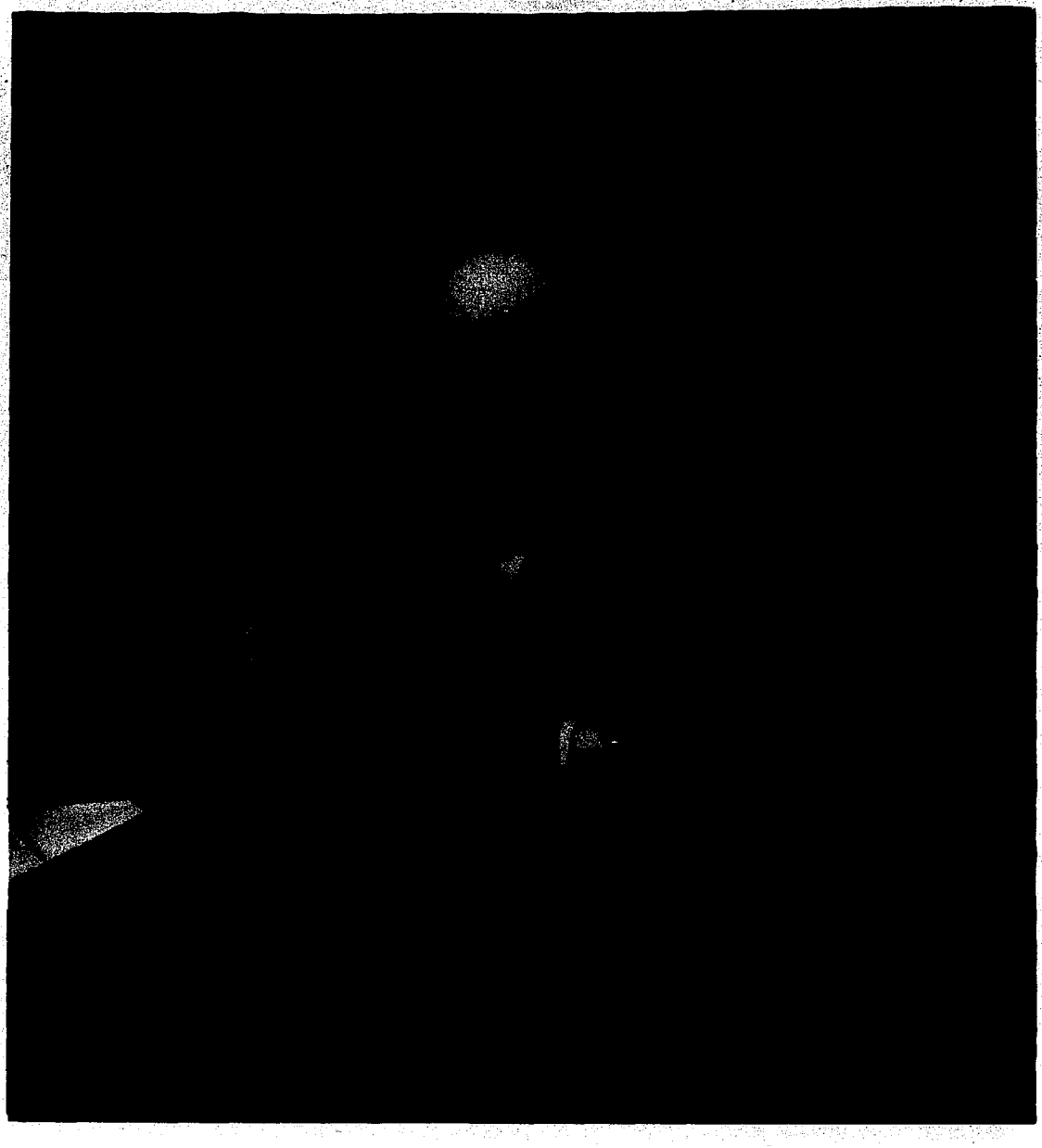
In preparing the banquet Testelin early wrote to Pagnerre for the addresses of the officers of the Paris reform committee whom he wished to invite to Lille, and also asking Pagnerre for advice on procedure, particularly on how the Paris committee determined its addresses in advance. A later letter to Pagnerre thanked the committee for bringing about the visit of Recurt and Bourdon to Lille as representatives of the Paris committee.[14]

Under the dominance of the Orleanist opposition on the committee a very long program was arranged with the principal speakers being the local opposition deputies and Odilon Barrot. But the radical elements had decided that Ledru-Rollin should be invited, and for this Delescluze was responsible. As a leading radical in the Nord, Delescluze had had previous contact with Ledru-Rollin. He wrote to the deputy as follows.

> Monsieur and friend, the town of Lille is organizing at this moment a reform banquet at which all the department will participate. Despite the little confidence which I have in electoral and parliamentary reform, I do not believe I should remain outside this manifestation, although it does not suit me to take any initiative. The principles of the comité d'organisation are other than our own: the admission of citizens not electors, the adoption of popular sovereignty and of the revolutions of 1789 and 1830, and no toast to the king. However there is no way of my refusing.
>
> In adhering to the banquet of Lille I have made known to the committee that it would be agreeable to the democrats of Valenciennes to see you invited. This request has been accepted and doubtless you have received a letter from the committee.

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[14] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. 67 AP (AB XIX 2845.2 23 and 30).



ALEXANDRE LEDRU-ROLLIN

> I am going to insist that you yourself decide on this shift of attitude; it is my opinion that it would assure our triumph in the case of the election at Valenciennes.
>
> I hope you will do me the honor of staying over two days after the banquet of Lille, and you can return to Paris on the 10th November.[15]

Ledru-Rollin accepted the invitation of the Lille committee. Why he made this abrupt change in his policy has been subject to many interpretations.[16] From the very first he and his republican clique had not only abstained from the banquets but had criticized the banquet members bitterly in their newspapers. After Chateau Rouge the banquet campaign had actually been relegated to a back page position in the Réforme; and most of the early banquets had been ignored. Until the banquet at Lille there was every reason for any Frenchman to believe that Ledru-Rollin was absolutely opposed to the campaign.

The motivation for the change of attitude by Ledru-Rollin has been the subject of much speculation. Even if the Ledru-Rollin papers are ever catalogued it is highly unlikely that any additional light will be thrown on the question of motivation in the change of policy.[17] Some historians believe that Ledru-Rollin felt he had made a

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[15] Dessal, Charles Delescluze (Paris, 1951), p. 48.

[16] Roger Lévy-Guénot, "Ledru-Rollin et la campagne des banquets," in Révolution de 1848, XVI, p. 58. Lévy-Guénot discusses the interpretations of Garnier-Pagès, Cherest, Thureau-Dangin, De Mirecourt, G. Weill.

[17] Most of the Ledru-Rollin papers are at the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris.

tactical error, and that he now realized that by remaining aloof from the movement he had been compromising his own position and influence among the radicals.[18] Whatever his reasons for action, and even if on impulse alone, he did answer in the affirmative.

The timing of his answer is not known. Huré who was active in the preparation of the banquet stated in an article in the Écho du Nord on November 19 that the arrival of Ledru-Rollin and Flocon at Lille was a last minute surprise.[19]

Indications are that the widely publicized events of the banquet planned at Cosne which did not take place had a great influence upon the decision of the radicals to participate. The banquet of Cosne revealed that the Government was beginning to take some interest in affairs. The banquet committee of Cosne had found that the only place large enough for them to have their meeting was in the ballroom belonging to the city, but the mayor, on the advice of the sub-prefect, had refused permission to use the hall. A similar request to use a public hall in Charité-sur-Loire was also rejected.[20] The Constitutionnel claimed to have a copy of the letter from the mayor of Charité to the banquet

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[18]Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1861-1872), IV, p. 127.

[19]L. Manchu, "L'Importance du banquet de Lille dans la campagne de réforme," in Revue du Nord, January-March, 1949, pp. 10-11.

[20]National (Paris), October 14, 1847.

commissioners stating "that a circular from M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur had just been communicated to him, and that, according to the terms of the circular, the reform banquets could not take place in communal buildings, or in establishments submitting to municipal surveillance. According to the same circular, one can tolerate them only in private buildings."[21] This is the only documentary evidence of the existence of the Interior circular and is far from being conclusive.

The banquet of Cosne was called off, but on October 14 there appeared in the local newspaper a letter from Ferdinand Gambon which was to be copied by a number of newspapers. Gambon was a twenty-seven year old lawyer who was juge-suppléant au tribunal de Cosne. He had written this open letter giving his opinion as to why he was not planning to participate in the banquet which would have a toast to the king. For this affront to the king by a government officer he was called before the Cour de Cassation for disciplinary action and the trial was conducted during the latter days of November. The Réforme took an unusual interest in the case, coming to the support of Gambon, and many of the parties of the opposition considered it as evidence of the tyrannical efforts of the Government to prevent the banquets. In the end Gambon was suspended

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[21] As quoted in National (Paris), October 14, 1847.

from his post as judge for five years.[22] Some believe that the exceptional concern by the extremists also influenced the Ledru-Rollin decision to appear at the banquet of Lille.[23]

The story of the few hours before the Lille banquet is complicated and the details add little. When Barrot arrived at Lille he recognized that the appearance of Ledru-Rollin and his giving a toast to the workers and the amelioration of their lot would stamp the banquet as radical. Autun had been embarrassing as it was. Thus Barrot requested that to his own toast à la réforme électorale et parlementaire be added comme moyen d'assurer la pureté et la sincérité des institutions représentatives fondées en juillet 1830. It was hoped that this addition would confirm the desires of the deputies that the banquet be labeled constitutional. After some debate, the committee and radicals remained firm and refused the change, even at the wish of the banquet president, Saint-Léger. The result was that Barrot, along with the other deputies, Gaulthier de Rumilly, Lestiboudois, Delespaul, Corne, Crémieux, and the president refused to speak. In a last minute plea Saint-Léger addressed the assembled guests on behalf of the Barrot changes, but he was hooted from the platform. According to Alton-Shée, of the 1200 present, nearly a twentieth departed.[24]

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[22] National (Paris), December 3, 1847. Compte rendu of the Cour de Cassation.

[23] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 122.

[24] Alton-Shée, Souvenirs de 1847-1848 (Paris: Dreyfus, 1879), pp. 62-63.

The banquet took place, but it was a radical banquet completely dominated by Ledru-Rollin and his allies on the committee. The departure of most of the main speakers did leave the banquet program somewhat denuded. Four speeches in all were given: the lawyer Huré toasted electoral and parliamentary reform; Delebecque, editor-in-chief of the Libéral du Nord, toasted the liberal and independent press; Ledru-Rollin toasted as scheduled the workers and the amelioration of the lot of the working classes; and finally a M. Ladereau toasted M. Dutilleul.[25] The latter republican, Jérome Dutilleul, affectionately called the "brasseur de la réforme" had turned his Brasserie du Loup on the quai de la Haute Deule over to the banquet committee, even cutting down the trees in the garden, leveling the soil, putting down flooring, and raising a tent over the area. In March, 1848, the prefect of the provisional government, Anthony-Thouret, gave official thanks on behalf of the Government to Dutilleul for this patriotic action. The garden's name was now changed to Brasserie de la Réforme.[26]

Ledru-Rollin's speech, as expected, was quite radical.

> . . . To the workers! To their indefeasible rights, to their sacred interests, up to the present unrecognized. Their rights! After two revolutions, they have conquered, and no one today can contest the principle; but they differ definitely on realization!
> . . . . . .

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[25] Jules Gouache, Lille (7 novembre); Dijon (27 novembre); Chalon (19 décembre 1847) (Paris: Bureau de la Réforme, 1848).

[26] Gossez, Le Département du Nord sous la deuxième république, 1848-1852 (Lille, 1904), p. 101.

> . . . the bourgeoisie is repeating that which the nobility and clergy did formerly against the third estate.
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> . . . . . .
>
> . . . Let us speak out sincerely, the people are worthy of representing themselves. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I say that those who pay the taxes of blood and sweat and silver have the right to participate in the government which disposes of all these riches. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Yes, gentlemen, I understand the question of reform of different degrees; the prudent opinions, the frightened ones (rires ironiques). I admit their conviction, it is not mine (très bien). . . .[27]

The speech did not remain simply a toast to the workers. It revealed the entire republican and democratic position of Ledru-Rollin. The audience, in turn, definitely supported the speaker and the radicalism expressed at the banquet.

On the evening of the banquet the deputies who had retired met at the home of Delespaul, the deputy from Lille, and wrote out a declaration which was published in the Écho du Nord at Lille, and the Siècle, Constitutionnel, and National in Paris. It explained their position.[28] On the tenth of November the Écho du Nord printed a response by Testelin to the letter of the deputies.[29]

A personal letter written by Odilon Barrot to Chambolle, editor-in-chief of the Siècle, two days after the event best tells the story from the moderate side.

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[27]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB 296. The discourse of Ledru-Rollin in the files of the ministry was taken from the Messager du Nord (Lille), November 10-11, 1847.

[28]This declaration will be found in Appendix II.

[29]This letter will be found in Appendix III.

Lille, 9 November 1847

My dear Chambolle,

There has just taken place in Lille a very grievous incident which all the ministerial newspapers and others are not hesitating to seize upon and of which it is necessary consequently that you know the truth. We, all the deputies, were bound to abstain from the banquet; and, here are the circumstances. I have never on my account made a toast to the king and to the monarchy a condition sine qua non of my support of the reform manifestations, but on the condition that nothing would draw these manifestations from the legal and constitutional character which they have had elsewhere for the very reason that to ask of the powers in the state, of which the royalty is a part, an electoral reform, is certainly to recognize that royalty, and there is some inconsistency for those who adhere by the fact and the act to which they agree, to refuse to adhere to these toasts. At Lille, when I arrived, I unfortunately found affairs so arranged that it was not possible for me, as at the other banquets, to discover the support of the Constitution in the very act of the reformist manifestation.

. . . . . .

I found upon arriving here that our friends were greatly troubled over the state of affairs, of which unfortunately they had kept me in the dark, telling me that all the reasonable and moderate part of our party had protested by its absence from the banquet against the extra-legal and unconstitutional character that some of the men of the radical party seemed to wish to give to the banquet. It was very late; however I expressed the desire to have a meeting with the commissioners. . . . Here is the proposition I gave them. The president who is a very firm patriot would carry the toast to the purity and sincerity of the representative institutions founded in July; which would naturally lead to my toast to reform as a means of assuring the sincerity of institutions. The president and the commissioners accepted this proposition which left complete liberty to opinions and which, nevertheless, stamped the manifestation with a constitutional character.

I believed everything arranged when in the morning the commissioners came to announce to us that after having consulted their friends they had decided to keep the program that they had agreed upon among themselves and consequently they would not admit the toast to the purity of institutions; there was in this inexplicable insistance a design very evidently decided to remove from this manifestation all legal character.

. . . . . .

> What should I do? I found myself pledged. The stupid intelligence of our friends who, after having let the banquet get away from them, thought they could bring it back at the last moment, the fear of having a miscarriage of a useful manifestation and the even greater fear of compromising our opinion and our flag, all that upset me. How above all I feared especially the scandal of a protest and of a conflict. . . . These men persisted, and we withdrew.[30]

Lille was a dramatic moment in the lives of Ledru-Rollin and Odilon Barrot. Ledru-Rollin was willing to swallow the rancor of previous months to assume leadership of a movement and to attempt to change its course. It helped to make him a dramatic and key figure in the Revolution of 1848. Barrot refused to compromise his belief in constitutionality, and the Revolution passed him by.

The story of Lille from a moderate republican point of view is found in a letter from Frédéric Degeorge, the republican editor of the Progrès du Pas-de-Calais in Arras, whom we last noted speaking at the banquet of Chateau Rouge. He had sat in on the conferences between Barrot, the deputies, and the commissioners. He wrote of the event to his friend Pagnerre in Paris.

> . . . This is according to me the truth.
> The toasts of the banquet had been designated. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Delescluze arrived. The two deputies from Lille [Delespaul and Lestiboudois] feared a manifestation exclusively republican and asked Barrot to find some way that the opinion of the dynastic opposition could be witnessed in the program of the toasts. They had given to Barrot the toast to electoral and parliamentary reform. He requested that the president add these six words to it: a la pureté

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[30] Auguste Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1912), Appendix: Lettres, pp. 454-455.

et sincérité des institutions fondées en juillet. M. Saint Léger accepted. Ledru declared that if they modified the original toast given to Barrot, he would not participate. Flocon sustained him in this opinion and he was supported by Delescluze and the editors of the Messager du Nord whose repeated overtures brought Ledru to Lille.

Seven-eighths of the guests at Lille belonged to the radical opinion. They decided to bring before the banquet commission the request of Barrot. The discussion was long and lively. Barrot held to the insertion of his addition to the program; he had with him all the deputies, three-quarters of the invited speakers, and I believe raison. I fought under these circumstances my political friends. I maintain that Barrot had the privilege of asking that, in a reunion to which all shades of the opposition had been called, he not support a program purely republican and that some words be included indicating that there was not yet a divorce from the monarchy and the institutions founded in July. I put myself in the place of Barrot, and said to myself that called to a manifestation purely dynastic I would retire.

They retired, indeed, that is to say not one of the deputies, five-sixths of the invited speakers and one . . . of the guests were present at the banquet.[31] Then Ledru-Rollin called forth after the retirement of Barrot was heavily applauded because he showed himself extraordinarily bold in his toast to the workers.[32]

To those acutely aware of the situation the banquet of Lille was ominous. From November 7 on there was no reason to doubt that more banquets by the radical republicans would be held. The extremists of all kinds on the left were entering into the campaign, taking in many cases the initiative, and making every use of the campaign for ends far beyond those ever conceived by the Duvergier-Pagnerre group of July. There was no brake for their radicalism and possible unconstitutionalism. Already the

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[31] The omission is caused by the illegibility of the original manuscript.

[32] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 35).

Centre Gauche had practically deserted the cause. The Gauche Dynastique and most of the opposition deputies tried to save what they could, but most of the moderate republicans like Garnier-Pagès were caught in a trap as the attitude of Degeorge represents. From early November on the banquet movement was split between the radical reform campaign led by Ledru-Rollin and the old moderate campaign with its strange hegemony of leaders, still undecided about their specific aims.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE BANQUETS IN THE DEPARTMENTS: CLOSING STAGES

I

The Ledru-Rollin forces faced two alternatives of action: either they could continue to disrupt the regular campaign committees, assuming control by diverse means as they had at Lille, or they could develop their own campaign. For the most part they chose the latter technique, and while their banquets were not numerous they were significant, noisy, and attracted attention. It was by blustering rather than by skill or numbers that the extreme republicans gained adherents.

Of the new converts perhaps the most important was Lamartine. On November 14, 1847, he published in the Bien Public his adhesion to the program of Ledru-Rollin, after weeks of fighting Pic over the radicalism of Autun. Ledru-Rollin had made advances toward Lamartine in the Lille address, and the easily flattered Lamartine responded by praising the speech of Lille; he suddenly discovered that he too shared a love of the people.

> We have given our impression of the discourse of the banquet of Autun [unfavorable]; we have read attentively the discourse of M. Ledru-Rollin, one of the most eloquent and the best thought out that has been produced. We confess frankly that we have found

> nothing there that could in advance scandalize the dynastic opposition of the friends of MM. Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers and Barrot. There is not a word against the constitutional monarchy, not a word which is not a protest against communism as it was professed at the banquet of Autun. The communism of M. Ledru-Rollin is almost our own, that is to say an intelligent love of the people, a great sympathy for the suffering of the masses, a serious feeling of the injustices of which they are the victims in legislation where they have neither voice nor representation.[1]

The Réforme reminded the poet from Mâcon that action speaks louder than words.[2] The support of Lamartine did not increase Ledru-Rollin's power; it merely added to his prestige.[3]

November was to prove the most active month of the campaign. Fourteen well-organized banquets took place from Albi in the far south to Béthune in the north. It took a week to ten days for the campaign to recover from the initial shock of Lille, but by the end of the month the old Comité central organization and the new Ledru-Rollin group were fighting hard for control of banquet opinion. Marie, who had been an active banqueter from the beginning wrote the following.

> In the month of November the banquets suddenly took on a hostile and hot-headed character that they had not had up to that time. Lille gave the signal and Dijon soon followed. It was really a new element that had just entered the scene. This element was the fraction of the radical party of which the

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[1] Bien public (Mâcon), as quoted in Réforme (Paris), November 23, 1847.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Roger Lévy-Guénot, "Ledru-Rollin et la campagne des banquets," Révolution de 1848, XVI, p. 71.

> newspaper Réforme summarizes the doctrines. At its head was M. Ledru-Rollin. M. Ledru-Rollin had for a long while attacked the banquets. In his eyes, there was no progress, no possible success for radicalism if it did not march isolated in its force. All contact between himself and the left, even more with the Centre Gauche, was a source of weakness if not a cause of death. . . . The newspaper Réforme had reversed itself in its isolation, while, thanks to the more political conduct of the National, radicalism had grown and henceforth must be counted. M. Ledru-Rollin understood, and suddenly they saw him appear at the banquet at Lille. He appeared there, yes, but with that exclusive and absolute spirit which he brought to all things and which has always made him and always will make his political life ineffectual. With him vanity stifles talent and paralyzes action. . . . The origin of the modern Montagnards dates from the banquets of Lille and Dijon. . . . From then on, more than ever, the moderate radicals were separated from the fanatic radicals.[4]

Immediately after Lille Odilon Barrot registered discouragement and fear for the banquet of Avesnes on the tenth.

> I hesitated to know if I should go to Avesnes and to Valenciennes, but you understand that I hesitate no longer and I will go to these towns in order to prove that all does not belong to the radicals and their inexplicable pretentions of stopping and compromising these useful manifestations. But I hold that henceforth in all things, the maintenance of institutions will be very explicitly expressed. You can judge, my dear friend [Chambolle], of my sorrows, prosecute me, but let us not be discouraged.[5]

Two days later he wrote, "The banquet of Avesnes was the counterpart of that of Lille; all has gone well, and on the issue of the Constitution, a manifestation has never been less firm."[6]

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[4]Aimé Cherest, La Vie et les oeuvres de A - T. Marie (Paris: Durand et Lauriel, 1923), pp. 81-83. Footnote taken from the notes of Marie.

[5]Auguste Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1912). pp. 454-455. Appendix: Lettres.

[6]Ibid., pp. 446-447.

The attitude of the Centre Gauche is best seen in a letter from Duvergier de Hauranne to Chambolle, written from Herry on November 13.

> The incident of Lille is quite regrettable because of the effect that is going to be produced. In England such a thing happened a hundred times without anyone paying attention. But in France, where political life has scarcely developed, a check is far more important than an inconvenience. Nevertheless we would be the most inconsistent of men, if we let ourselves be discouraged a single instant by the quibbling of the Débats and the frenzies of the Réforme. Odilon Barrot was admirable in making his exit, and we never owed him more support and recognition. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> It is unbelievable when they say that Barrot has been discarded when his retirement was entirely voluntary and the motive was so honorable. As far as those who pretend that the incident of Lille proves the views of M. Dufaure, I maintain quite the opposite. The violent ones will take precedence only by the abstention of the moderates. If the moderate opposition of Lille instead of limiting itself to subscribing, had taken an active part in the committee, all this would have been avoided. There is the argument to make us succeed it seems to me, and you will not fail. . . .[7]

The banquet of Avesnes was basically conservative, with such toasts as au roi constitutionnel des Français, à la souveraineté nationale, à la révolution de 1830. The banquet would have been conservative and representative of the thinking of the Gauche Dynastique without Lille; the time lapse had not been great enough to reveal any appreciable consequences.[8] The banquet of Valenciennes on the eleventh was a repetition of Avesnes. Again Odilon Barrot was the principal speaker, again the deputies of the Gauche

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[7] Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris, 1912), pp. 485-486. Appendix: Lettres.

[8] National (Paris), November 12, 1847.

Dynastique controlled the banquet, and again there were the requests for advice and support from the Comité central in Paris who sent such a reliable representative as De Beaumont.[9]

Unfortunately for the Conservatives Duvergier de Hauranne excused himself from Valenciennes because of illness, as he had at Lille. The Journal des Débats implied that as a consequence of Lille Duvergier had gone the way of Dufaure, and that the Centre Gauche was deserting the campaign.[10] That his excuse was received before Lille refutes this charge. Although the Réforme stated that no radicals were present at Valenciennes and that Barrot was alarmed because there was no toast to the king, a number of toasts were radical in implication, if not in the words of the text.[11] One to the sovereignty of the people is an example, although one to the union of industrial interests with political interests to strike at corruption seemed to counteract it.[12]

On the same day that Barrot was in Valenciennes, November 11, Garnier-Pagès spoke before a banquet of from 150 to 200 subscribers in Loudéac in the Côtes-du-Nord.

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[9]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 46). Letter from Dumont, president of the Valenciennes committee to Pagnerre, October 26, 1847.

[10]Journal des Débats (Paris), November 6, 1847.

[11]Réforme (Paris), November 13, 1847.

[12]National (Paris), November 15, 1847.

The public totaling around four hundred was later admitted.[13] It would have been more effective if an inexperienced management had not scheduled it for the same day as the fairs at Pontivy and Montcontour. The banquet, held in the hall of the college, was in the Chateau Rouge tradition, including toasts to the sovereignty of the people and the amelioration of the lot of the workers.[14]

After the banquet of Lille the moderates realized that it was necessary to tighten the forces of the original banquet supporters. By the banquet of Béthune in the Pas-de-Calais, on the fourteenth and a week after Lille, this discipline became evident, and the role of the Comité central was emphasized. Frédéric Degeorge was a leading sponsor, and on the day after Lille he wrote to Pagnerre.

> I am sending to you letters of invitation to the reform banquet at Béthune for:
> Crémieux, deputy
> Berger, deputy
> Martin de Strasbourg, former deputy
> The Comité central électoral de la Seine
> Thomas, editor of the National
> Meruau, editor-in-chief of the Constitutionnel
> Sarrans, editor-in-chief of the Semaine
> Degouve-Denucques, director of . . .[15]
> Mourin, editor-in-chief of the Commerce
> Pagnerre, editor
> I am adding two blank letters to these, one for any one of the three radical deputies, Marie, Carnot, or Garnier-Pagès, that you can bring to Béthune, another

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[13] Moniteur breton, as quoted in the National (Paris), November 6, 1847.

[14] Journal des Débats (Paris), November 7, 1847.

[15] The newspaper mentioned in the letter can not be deciphered. However, Degouve-Denuncques was editor-in-chief of the Journal de la Somme (Amiens) and director of a Parisian newsgathering agency for departmental and foreign newspapers.

> for Louis Blanc or another notability of our opinion, Michelet or David d'Angers for example, whomever you decide to have accompany you.
>
> It is necessary, my dear Pagnerre, that your zeal be doubled in this circumstance and that the banquet re-establish the union among the different shades of the opposition, a union troubled by the banquet of Lille.[16]

Of course the desires of Degeorge could not be completely fulfilled, but the evidence does show a tightening of outside control over the banquet program. The leaders became more careful of their statements, more sure of what they would be supporting even by their presence in order that they would leave no doubt as to their position. The very fact that Pagnerre came to Béthune for the banquet, even though he did not speak, letting men such as the pharmacist Labélonye represent the Comité central, is indicative of the urgency felt by the Gauche Dynastique and the moderate republicans to regain mastery of the situation.

Béthune is one of the best examples of the attempt by the leadership to give a banquet the appearance of constitutional responsibility. Safe deputies like Crémieux, Piéron, De Beaumont, Corne, Lafayette, and Barrot were present. Oscar Lafayette, deputy from the Oise, linked it with the traditions of his grandfather. He and his brother and father had been active at the banquets of Meaux, Melun, and Coulommiers where the memory of the elder Lafayette had been used to support the campaign with unashamed

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[16]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 35).

boldness. Pagnerre had David d'Angers come to Béthune, the only banquet at which the noted sculptor spoke. His toast to the complete independence of the arts was a passionate plea for the freedom of artistic expression. The banquet of Béthune displayed unity, but only the unity of the Gauche Dynastique and the moderate republicans with the gentle bourgeoisie of the Pas-de-Calais. It was the greatest of the banquets that straddled the fence, being all things to all men.[17]

The concern of the Comité central in counteracting Lille is evidenced by the fact that on the same Sunday afternoon as the banquet of Béthune only a short distance from Lille, took place that of Valence along the Rhône without effective Comité assistance. The lawyer, Boveron-Desplaces, who was vice-president, sent two desperate letters to Paris in October for a notability to preside at this banquet. The commission had originally asked Monier de la Sizeranne, but he had insisted on a toast to the king, and the republican committee would not accede to this.[18] The notability that did preside turned out to be the deputy Leo de Sieyès, a staunch but not outstanding republican. The banquet itself was republican in nature, but not revolutionary, with toasts to the people,

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[17] Banquet réformiste d'Annezin-lez-Béthune. 14 novembre 1847. Extrait du Progrès du Pas-de-Calais, 16 et 18 novembre 1847 (Arras: V. J. Degeorge, 1847).

[18] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 20).

to the sovereignty of the people, and to the organization of work.[19]

The following Sunday, the twenty-first, saw three scattered banquets, those of Albi, Compiégne, and Dijon. The banquet of Albi was actually a repetition of Lille without Ledru-Rollin. The eagerness of the republicans frightened such Barrotist deputies as Aragon and Centre Gauche men as De Malleville into declining the invitation.[20] This left the way open for the republicans, and although only one deputy, Pagès de l'Ariège, participated, the banquet was another example of what happened when local republicanism received complete freedom.[21]

Compiégne like Béthune demonstrated the effort to regain the offensive by the Gauche Dynastique working with the Comité central.[22] Crémieux, De Beaumont, Donatien Marquis, deputy from Oise, and Barrot were in command. If the toast to the amelioration of the lot of the working population was made, so was the toast to the king and to constitutional institutions. At least the moderates were not lacking in the vigor of their attack.[23]

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[19] National (Paris), November 21, 1847.

[20] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. Notes taken from the Journal du Tarn (Albi), November 27, 1847.

[21] National (Paris), November 28, 1847.

[22] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 40, 41). Letters from Barillon to Pagnerre and De Lasteyrie, November 11, 1847.

[23] National (Paris), November 25, 1847.

On the other hand the banquet at Dijon was the second of the Ledru-Rollin banquets, or *banquets montagnards* as the *Journal des Débats* insisted on calling them.[24] Immediately after the success of Lille, it was recognized that the Ledru-Rollin program should be capitalized upon and the ideas of that republican wing further explained. The follow-up banquets furthermore had to come soon because the weather was becoming inclement with the expected result of a falling off of banquet enthusiasm and attendance. A banquet was consequently organized in Dijon, and within twelve days the subscription list was filled.[25]

Dijon was far more thoroughly organized by the radicals than Lille had been. Only radicals were invited and the attendance ran between 1000 and 1300. Much of the extreme radical leadership was present, and letters of adhesion were received from Dupont (de l'Eure), François Arago, Lamennais, and General Thiard. The parade of the democratic left who spoke included Étienne Arago, Baune, Ferdinand Flocon of the *Réforme*, Louis Blanc at his first and only banquet, and, of course, Ledru-Rollin. The audience was reported to have included three to four hundred workers as well as industrialists, merchants, several priests, and three professors of law, the latter much to the chagrin of the dean of the faculty, M. Morelot.[26]

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[24] *Journal des Débats* (Paris), November 25, 1847.

[25] *Réforme* (Paris), November 24, 1847.

[26] *National* (Paris), November 25, 1847.

This banquet was quite different from the June program of seeking moderate electoral reform. Of the fourteen toasts given, seven mentioned democracy in their very title. Ledru-Rollin spoke for complete democratic reform and attacked his colleagues of the moderate campaign.

> I am right in telling you, gentlemen, that universal suffrage is a principle both holy and pacific for society.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Without doubt, gentlemen, the task that is imposed on us at this moment is grave, because the movement in which we are taking part is a movement that at no price must be compromised; and we the other democrats, let us follow the course between two rocks.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . it is the little reformists who call democracy an imperceptible fraction of the country. These men must judge neither by the heart nor by the eyes. An imperceptible fraction, the party which counts several soldiers in each family, support from the day-laborer without work, from the peasant weakened by the taxes, from the woman who prostitutes herself in order to live, from the child that cries for hunger! An imperceptible fraction which counts among its defenders all the miserable humans.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . it is necessary that this federation founded here recommence, that it have as a means the propaganda of ideas, that each of us make himself a center, that he multiply himself and soon the cry of reform will be pushed from the Vosges to the Cévennes, from the Alps to the Pyrenees.[27]

Once more France was presented with the challenge of democracy and popular sovereignty.

The banquet of Montargis on the twenty-second was sponsored by its perennial candidate for the Chamber, the fourierist Victor Considérant. After a toast au roi constitutionnel des Français Considérant went into an abstract

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[27] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Ledru-Rollin was taken from the Courrier de la Côte d'Or (Dijon), December 2, 1847.

discussion of the constitution which must have bored his audience even if they understood his flowery and mystical allusions.[28]

Along with the banquets of Paris and Rouen that of Lyon on November 25 was one of the largest of the campaign with 1600 subscribers.[29] Because of the size of Lyon and because of the traditions of the city in connection with popular movements, its success was a necessity. The banquet was therefore in the tradition of Chateau-Rouge and was presided over by Alcock, a former deputy and a president of the Cour royale at Lyon. Unfortunately national leaders were missing; Duvergier de Hauranne was still ill; and Barrot, complaining of fatigue, could not be present.[30]

The speeches were moderate with enough early affirmations of the belief in constitutionalism to keep the toast to the organization of work from appearing too radical. Doctor Lortet brought forth a new idea in his toast to the reform of public instruction.

> The French nation wishes that its government direct the education and instruction of its children, that it not offer it as if it were a rebate in the construction of a viaduct, in which the end compromises all the more the life of several men, a depraved education, antinational, compromising even the existence of the people.[31]

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[28] National (Paris), November 25, 1847.

[29] Banquet réformiste de Lyon. 23 novembre 1847. Compte rendu publié par la commission (Lyon: Au bureau du Censeur, 1847), p. 1.

[30] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[31] National (Paris), November 29, 1847.

The democrats in their criticism of the banquet of Lyon tried an entirely different approach by emphasizing that the workers could not participate. They made a great protest because it took place on a working day and because the price was five francs and thus beyond the means of the average worker.[32] In January the mayor was to refuse a permit to hold a democratic banquet, which added new material for their complaint.

> Oh! we know why they do not authorize the banquet for the workers; it is that the workers are not content to restrict themselves to the education of the cens, the adjonction des capacités, and all this poor frippery that forms the baggage of the constitutional opposition; it is that experience, study and reflection have disclosed to them the cause of the misery and oppression under which they groan.[33]

On the same day as Lyon the banquet of Epinal repeated the struggle of Lille, but this time with victory for the dynastics. The two deputies Boulay and Doublat demanded that the toasts be more definitely constitutional in tone, and they were supported in the committee by a favorable vote of nine to seven. About a hundred radicals of the four hundred guests retired to a private place and

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[32] Réforme (Paris), November 17, 1847. The newspaper quoted a letter entitled Protestation des démocrates de Lyon contre le banquet réformiste de cette ville, dated November 13, 1847, and signed Les délégués d'une assemblée démocratique.

[33] Réforme (Paris), January 14, 1847. This is also in the form of a letter signed by Les délégués d'une assemblée démocratique.

held a separate banquet at the same time as the dynastics were holding theirs.[34]

On the twenty-eighth of November took place two banquets, those of Condom and Saint Germain. Condom was unique in that of the twelve on the committee, four were Legitimists. The Legitimist Grizony, a former deputy of the Restoration, toasted the first Article of the Charter while his colleague J. de Minvielle toasted the union of all independent opinions on the national field of reform. At the same banquet the democrat Duputz drank to Pius IX and declared that, "The Lord will always be an imperishable symbol of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."[35] A toast to the laboring classes was made, while the deputy from Toulouse, Pagès, added constitutional strength. To the four hundred in attendance this banquet represented true unity, even if the Legitimists forced the Marseillaise to be abandoned.[36]

"The banquet of Saint Germain was without contradiction one of the dullest and most boring banquets which has been celebrated in France in these three months."[37] So spoke the Conservative press with a good deal of truth.

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[34]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The dossier quotes the Patriote de la Meurthe et des Vosges (Nancy), November 27, 1847.

[35]J. Dagnan, Le Gers sous la seconde république (Auch: Caharaux, 1928-1929), Introduction, p. XXIV.

[36]Ibid., p. XXIII.

[37]Journal des Débats (Paris), December 3, 1847.

The Gauche Dynastique and the Comité central traveled down the Seine on a fall afternoon to toast reform and one another in the shade of Francis I's old chateau which Louis Philippe was having restored. Barrot, Crémieux, De Lasteyrie spoke; Pagnerre was present. Alexandre Dumas was to toast the press, but he had the grippe and could only send a letter of adhesion.[38]

Thus the many banquets of November closed on a note of dullness. People were beginning to wonder just what was going to be the result of all this clatter. The fatigue of a good idea beginning to grow cold is apparent. Lille had demonstrated the lack of real unity of the opposition, and Dijon had confirmed it. After Ledru-Rollin began thrashing around with his democratic bludgeons, the Gauche Dynastique and the moderate republicans no longer generated the enthusiasm with their general program. But if Ledru-Rollin would not compromise, neither would the old Chateau Rouge faction; they tightened their discipline and fought on. After the banquets of the Nord, Barrot claimed that the difficulties produced by the banquet of Lille had been erased.[39] They still had crowds and confidence, and what more was necessary?

In only four weeks the Chamber of Deputies would meet, and by the end of December it would be decided whether

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Odilon Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris: Charpentier et Cie., 1875), I, p. 466.

the campaign had succeeded or failed. Meanwhile the weather grew worse, and the banquet guests became all the braver to tolerate the damp days of a French December.

II

The first banquet of December, on the third, was at Castres in the Tarn. Before four hundred guests, almost all electors, De Malleville presided and toasted electoral and parliamentary reform. That the second toast was to the working class shows how far left even the conservative banquets had gone.[40] The old toast to the king was becoming but a memory to the campaign.

The banquet at Chateaudun on the fifth was as cold and damp as the Sunday afternoon on which it took place.[41] It was a repetition of Saint Germain without the visible support of the Comité central which put all its effort on Amiens the same day.

> Our manifestation of Amiens has been all that the friends of true liberty could desire; respect for legality, frank and loyal protests in favor of the Constitution, and moreover an energetic protest against the deplorable administration which is ruining us, dishonoring us, and is losing us; all this was admirably met in the toasts and discourses, and this Amiens population, that has been spoken of as being so timid, so fearful, so exclusively occupied

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[40] L'Émancipation (Castres), December 10, 1847, as quoted in National (Paris), December 13, 1847.

[41] National (Paris), December 10, 1847.

> with its own interests, has offered us a true foyer of generosity and patriotism.[42]

Several hundred guests came to this moderate banquet. The opening discourse by Barrot on the constitutional character of the banquet was followed by one by the local deputy, Creton.

> I propose a toast to the King of the French! (Profond silence), to the constitutional institutions of 1830. . . . (Bravos prolongés) as the nation understands them. . . , to the national sovereignty (Triple salve d'applaudissement).[43]

The same afternoon Garnier-Pagès spoke at a respectable banquet at Montpellier.[44] Rochechouart on the sixth was of a like nature.[45] Odilon Barrot presided over five hundred persons at Arras on the seventh, even though Lantoine-Harduin, chief of the local dynastic opposition, and his friends decided not to come.[46] Nearly eight hundred came to Le Neubourg on the twelfth to pay tribute to the venerable Dupont (de l'Eure), a favorite of the reformers because of his steadfast support of liberalism in the many years of his public career. Such leaders as Picard,

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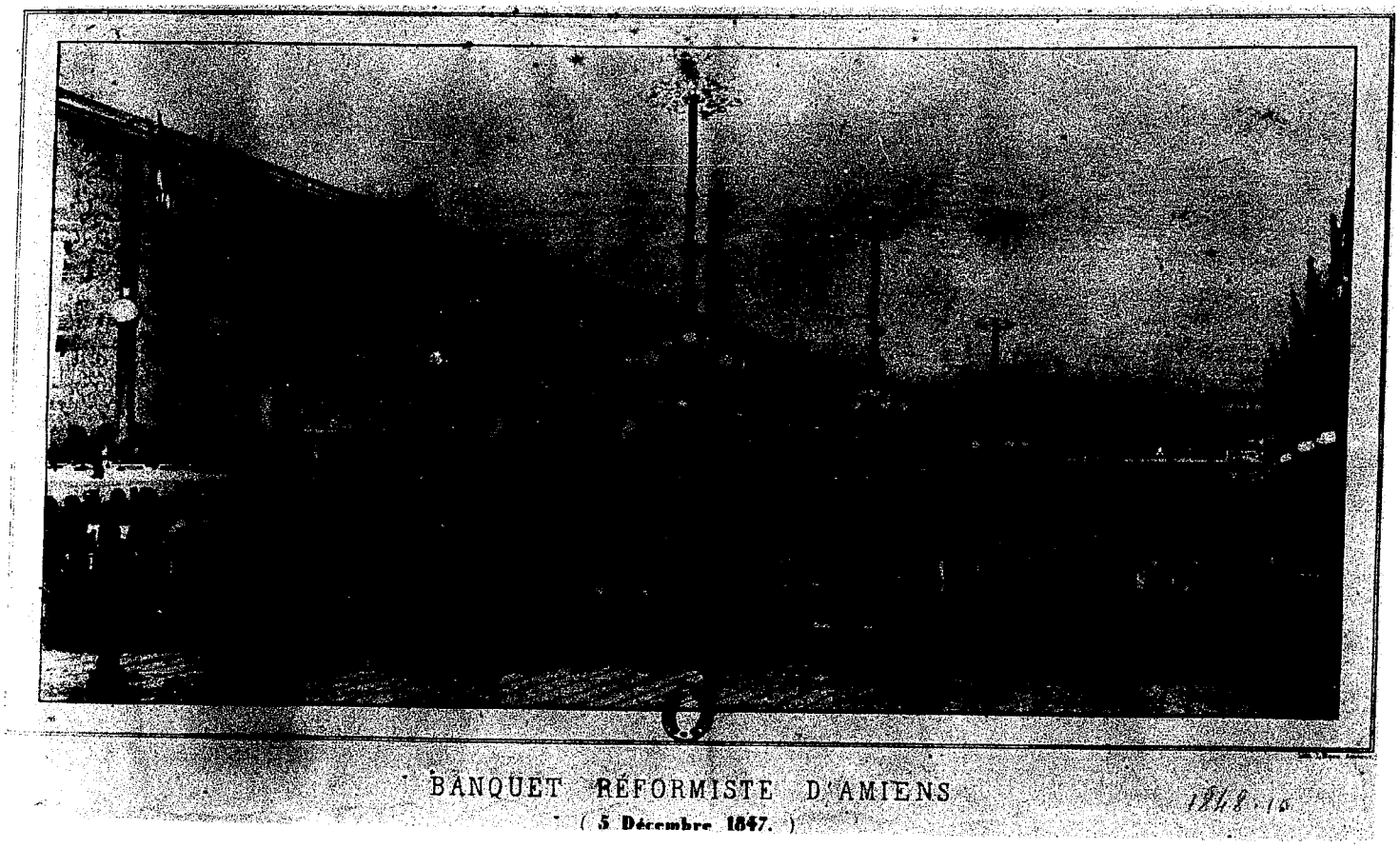
[42] Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris, 1912), p.454. Appendix: Lettres. Letter from Barrot to Chambolle, dated mistakenly November 1, 1847. In this letter Barrot speaks of having been given a banquet recently by workers at Ajaccio on the island of Corsica. This is the only reference to such a banquet, although the Corsicans tried to have a reform banquet without success.

[43] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB^{30} 296. The discourse of Creton in the files of the ministry was taken from the Journal de la Somme (Amiens), December 5, 1847.

[44] Indépendant du Midi (Montpellier), as quoted in National (Paris), December 16, 1847.

[45] National (Paris), December 10, 1847.

[46] National (Paris), November 12, 1847 and December 10, 1847.



BANQUET RÉFORMISTE D'AMIENS 1848.16

(5 Décembre 1847.)

THE BANQUET OF AMIENS

Garnier-Pagès, and Pagnerre were present to turn the thoughts of the audience to the ideals which Dupont (de l'Eure) expressed in his long and useful life in the opposition.[47]

The disapproving letter of Dufaure had been discouraging to the banquet committee of Saintes, but they had chosen December 12 as the date for their banquet and Adolphe Crémieux to replace him. Crémieux recalled the issue to his audience. "We differ with the honorable M. Dufaure on the opportunity of the reform banquets, we are of the same opinion on the necessity of reform."[48] The banquet followed the Chateau Rouge model including a toast to the amelioration of the lot of the workers and a talk on unity from Hamelin of the Comité central of Paris.[49] The banquets of December were striking very close to the middle-of-the-road policy of being non-controversial, while ignoring any toasts to the king.

Banquets in the Paris basin were always successful if for no other reason than the number of guests that usually appeared. That of Saint Denis on the fourteenth was one of those where the Comité central could stack the committee and overshadow the meeting. The banquet actually

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[47] Banquet réformiste du Neubourg (12 décembre) (Paris: Schneider, 1847).

[48] Adolphe Crémieux, En 1848. Discours et lettres de M. Ad. Crémieux, membre du gouvernement provisoire (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1883), pp. 48-51.

[49] National (Paris), December 22, 1847.

was meant for the fourteenth arrondissement of Paris, but not being able to procure a hall the committee had been offered the use of his factory building by an industrialist named Chalemel.[50]

The banquet had over a thousand participants; Montmartre sent sixty-three of its sixty-eight electors.[51] The entire troop of banquet professionals was on hand: Pagnerre, De Lasteyrie, Recurt, Bethmont, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Lherbette, Oscar Lafayette, and Odilon Barrot.[52] The poor representation of the Centre Gauche is again indicative of its distaste for the campaign.

After weeks of uneventful talk the banquets reached another exciting point with that of Chalon. It was the third and the last of the all democratic banquets in which Ledru-Rollin and his friends lashed out both at their colleagues of the moderate banquets and at the Government. Held on December 19, the banquet was presided over by the radical deputy Manthey. The size varied between the Government estimate of nine hundred and the exaggerated figure of Alton-Shée of two thousand.[53] According to the

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[50] Réforme électorale et parlementaire. Banquet de Saint-Denis, présidé par M. Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, député du XIVe arrondissement du département de la Seine (Paris: Comité des électeurs de l'opposition du XIVe arrondissement, 1847).

[51] National (Paris), December 19, 1847.

[52] Réforme électorale et parlementaire. Banquet de Saint-Denis (Paris, 1847).

[53] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. Statistique des Banquets Réformistes. Comte d'Alton-Shée, Souvenirs de 1847-1848 (Paris: M. Dreyfus, 1879), p. 78.

Procureur-Général of Dijon the subscription for the most part came from the working class.[54]

In program Chalon fell in with the other two democratic banquets of Lille and Dijon. However, at Chalon the revolution of 1789 was emphasized, particularly the period of the Convention. Besides the local democrats the guests included Baune, Joigneaux, Marc Caussidière, Ferdinand Flocon, and Ledru-Rollin. Among those who sent letters adhering to the banquet and expressing support were Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Eugène Sue, Étienne Arago, Jules Bastide, Béranger, David d'Angers, all representatives of the left wing intellectual groups in France. A number of deputations from Swiss cantons were likewise present.[55]

The speeches were most ardent. Spoke Flocon.

> Democracy with its twenty-five million proletariat which she is freeing, which she salutes with the name of citizens, brothers, equal and free!
> The bastard opposition with its monopolists and aristocrats of capital!
> They speak of reforms! They speak of the vote of the chef-lieu, of the cens at a hundred francs!
> We seek the rights of man and the citizen!
> (Applauding broke out in every direction, the bravos redoubled, enthusiasm was everywhere, and they were encompassed by the music of the immortal hymn Chant du Départ, with the acclamation of the entire assembly.[56]

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[54]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414, dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Direction des Affaires Criminelles et des Grâces to the Procureur-Général of Dijon, December 28, 1847.

[55]Alton-Shée, loc. cit.

[56]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Ledru-Rollin in the files of the ministry was taken from the Patriote de Saône-et-Loire (Chalon-sur-Saône), December 26, 1847.

Ledru-Rollin was no less flaming in his words.

> Do you believe that the Charter is susceptible of the developments sufficient for democracy? (Non! non! non!)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Are you ready for a passing fusion with him [Thiers] for the reform that M. Guizot is on the point of accepting? (Agitation) Yes, that M. Guizot is on the point of agreeing to, because he published two years ago in the journal in which he is the guiding spirit, that he would perhaps accept a reform in the adjonction des capacités. What! so much blood spilled for fifty years to end in . . . less than nothing, in a caprice of M. Guizot! (Tonnerre d'applaudissements).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Democrats of all countries let us have our congress (Applaudissements frenétiques) as the absolutists have vainly tried to have theirs! Let us understand their affairs as they meditate upon and try to understand ours! They have schemed to divide or to sell the peoples; let us tear them from their servitude. (Explosion d'applaudissements).[57]

Before the closing banquet of Rouen there were three more moderate banquets; those of Grenoble and Romans on the same day as Chalon, and Vienne on the twenty-first. Grenoble had nearly a thousand guests.

> Among them were counted twenty-five eligibles, three hundred electors, fifteen conseillers-généraux and conseillers d'arrondissement, ten mayors and twenty assistant mayors from neighboring towns, eight members of the municipal council of Grenoble and more than a hundred other municipal councilors; and as at Vienne merchants, notaries, lawyers, physicians, and a large number of officers of the national guard.[58]

Over the banquet of Grenoble hung the aura of Fourierism, particularly in the lawyer Rey, author of

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[57] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Ledru-Rollin in the files of the ministry was taken from the Patriote de Saône et Loire (Chalon-sur-Saône), December 30, 1847.

[58] National (Paris), December 29, 1847.

Théorie et pratique de la science sociale,[59] who toasted the organization of work. "Fourier from the first years of the century announced the formation of a new feudalism, that of the barons of industry. In time this realization will be complete."[60] At the same banquet Repellin urged reform of the maritime interests of France.[61] Of the other speakers, Nicolet was a compositor in a printing shop, and Thévenet a disciple of the babouvist Buonarotti.[62]

Vienne and La Tour-du-Pin united to have their banquet on the twenty-first. After many difficulties in locating a meeting place they ended in using a cloth factory. Reform, the French Revolution, the lot of the workers received the principal attention while Doctor Couturier toasted the union of the reformists and socialists.[63]

The final banquet before the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies was that of Rouen on Christmas afternoon, 1847. It in a sense terminated the active campaign, although it was not the last banquet. After Lille it had been planned to make Rouen the last grand effort of the opposition

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[59] Joseph-Auguste Rey, Théorie et pratique de la science sociale (Paris: Prudhomme, 1842).

[60] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Rey in the files of the ministry was taken from the Patriote des Alpes (Grenoble), December 25, 1847.

[61] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech by Repellin in the files of the ministry was taken from the Patriote des Alpes (Grenoble), December 21, 1847.

[62] F. Rude, "Révolution de 1848 à Grenoble," in La Révolution de 1848 dans le département de l'Isère (Grenoble: Allier, 1949), p. 94.

[63] Censeur (Lyon), as quoted in National (Paris), December 25, 1847.

banquets. In late November Duvergier de Hauranne had written of this to Chambolle.

> Thiers, whom the affair of Lille has strongly provoked, asks us to make all our efforts at Rouen such as will go well. This will be the last banquet, and we must consequently neglect nothing in order to reestablish completely our position. I am writing to Sénard about it, you must write to Marion. Nothing of M. Ledru-Rollin; that is the first condition. As for the constitutional toast, if the word King is displeasing, as I understand it to be, we must propose the formula of Barrot at Lille, against which no objection, however senseless it is, can be raised. . . .[64]

This passage is also remarkable because of the reference to Thiers. It is the only evidence that Duvergier de Hauranne was not always following an independent policy.

In numbers the banquet of Rouen was the greatest of them all, totaling around 1800 at the salle de Tivoli-Normand.[65] Fourteen hundred of these were electors. The actual committee had fifty-four members, but Sénard of Chateau Rouge presided and was the most active. He had not been well and had had to miss a number of banquets, but he was anxious for one final outstanding banquet. The idea of unity was to be stressed even if in following the Chateau Rouge course, they lost allies of the right and of the left. Victor Grandin, a deputy, for example, balked when he learned that a toast to the health of the king would not be drunk.[66]

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[64] Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris, 1912), pp. 485-486. Appendix: Lettres.

[65] National (Paris), November 20, 1847 and December 27, 1847.

[66] Charles Leroy, Lettres inédites provenant de la correspondance de Dupont (de l'Eure) et de celle de Mlle Pauline Dupont, sa fille (Rouen, 1932), pp. 25-30. Letter of Sénard inviting Dupont (de l'Eure) to the banquet of Rouen.

The program of the banquet was quite close to that of Paris. Many of the old hands were present: Sénard, Desjobert, Duvergier de Hauranne, Drouyn de l'Huys, Levavasseur, Crémieux, Gustave de Beaumont, Foy from the Comité central in Paris, and, of course, Odilon Barrot.[67]

The speeches were not unusual, and in ideas were in keeping with the many months of banqueteering. Perhaps at the last of the banquets before the Chamber met it was appropriate to let Duvergier de Hauranne speak again of the purpose of the campaign.

> . . . Electoral and parliamentary reform . . . is not an end; it is a means. It is the means of giving to representative institutions the truth, the purity that they have lost; it is a way of preventing the administrative and elective principle from perverting itself, from becoming reciprocally exasperating; it is the means, in a word, for the deputies to be elected because of the opinions they hold, not for the services which they render (approbation unanime); of obtaining a majority which represents the general interests, the national interests, in place of representing local and personal interests.[68]

But over all the campaign hung the intoxication of the nineteenth century inheritance from the Enlightenment. Crémieux, that Christmas day, recited a poem by Béranger, breathing of the hope and optimism of 1789 and of 1847.

> J'ai vu la paix descendre sur la terre
> Semant de l'or, des fleurs et des épis,
> L'air était calme, et du dieu de la guerre
> Elle étouffait les foudres assoupis

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[67] National (Paris), December 28, 1847.

[68] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 296. The speech of Duvergier de Hauranne in the files of the ministry was taken from the Journal de Rouen, December 26, 1847.

Oh! disait-elle, égaux par la vaillance
Français, Anglais, Belge, Russe, Germain
Peuples, formez une sainte alliance
Et donnez-vous le main.[69]

[69] National (Paris), December 28, 1847.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GOVERNMENT REACTION

The banquet campaign was not completely over, but since its stated purpose was to influence the opinion of the Chamber of Deputies on reform, it is well to see how the Government responded to the campaign. It is thus appropriate to trace the position of the Guizot government in the autumn of 1847 before turning to the reaction of the Chamber itself. Chambolle of the Siècle writing in 1871 said:

> What was the duty of the government? It was evidently to give a prompt satisfaction to constitutional opinion; or to disinterest the sincere partisans of reform in the announced struggle and by that means disarm the revolutionary faction by letting it be reduced in its isolation.[1]

The Government did neither. On September 27, 1830, Guizot had spoken before the Chamber of Deputies:

> The citizens have a right to unite to discuss among themselves the public affairs; it is good that they do so, and never will I contest this right; never will I try to subdue the generous sentiments which pushes citizens to meet together, to discuss among themselves their common opinions.[2]

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[1] Auguste Chambolle, Retours sur la vie (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1912), pp. 217-218.

[2] M. D. R., Campagne réformiste de 1847 (Paris: Paulin, 1848), p. 127. Note C.

Up until the winter of 1847-1848, Guizot abided officially by these opinions. The banquets were apparently discussed by the members of the cabinet early in the campaign, weighing the question as to whether, out of fear of disorder, they should be prohibited. It was agreed by the ministers that it would be best to delay any such action until the state of affairs made government action and intervention urgent.[3]

It is obvious that from the first the Government did not expect the banquets to be successful, and that its primary concern was the maintenance of order. Believing the opposition more unified on its program than it was, the Government tended to lump all the banquets in the same category, so that from their point of view Le Mans and Reims were equally radical.

The fundamental historical problem is whether early in the summer there was an order sent from Paris, perhaps from the Minister of Interior Duchâtel, requesting the local authorities to use obstructionist means to prevent the banquets. No such order has ever been found, but the opposition always insisted upon its existence. The best basis for their claim is that the local officials did do what they could to obstruct the banquets. Unquestionably if these tactics had not been used there would have been many more meetings than there were.

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[3]François P. G. Guizot, The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London: Bentley, 1867), pp. 486-487.

Before late December there is little evidence of Government concern about them on the cabinet level. The ministry was less aware of the unhealthy state of the nation in late 1847 than were the people, particularly the bourgeoisie. On September 3, Marshal Bugeaud wrote:

> The ministry appears to wish to brave another session; that is courage! Because the situation is bad; public spirit is perverted each day by diatribes of the press, which is supported by the unhappy facts distorted by public spirit.[4]

In September, 1847, De Broglie wrote that Louis Philippe, Guizot, and Duchâtel seemed as confident as ever.[5] The main political event of the fall was the retirement of Soult on September 19 and the appointment of Guizot as President of the Council.

Louis Philippe himself seemed quite unaware of the banquet events of the fall. Tocqueville stated that the king at this time resembled a man who refused to believe that his house was on fire because he had the key in his pocket.[6] He continually felt he had the support of the majority of the Chamber and most of the country. There is no evidence to disprove this belief. The king was not entirely well in the fall, bothered by colds and other minor illnesses. In August on his departure for Eu he had

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[4]Henri d'Ideville, Le maréchal Bugeaud (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881-1882), III, p. 201, as quoted in Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1904), VII, p. 98.

[5]Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1904), VII, p. 98.

[6]Alexis de Tocqueville, Souvenirs de Alexis de Tocqueville (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1893), p. 31.

to support himself with a cane in going from his carriage to the train.[7]

Louis Philippe's correspondence indicates no consciousness of the importance of the growth of the banquet campaign.[8] He speaks of the warmth of the receptions given him by the people, although actually he was merely fooling himself. This is not to say that he was completely disinterested in internal events. He regretted the rise of the price of bread by one centime, and he was pleased with the improved potato harvest.[9] Five days after the banquet of Le Mans he wrote to Duchâtel, ". . . It seems to me essential to put an end to these meetings and especially to seditious cries. . . ."[10] He may, however, have been referring to the usual illegal conspiracy meetings rather than to the reform banquets.

The king was more deeply affected by the wave of scandals that broke out in the spring and summer of 1847. The trial of Teste has been mentioned in connection with the banquet in Paris. Teste had been a former Minister of Public Works and in 1847 was president of the Cour de cassation. It was discovered that during his ministry he

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[7] National (Paris), August 10, 1847.

[8] The Comte de Paris is in the process of collecting the papers of the family of Orléans at Dreux. When this has been finished our knowledge of Louis Philippe and the later years of the monarchy should be increased.

[9] Archives Nationales. Letters of Louis Philippe to Duchâtel. 2 AP Carton 7. Letter of August 14, 1847.

[10] Loc. cit. Letter of August 15, 1848.

had received 100,000 francs for favors to the Gounehans mining company. In the end he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and fined 94,000 francs.[11]

Other scandals had broken out in 1847. The director of the Manutention générale had speculated in grain with state funds and had died leaving a deficit of 14,000 quintaux of grain. Construction workers of the Ministry of Marine were discovered to have pilfered government supplies.[12] On August 18, 1847, the Duchesse de Choiseul-Praslin was murdered by her husband who in turn committed suicide in jail. Since he was a peer and she the daughter of a former minister, ambassador, and general Marshal Sebastiani, this scandal brought discredit to the Orleanist aristocracy.[13] Count Bresson slit his throat in Naples where he had just been made ambassador, and in the autumn the Prince d'Eckmühl went mad and tried to kill his mistress. These scandals coming as they did at the height of the banquet campaign hurt the Government prestige. After the Praslin case Louis Philippe is reported to have stated, "What a muddle, a machine which is always going wrong!"[14]

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[11] Pierre de la Gorce, Louis Philippe (Paris: Plon, 1931), pp. 378-379.

[12] Eugène Fournière, Le règne de Louis Philippe (Paris: Jules Rouff et Cie., 1906), p. 545.

[13] This case was made popular by the American novel, All This and Heaven Too, by Rachel Field.

[14] J. Lucas-Dubreton, The Restoration and the July Monarchy, trans. E. F. Buckley (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), p. 349.

Guizot too showed little official concern for the reform banquets. He was interested in really radical banquets, particularly those organized in France for Polish freedom; and was much alarmed by a gathering on November 29 at which Bakounin denounced the Czar. He saw in these manifestations for Poland a threat to the position of France in Europe.[15]

Duchâtel at the Ministry of Interior was bothered by occasional attacks of malaria in 1847.[16] There are also reports of difficulties within the cabinet, and that the Minister of Interior was jealous of Guizot, particularly after the latter was appointed President of the Council.[17] There is nothing in their official correspondence, however, that would indicate this tension.[18] Duchâtel seemed also to be indifferent to the events of the banquets. Writing to Dupin on the fifteenth of August, very early in the campaign, he said, "There is nothing new; it is a time when all are sleeping."[19] As for the Minister of Justice, Hébert, he was new to his position and a nonentity.

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[15] Archives Nationales. Letters of Guizot to Duchâtel. 2 AP Carton 8. Letter of December 4, 1847.

[16] Archives Nationales. Letters of Louis Philippe to Duchâtel. 2 AP Carton 7.

[17] Élias Regnault, Histoire du gouvernement provisoire (Paris: V. Lecou, 1850), p. 28.

[18] Archives Nationales. Letters of Guizot to Duchâtel. 2 AP Carton 8.

[19] Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1904), VII, pp. 89-90.

Below the cabinet level there was an official consciousness of the banquet campaign. This was centered, for the most part, in the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons in the Ministry of Justice. It was expected of the twenty-seven Procureurs-Généraux in the metropole that they would report to this office any cases of public disorder or threats to the state. In the summer and fall of 1847 this was done quite regularly.[20] The other method of keeping Paris informed officially was in the reports of the prefects to the Minister of Interior. These dealt with more general conditions and are very rare. The prefects under the July Monarchy were either lax about sending in reports or the ministry did not satisfactorily keep them in their archives.

Sometimes these reports were shown to the ministers or to other departments which might be interested, but generally it was the officers of the lower echelons of the Ministry of Justice that took official notice of the banquets. In these reports there is no evidence of official sanction of activities by the local authorities which were obstructionist.

There are only two instances of an active counter-attack by the Conservative party to the banquet campaign. They relied entirely upon the weight of their numbers and

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[20]These reports were not sent by the Ministry of Justice to the Archives Nationales with their other papers, but copies to the answers to these reports have been preserved.

the editorials of their press to fight the campaign. They made no organized attempt to refute the challenge of the banqueters or any effort to listen to their position. The two Conservative banquets were those of Mirande for Lacave-Laplagne and Biarritz for Chégaray, the Conservative deputy from Bayonne. The banquets centered in the toast to the king and registered approval of the Guizot administration. The National welcomed this Conservative action as something quite healthy. Excepting the Ledru-Rollin wing the reformists were willing to discuss the issues quite openly with the Conservatives, convinced as they were of the reasonableness of their argument. The Conservatives never recognized their opponents by giving them such an opportunity.[21]

The local authorities did at times try to prevent a banquet. It has been noted how the prefect of police in Paris made trouble over Chateau Rouge, but because of the destruction of the records of the Prefecture of Police of Paris in 1871, this particular event cannot be approached from the Government side. The primary method used by local authorities was to forbid the use of community buildings for holding banquets. This was particularly vexatious because in most of the smaller French towns there were no other buildings large enough to house a banquet. All went well with the banqueters when the mayor was favorable to

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[21] National (Paris), October 16, 1847.

reform, as at Loudéac. This problem of location made the usual private meeting places for banquets those of warehouses, markets (Les Halles), factories, dance-halls, and outdoor gardens.

The committee of Béthune was denied the use of a public building by the mayors of St. Pol, Aire, Arras, and Béthune.[22] Again the mayor of Arras refused the local committee of that city a public establishment.[23] In August the mayor of Semur refused to permit the electors of the opposition to hold a banquet.[24] Shortly after Chateau Rouge and upon the return of the deputy D'Aragon to Albi the mayor Gonne, on the advice of the prefect of the Tarn, Pardeilhan, forbade the erection of a pavilion in front of the deputy's door, where a welcoming demonstration was to take place. Wrote the prefect, "Public demonstrations in favor of men having a political role have almost always the inconvenience and mistake of exciting spirits and passions."[25] In Dijon the ministerial newspaper warned the subscribers to the banquet that they would have their names placed on the police rolls, and the prefect forbade the presentation of the patriotic opera, la Muette, on the evening of the banquet.[26]

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[22]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 7). Letter from Frédéric Degeorge to Pagnerre, September 3, 1847.

[23]National (Paris), November 23, 1847.

[24]National (Paris), August 3, 1847.

[25]Siècle (Paris), July 28, 1847.

[26]Jules Gouache, Lille (7 novembre); Dijon (27 novembre); Chalon (19 décembre 1847) (Paris: Bureau de la Réforme, 1848), p. 23.

The height of ridiculousness came in Vienne when the committee rented the second floor of a building, the remainder of which was occupied by a squadron of hussars. A common hallway was used, but the sub-prefect forbade the use of it on the banquet day for military reasons. It was then decided by the committee to enter the hall by means of a temporary bridge built over to the balcony of the house next door which would permit guests to enter the banquet hall through a window.[27] At the last moment the committee was denied the use of the room entirely on the pretext that the floor could not support the weight, and the committee had to find another location. This episode really backfired as the mayor of Vienne wrote on the day of the banquet.

> I have all the information possible and from the best sources I have received word that not only the members of the banquet but also the population of our city are animated with the best spirit and that public tranquility runs no danger . . . the decree made by the sub-prefect is the only act which has upset the population and which has compromised the public peace. . . .[28]

The main efforts to obstruct the banquets were by local officials. Very rarely was there an effort to hinder their taking place that was not caused by these men. Such an exception, however, was in Colmar. On the night of August 6, a seditious placard was placed on the door of the

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[27] National (Paris), December 25, 1847.

[28] Correspondance municipale. Vienne, December 19, 1847, as quoted in Jean LaCroix, Vienne sous la Deuxième République (Vienne, 1949), pp. 18-19.

Protestant temple, signed a member of the reformist banquet. The banqueters claimed this was an effort by the adherents of the Government to dissuade the more timid from appearing at the banquet.[29]

A second method which was used by the Government before the meeting of the Chamber was to harass the banquets by bringing editors of the radical newspapers to trial for seditious statements. The case of the National will serve as an example. An editor of the National, Delaroche, defended by Marie, was brought to trial before the Cour d'Assizes of the Seine in early December. The paper was accused of attacking royal irresponsibility, of holding the person of the king responsible for the acts of his government, of adhering to another form of government, and of offending the person of the king. The principal evidence against the newspaper was a number of editorials supporting the banquet program. An example of an offense to the person of the king that was brought before the court was the article on the banquet of Orléans published on November 1.

> Each day brings us a new account of these happy banquets in which public spirit is reinvigorated and forces prepared for the next struggle. The electoral monopoly, energetically attacked in all parts will succumb . . . under the incessant blows that the united opposition should render irresistible. Yesterday it was Meaux; today it is the turn of Orléans. Orléans, patriotic and courageous city, which has never ceased to protest by its acts and its words, against the sad chance which gave its name to the reigning family.[30]

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[29] Courrier d'Alsace (Colmar), as quoted in Siècle (Paris), August 16, 1847.

[30] National (Paris), December 5, 1847.

The court condemned Delaroche to imprisonment for a year, fined him eight thousand francs, and ordered the destruction of the seized issues.[31] It was hoped that the opposition press might be intimidated by such acts to underplay the banquets. It was one legal method of tackling the problem without forbidding the banquets. Actually little was accomplished, although the method was used more and more frequently.

However not always was the Government willing to attack the editors. Dijon is an example. The Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons wrote to the Procureur-Général of Dijon on December 13.

> I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the second of this month on the subject of the discourses given at the reformist banquet of Dijon and published successively in the Réforme and the Courrier de la Côte d'Or. However reprehensible these discourses may be, I am in agreement with you that it is not necessary to pursue the editor of the Courrier de la Côte d'Or who has reproduced them from the Réforme. In this particular case the pursuit lacks opportunity. But I believe that you are going too far in the opinion that the best manner of using the press is almost always to leave it alone. Such tolerance in principle would often have inconvenience and danger.[32]

A third method used by the Government to hinder the success of the banquets was to reproach government officials who participated in the banquets. The case of Gambon at Cosne has been noted. Another provocative instance was the case of M. Berard.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414 dossier 7050a9.

Berard was a former deputy and dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Montpellier. While he did not attend the reform banquet, he did declare publicly his views in favor of reform. By so doing he upset the prefect of Hérault, Mallac, the rector of the university, and the Minister of Public Instruction, Salvandy. The result was his dismissal with this note from the rector.

Monsieur le professeur,

> The Minister of Public Instruction charges me to announce to you that he believes it appropriate to replace you in the deanship of the Faculty of Medicine. He wants me to make known to you that your administrative position is incompatible with the public letter by which you addressed to all the branches of the administration the false and odious accusation of corruption. . . .[33]

Naturally Berard received the complete support of the student body in various manifestations, while his successor, Ribes, was subject to many personal affronts by the faculty and student body of the University.[34]

By October the Government was annoyed by the number of magistrates taking part in the campaign. Examples were Paillet and Marchant at Orléans.[35] Perrot, juge-suppléant at the Tribunal et Sancerre, was present at Charité, and the Office of Criminal Affairs wrote afterwards to the

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[33] National (Paris), January 1, 1848.

[34] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1458 dossier 5005. National (Paris), January 2, 3, 4, 6, 1848.

[35] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414 dossier 7059a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Orléans, October 1, 1847.

Procureur-Général at Bourges, "I beseech you to continue to keep me informed of the political demonstrations which take place in your jurisdiction and especially those at which magistrates and fonctionnaires participate."[36] The same word was sent out regarding the banquets of Avesnes and Vienne.[37] The possibility of removing Alcock from the presidency of the Cour royale at Lyon after he presided at that banquet was seriously considered.[38] The Government believed that the defection of these public officers was inexcusable.

An example of the concern of the Government over the banquets is the strange dossier of the Archives Nationales numbered BB[30] 296. The carton contains a collection of documents on the banquets, largely copies of discourses, taken either from comptes rendus or from newspaper accounts. The speeches were all copied in the same hand and the collected excerpts are taken from the most radical parts of the discourses. This carton was in the hands of the Ministry of Justice and a reading of it would give beyond any doubt sufficient evidence that the banquets were

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[36]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414 dossier 7059a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Bourges, October 29, 1847.

[37]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414 dossier 7050a9. Letters from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Douai, October 9, 1847, and Procureur-Général of Grenoble, January 10, 1848.

[38]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414 dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Lyon, November 22,1847.

revolutionary. This carton was probably kept by the Ministry of Justice for possible future use to prove that the banquets were seditious. An official list of statistics was included, giving for each banquet the cities, dates, number of participants, number of deputies present, and whether a toast to the king or institutions of July was made. The list did not include any banquet after that of the one for Poland given in Metz on December 29, and it lacked all reference to the banquets of Limoges and Toulouse.

Thus there is every indication that the Police Divisions were very much interested in the banquets. They were watched and any disturbing elements reported to Paris. Particularly noted were the newspapers, the activities of their editors, and the government officials participating in the banquets. Beyond this quiet consciousness of the banquets and the harassing of some newspapers and public officials, the Government took no official stand until the speech of Louis Philippe from the throne on December 28. Unofficially the newspapers representing the opinion of the Government were violent in their opposition to the campaign. The local officials tried to obstruct the banquets, but there is nothing but unfounded assertion and rumor by the opposition to indicate official sanction from Paris for this activity.

II

Before the December meeting of the Chamber of Deputies there had been several changes in the composition of that body. In the by-elections in the autumn the ministry had met with defeat in Florac, Toulouse, and Dieppe. Dumas, an aide-de-camp of the king from Rochefort, was defeated. Another indication of Government misfortune was the election of the mayor in Paris, where all the candidates were members of the opposition, a situation previously unheard of.[39]

On December 28, 1847, the Chamber of Deputies met for its new session. Now it would be seen whether the banquets had been a success or failure. Did the king and his ministry now realize that France had arisen to demand reform? The banqueters were faced with disappointment. First the king discussed generally the events of the past year, particularly the effect of the revolt of the Swiss cantons. Then he came to the banquets.

> In the middle of the agitation which is fomenting blind and hostile passions (passions ennemies ou aveugles), a thought came to me and sustained me, it is that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the great powers of the State, the means the most assured of satisfying all the moral and material interests of our beloved country. Let us maintain firmly, according to the Charter, the social order and all its conditions. Let us hold intact for the generations that will come after us the deposit

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[39]Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 126-127.

> which has been confided to us, and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice in the shade of which they will live happy and free.[40]

The opposition held its breath. It was to this that their banquets had come. To be spoken of as arousing enemy passions against the well-being of the France they were trying to save. The opposition was reaching the end of its patience, and thoughts began to turn to the days of Charles X.

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[40]August Lepage, Les Discours du trône depuis 1814 jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Librarie des Auteurs, 1867), pp. 81-83.

CHAPTER NINE

WINTER, 1848

I

Odilon Barrot recalled the immediate reaction to the speech from the throne.

> When the king descended from his throne and passed in front of us, saluting, according to his custom, a glacial silence replaced the accustomed acclamations: he had for eighteen years dug the chasm which separated us; but this time, he had rendered it impassable.[1]

All the deputies of the opposition, the Legitimists, the Centre Gauche, the Gauche Dynastique, the republicans, met under the presidency of Barrot after the speech to determine their next action. Some of the opposition felt that they should all resign immediately, but most of them believed that doing so would be to abandon their political position. Instead they decided to challenge the Government in the debate on the speech from the throne. Since the speech was not on the immediate order of the day, the actual Chamber debate was delayed for over a month. While the parliamentary opposition was practicing patience, other significant events were occurring.[2]

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[1] Odilon Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris: Charpentier et Cie., 1875), I, p. 469.

[2] Loc. cit.

January saw the preparations being made for the banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement, and the addition to the roster of a few more straggling banquets. On December 31 came the unexpected death of Madame Adelaide, the sister and most trusted and valuable political adviser of Louis Philippe. Their devotion to one another throughout the years had been remarkable; her firm character and political acumen had been the support that the king had not found in his queen, Marie-Amélie. Thus Louis Philippe lost his chief adviser at the very time when she was needed most.

Another event of the month of January which took up most of the time of the Chamber of Deputies was the Petit case. It concerned a former receiver of taxes at Corbeil, who had bought his position through connections within the very office of Guizot himself. This scandal only added to the wave of growing discontent with the political administration.

A preview of the big debate in the Chamber of Deputies came in the discussion of the address in the Chamber of Peers in late January. There were a few peers who were reform minded, and one of them, Mesnard, voiced his position.

> The state of spirits is far from being as calm, as reassuring as it was in preceding sessions. The last session was filled with promises and hopes; it was sterile, faithless to all its promises. The minister said that the question of reform was only a theme of the opposition; I believe it can be

> affirmed that he was mistaken; it is the faithful expression of the views and needs which strongly preoccupies this country and which has an echo in the thought of the most sincere friends of government.[3]

With a vote of 144 to 13 the Chamber of Peers accepted the address.[4]

In the Chamber of Deputies the debate on the address began on February 7, and it was over by February 12. To give the list of speakers is to call again the roster of the men of the banquets. These men now gave to history their final thought before the collapse of the monarchy which most of them really wanted and tried to save. But their emotions had also been aroused, so that in many cases their reason had been left behind.

First to speak on the general issue was De Berville of Pontoise, followed by Théodore Ducos, whose native Gironde was too conservative for a banquet, but whose steadfast support of reform had continued from his bill for electoral reform in 1842 through the days of Chateau Rouge. Tocqueville, aloof from the banquets but not from reform, was followed by Billault of like mind; De Malleville of Chateau Rouge and Rouen; Dufaure, the reformer afraid of banquets; Lamartine, the individualist. Guizot answered for the Government, but opponents like Thiers and Lherbette were formidable.

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[3]Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris, 1875), I, p. 475.

[4]Ibid., p. 476.

From the general discussion the debate turned to the phrase passions ennemies et aveugles. Duvergier de Hauranne began with a sensational speech.

> I declare it boldly. I am completely ready to associate myself with those who, by a brilliant act of legal resistance, wish to test up to what point, fifty-eight years after our great revolution, the most essential rights of the citizen can be confiscated by a decree of the police. . . .[5]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> You accuse us of being moved by hateful and blinded passion; we accuse you of basing all hope of your domination on low and grasping passion.[6]

Marie and Crémieux spoke, and De Malleville lashed out at Duchâtel. "You complain of attacks on your policy in the banquets. Is it not true that every day in your newspaper you have tried to crush the Opposition with the most violent injuries?"[7]

Duchâtel responded, "I do not hesitate to say that, if they believe that the government, doing its duty, will yield before any manifestations whatever they are mistaken. No! it will not yield!"

The left cried out, "You use unhappy words, you are using the expressions of Charles X."

Answered Barrot more mildly, "It is a way of consulting the opinion of France; this method you reject.

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[5]Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris, 1875), I, pp. 482-484.

[6]Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Pagnerre, 1861-1872), IV, p. 170.

[7]Op. cit., p. 170.

Very well, in your way you shall meet attacks (coups d'etat) and violence; we will not be responsible for it."[8]

Hébert, Minister of Justice, further antagonized the opposition by defending the thesis that all that is not expressly permitted is forbidden.

Ledru-Rollin with a surprisingly mild discourse defended the action of the opposition. "If it happens that the obstinacy of the government in forbidding political reunions results in the spilling of blood, the responsibility will be such that they must be regarded as taking their part of it."

Hébert came back to continue his thesis and to receive the shouts from the left bench, "But Polignac and Peyronnet never spoke thus!"[9]

That evening, February 9, Duchâtel wrote to Guizot.

> The effect of the session has not been very favorable. Hébert has been too absolute in the end. This was the opinion of all those whom I have seen since the session. The Chamber must be calmed. We are headed for a struggle, for which I have taken all measures.[10]

The debate went on for five days with speeches from Barrot and Thiers for the Opposition and Dumon, Duchâtel, and Guizot for the Government. A series of amendments by Émile de Girardin, Lherbette, De Genoude were rejected. Darblay of the center suggested the following amendment:

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[8] Op. cit., p. 171.

[9] Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris, 1875), I, p. 492.

[10] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 173.

> If the agitations which have taken place since the separation of the Chambers have produced in several places some manifestations hostile to our institutions and our social laws, they have also proved that the immense majority of the country, even in dissident opinions, is inviolably attached to them.

The amendment was acceptable to neither side. Then Desmousseaux de Givré proposed the amendment which would remove the words passions ennemies ou aveugles from the address. For the amendment spoke Lamartine, Rémusat, Dufaure; against the amendment De Morny, Vitet, Duchâtel. The amendment was voted down 228 against 185. Only the change of twenty-two votes would have overthrown the Government. Guizot now faced growing difficulties even within his own party.[11]

There was nothing left but to vote to accept the paragraph, 223 to 18 with the left abstaining. Then Sallandrouze, a wealthy industrialist, proposed to add after the controversial phrase this paragraph.

> In the midst of diverse manifestations, your government will recognize the real and legitimate views of the country; it will take, we hope, the initiative in wise and moderate reforms which public opinion demands, among which it is necessary to place first parliamentary reform. In a constitutional monarchy, the union of great powers of the State permits it to follow without danger a policy of progress and of satisfying all the moral and material interests of the country.[12]

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[11] Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1892), VII, p. 387.

[12] Barrot, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris, 1875), I, p. 500.

Most of the debate was carried on among the Conservatives. Guizot spoke for the ministry.

> After what has lately happened in the country in the presence of what has happened in Europe, all innovations of the kind which you suggest and which will necessarily result in dissolution would be, in our opinion, within a weakness and without an imprudence. . . . A sensitive government can and ought sometimes to make reforms, it does not proclaim them in advance; when it believes the moment has come, it acts; until then it remains silent. . . the ministry is not unaware of the state of spirits neither of the country, nor of the Chamber; it does not mistake them and it takes them into account. It recognizes that these questions should be examined in the course of this legislature. . . . The maintenance of the unity of the Conservative Party, the maintenance of the conservative policy and its force, that is the fixed idea and the rule of conduct of the cabinet. . . .[13]

The amendment of Sallandrouze was defeated 222 to 189. On February 12, the battle was over, and the address was adopted 241 to 3 with the opposition abstaining.

II

A number of opposition banquets had taken place during the months of January and early February, for the most part the dregs of the campaign, yet not without their importance. On January 2 the little town of Beaurepaire in the Isère department with a population of 2,326 had a reform banquet, at which some 220 appeared.[14] The most

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[13] Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris, 1892), VII, p. 389.

[14] F. Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne en 1848," in Révolution de 1848 dans le Département de l'Isère (Grenoble: Allier, 1949), pp. 252-253.

outstanding banquet after Rouen, however, was the radical meeting of Limoges on January 2, the strangest and the most radical of all. The banquet was revolutionary and communistic, and the Government was keenly aware of this.

It is important to note that the banquet of Limoges was not a banquet supported by the Gauche Dynastique-Comité central, nor was it connected with the Ledru-Rollin banquets. Dominated by the utopian Théodore Bac the banquet professed to unite all loving "truth, justice, and humanity," and it never did come out of the idealistic clouds upon which it was floating. But the significance of the banquet of Limoges has not yet been recognized by historians. In the eyes of the Government and according to pre-banquet information which it had, the banquet was designed by Théodore Bac and Pierre Leroux for the purpose of stirring up the workers of Limoges. It was to be a demonstration hostile to the French government. Although the banquet was purely local, it operated under the guise of being part of the national banquet campaign. In observing the preparations, it would have been difficult for the Government to have believed the contrary.

On December 19, 1847, the Procureur-Général of Limoges sent word to the Ministry of Justice that Théodore Bac was to be the head of the banquet, ". . . that appears to have for its object the agitation of the working class, and that M. Pierre Leroux, editor of a review printed in Bussac was to be called to preside." This information

was relayed to the Minister of Interior between the nineteenth and the twenty-eighth of December. The speech from the throne was made on December 28.[15]

If the banquet campaign in late December is viewed through the eyes of the ministry, there would be every indication that the banquet campaign had not only become more radical with Lille, Dijon, and Chalon, but there would be every reason to assume that the banquets, because of the tolerance of the government, were becoming more and more radical. That the Government understood that the Limoges banquet was being led by dangerous socialists aiming to stir up the workers is evidence of this. The purpose of this banquet was recognized by the pertinent ministers in the last days of Decembber. The only solution open to the ministry was to stop the banquet campaign to prevent overt revolutionary activity. The danger of Limoges and the possibility of similar banquets is the most plausible reason why the Government policy changed from toleration to censure in the last week of 1847 and the first week of 1848 and why the king used the words passions ennemies ou aveugles.

Actually Pierre Leroux did not preside because he believed the banquet was too political. He wrote to the banquet committee the following:

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[15]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Limoges, December 28, 1847.

> In inviting me, you have spoken of a banquet more religious and social than political, and your Circular announces a political banquet. I do not believe our doctrine can be presented under the form of a political party. Our doctrine is not a party; it is la SCIENCE SOCIALE.[16]

The banquet held in the old Jardin de Plaisance was well attended, probably not by the thousand claimed by the committee or the six hundred of the Government estimate.[17] But the hall overflowed, and most of the guests were workers. The toasts were varied: à la souveraineté du peuple; à l'avenir religieux; à l'organisation du travail; au problème pacifique du prolétariat; au vote universel; à Jésus Christ; au peuple. Most of the discourses were utopian and socialistic, but there was also bitterness.

Yvernand spoke as follows:

> To each responsibility for his works. Pupils of Adam Smith and Say, it is you who by your false doctrines create the distinctions of rich and poor, of capitalists and wage earners; it is you who are throwing men into the lists of industry, inviting them to the struggle and crying to them: Victory to the strongest![18]

Mourier cried:

> To the organization of work by all and for all! No more wage earners exploited by Capital! Man no longer exploited by man, but organization associates him, and makes him, not a wage earner, but a fonctionnaire of the organized state. (Oui, oui, c'est ce que nous voulons! Applaudissements répétés).[19]

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[16] Compte rendu du banquet de Limoges. 2 janvier 1848. Extrait de "l'Eclaireur." (Signé: Pierre Leroux) (Boussac: P. Leroux, 1848).

[17] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Limoges, January 10, 1848.

[18] Compte rendu du banquet de Limoges. 2 janvier 1848. (Boussac, 1848).

[19] Ibid.

Finally Théodore Bac exalted spirits.

> Up to now, in all the reformist banquets, a great name has been re-echoed, a name which has filled many of the discourses and very few of the hearts; that of the People (Applaudissements unanimes).
>
> But, at the same time that they ask for the arrival into political life of so many citizens who have been deprived, it seems that they wish to close the threshold of these reunions made under their invocation. (Oui, oui! C'est cela).
>
> As if it were possible to do so much without being tempered by that great force which is social life itself and which they call the People! (Vives approbations).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The luxury which surrounds them, these rugs of which they are so proud, these superb paintings, these brilliant porcelains, these commodious and splendid homes, this elegance, this indolence, this invaluable well-being, who creates it, who builds it, who weaves it, who prepares it laboriously? (Le Peuple, le Peuple).[20]

By Limoges the banquet campaign had come a long way toward revolution, and Duvergier de Hauranne, Pagnerre, Barrot, even Ledru-Rollin had been left behind.

The other banquets of 1848 were not important. The banquet at Cambrai in the Nord on January 9 had been postponed from late December. Working in the tradition of the Comité central, it was anticlimactic.[21] Toulouse was also on the ninth and reputed to close the banquet campaign in the south as Rouen had in the north. In the preliminaries there had developed a bitter quarrel between the moderates and the radicals. In the end the banquet carried on with the resurgence of pre-Lille radicalism beginning with a

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[20] Ibid.

[21] National (Paris), January 17, 1848.

toast to the sovereignty of the people and closing with one to peoples fighting for their liberty.[22]

The final banquets, extending into February were in the three little towns of Moras, Pont-de-Beauvoisin, and Roissard.[23] They were superfluous, but completed the overall campaign. There was yet one banquet ahead, and after the address from the throne and particularly after the rejection of amendments to it, all eyes turned to the banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement of Paris.

III

It was in December that plans first began to be made for the banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement of Paris. Three members of the national guard, Cailloux, Vayron, and Roinville were filled with reform spirit and with the desire to have a banquet uniting all shades of the opposition. Meeting together first on December 5, they decided to call in all their interested friends for a meeting on December 9 at the home of the carpenter Roinville on the rue de Plâtre Saint Jacques. The thirty present declared themselves a commission for a reform banquet and called for a meeting on the thirteenth at which about sixty were present, of

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[22]Simone Henry, "La Campagne des banquets à Toulouse," in La Révolution de 1848 à Toulouse et dans la Haute-Garonne (Toulouse: Préfecture de la Haute-Garonne, 1948), pp. 58-62.

[23]Patriote des Alpes (Grenoble), as quoted in National (Paris), February 6, 1848, February 9, 1848, and February 17, 1848.

whom forty were republican, four were legitimists, and sixteen were of the dynastic opposition. Encouraged by the success of the banquet of Saint Denis, a working commission was set up, and on the eighteenth a bureau composed of Roinville, Boquet, Gobert, Courtais and Detalle, was established to work out the details.[24]

The committee at first had difficulty in finding a private meeting place because the police were forbidding proprieters from renting their establishments for fear that the banquets would cause disturbances. This had happened to both the students and the printers of Paris when each had wanted to have their own banquets. Finally a hall of the Cordeliers in the rue Pascal capable of holding from three to four thousand persons was rented. Already nine hundred had subscribed. François Arago had been asked to preside, but he had excused himself because of illness, and Boissel, the deputy of the Twelfth Arrondissement, had agreed to preside, provided that the banquet was reformist and not radical.[25]

Roinville believed it would be the correct procedure to make known the plans to the prefect of police, to whom on his own responsibility he wrote on December 24. On the

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[24]Roinville, Histoire du banquet réformiste du 12e arrondissement, depuis sa fondation, le 5 décembre 1847, jusqu'au 24 février 1848 (Paris: Plon, 1848).

[25]Albert Crémieux, "La Révolution de février 1848 (récits contemporains inédites)," Revue politique et littéraire, 1910 (t.2), pp. 663-664.

twenty-sixth he was requested by the prefect to come on the twenty-eighth for an interview. On that day, however, because Delessert, the prefect, was at the opening of the Chamber, Roinville saw only his secretary, who doubted that authorization would be granted for the banquet and who wanted to know specifically if the banquet was to be radical or reformist. On the twenty-ninth Roinville was informed that the prefect had referred the matter to the minister. On the thirtieth the prefect and his secretary were absent, and Roinville was told that his request could not be answered. This was understood by him as a refusal of permission.

The banquet committee did not approve of the individual action of Roinville. Believing that they were still within the law, the committee continued to make plans for the banquet. Not waiting for the conclusion of the debate on the address, they decided to have the banquet as soon as possible, on January 19, and to invite all the opposition deputies. Ledru-Rollin had been invited; but, according to Roinville, he refused because he felt it better for eighty opposition deputies to be present than he alone, since he knew full well that he was anathema to most of the opposition deputies.

On January 9 it was decided that there would be no toast to the king, and by a vote of twelve to ten it was moved to have a toast to the sovereignty of the people rather than to national sovereignty. Because of this the

minority, most of whom were the originators of the banquet, were about to retire, when two members of the majority decided to change their vote.

On the tenth Roinville wrote to the prefect of police giving the specific date of the banquet, and in the absence of M. Delessert he was asked to come see the "chef du cabinet" of the prefect. There Roinville received the official notice that the banquet would not be authorized by the prefect of police. This was announced to the committee on the fourteenth. The committee wrote back to the prefect that they regarded "the action of the prefect of police as purely arbitrary and of no effect." On learning of the refusal, however, Boissel resigned his position at the banquet.

It was at this time that the committee made contact with the deputies, particularly Garnier-Pagès, Odilon Barrot, and Duvergier de Hauranne. These men recommended to the committee that they delay any activity until the end of the debate on the speech from the throne. This meant that no further plans for the banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement could be made until the twelfth of February.[26]

On the day after the debate on the address the republican deputies, several of the radical members of the Comité central, and several republican journalists met at

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[26]Roinville, Histoire du banquet réformiste du 12e arrondissement, depuis sa fondation, le 5 décembre 1847, jusqu'au 24 février 1848 (Paris, 1848).

the home of Marie. Marrast of the National was present and, supported by Marie, he suggested the resignation of the opposition deputies as a course of action. Garnier-Pagès, Pagnerre, Recurt, Carnot, Martin de Strasbourg were opposed to this.

At noon on the same day, about 107 deputies of the opposition met in the dining room of the old Café Durand on the Boulevard de la Madeleine. Here Marie, supported by Chambolle and Drouyn de l'Huys, brought up his resignation plan, but Duvergier de Hauranne, Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, and Barrot were all opposed, and the project won no great support. Thiers did tell Marie privately that he agreed with him. The deputies decided to state publicly that: (1) the opposition would not resign; (2) it would maintain the right of reunion; (3) none of its members would participate in the deputation taking the address of the Chamber to the king. The far right of the Centre Gauche which included Dufaure, Billault and others took no part in this motion, and Émile de Girardin resigned from the Chamber.[27]

The moderate republicans wished to continue with a banquet manifestation. It was decided, therefore, that the Comité central would meet with three members of the banquet committee of the Twelfth Arrondissement to make a definite program for the prospective banquet. This was

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[27] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 184-192.

done at the home of Odilon Barrot either on the fourteenth or fifteenth. Nearly thirty were present, and a definite program for the banquet was arranged. The majority, however, immediately antagonized the representatives of the old committee, particularly when Pagnerre insisted that the price of admission be raised from three francs to twelve francs, and that only electors be admitted. It was finally decided that the price would be six francs; that only electors would be admitted; that the guest list would have to be verified by the Comité central; that the banquet would keep the name but would not take place within the Twelfth Arrondissement, which was the area that included the Latin Quarter.[28]

Plans called for the number of one thousand at the banquet, representing all groups, including the workers and students. The banquet was to be highly disciplined, and everything would be done to make it orderly. A committee was established to prepare the details with Pagnerre, Recurt, and Labélonye from the Comité central; Boissel, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, and Vavin, deputies from Paris; and Gobert, Delestre, and Bocquet from the original committee of the Twelfth Arrondissement. The Peer Alton-Shée, long a friend of reform, was also included in the group.[29]

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[28] Roinville, Histoire du banquet réformiste du 12e arrondissement, depuis sa fondation, le 5 décembre 1847, jusqu'au 24 février 1848 (Paris, 1848).

[29] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 194-195.

On the sixteenth the three commissioners from the committee of the Twelfth Arrondissement reported back to the original committee that the deputies and the Comité central had practically taken over the banquet. The committee was quite upset, and many resigned immediately including the treasurer Roinville. The old subscription list had to be revised and six hundred out of nine hundred of the original reservations had to be recalled.[30]

Meanwhile rumors were circulating through Paris. The National prematurely announced the banquet for the twentieth. The general committee met on the eighteenth and named Tuesday, the twenty-second as the date for the banquet. On the nineteenth the opposition deputies met again at the Café Durand and accepted the invitation to the banquet, insisting on the right of reunion.[31]

The time had arrived for conciliation on the banquet. The Government had said no to the banquet; the opposition continued its plans. Guizot and Hébert wished to be firm, but Duchâtel wished for an arrangement. Finally the ministry delegated the Conservatives, Morny and Vitet, to make an arrangement with the opposition. Meeting with Duvergier de Hauranne, De Malleville, and Berger, these men decided that a commissioner of police would be present at the banquet to halt the proceedings. Barrot then would make

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[30] Roinville, Histoire du banquet réformiste du 12e arrondissement (Paris, 1848).

[31] Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 197.

a speech of protest; the banqueters would yield to force, and the question of legality would be decided by the Cour de Cassation. Good faith was promised on both sides. The compromise had advantages. For the Government the banquets would be halted at least temporarily. For the opposition a demonstration would have taken place. It was a silly agreement, actually, showing only too well the failure of these men to go beyond legalities in their thinking to the serious fact that tempers, especially Latin ones, excited and aroused at a reform banquet, would not be able to find the self-discipline to depart peacefully.

While arrangements were being made with the Government, the banquet committee received the additional support of the extreme republicans. Ledru-Rollin had not been invited, but his request to be present was granted. The Réforme was bankrupt; the last number was scheduled to appear on February 23, and it wished to die in a "triumph of democracy." Also the workers led by Louis Blanc, Guinard, Félix Pyat, David d'Angers asked to have a place in the manifestation, and this too was granted. Representatives of the students did the same.[32]

Meanwhile there had been support for the opposition coming from outside Paris. Orléans, Blois, Tours, Rouen, Le Havre, Amiens, Saint-Quentin, Arras, Douai, Valenciennes,

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[32] Ibid., pp. 209-214.

and Lille were expecting to send delegations to the banquet.[33] Written support had been received from the banquet committees of Chalon, Saint-Germain, Saint Omer, and Périgueux.[34]

On the twentieth a hall was rented at Chaillot in a street called Chemin de Versailles, later called rue du Banquet. On the morning of the twentieth the subcommittee on provisions for maintaining order met with Marrast, Pagnerre, Perrée, Biesta, Havin and Alton-Shée present. Marrast wrote out the directions for the parade that was to precede the banquet. Before printing it, Merruau, editor-in-chief of the Constitutionnel required the approval of Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne. That evening Barrot was found by Marrast at a dinner party with Coulmann, and he accepted the program Marrast presented. Barrot, however, did not read it.

On the morning of the twenty-first the program appeared in the Siècle, Constitutionnel, National, and Courrier français. The manifesto gave parade orders. At eleven o'clock Tuesday morning, February 22, the invited guests were to meet at No. 2, place de la Madeleine. The subscribers who were members of the national guard were to meet in front of the Madeleine. At the head of the parade would be the ranking officers of the national guard; then the invited guests, the subscribers, more national guard

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[33] National (Paris), February 17, 1848.

[34] National (Paris), February 22, 1848.

officers, the national guard itself, and the students from the university. At 11:30 the parade would move on down to the Place de la Concorde and turn right up the Champs Élysées toward the hall. There would be no arms carried and no flags or banners.[35]

The results of these orders and instructions were disastrous. To the Conservatives the opposition had virtually called out the national guard as well as the workers, students, and people in general, and had established itself as an equal of the Government. The ministry felt it could not tolerate this insubordination. Immediately after the newspapers reached the streets the most active in the opposition assembled at the home of Marrast where Morny and Vitet came again, this time to inform Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Pagnerre, De Malleville, and Marrast that the manifestation was forbidden. A note was immediately sent to the Government, stating that the notice in the newspapers had been misinterpreted. It was all to no avail. The police prepared for any eventuality. The troops were alerted.

Hours of confusion now followed. Revolutions are not orderly. Committees were meeting everywhere—deputies, national guard, workers, journalists, students. In the Chamber on the afternoon of the twenty-first Duchâtel defended the action of the Government, and turned the debate to a discussion of the Bank of Bordeaux.

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[35]Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, p. 197.

Barrot did not know what to do. Thiers wanted to back out and make an address to the king, and Bethmont agreed. Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, De Malleville, Duvergier de Hauranne were for continuing the banquet. Marie recalled his original suggestion of resigning. Would the banquet be adjourned or not? The opposition deputies voted eighty to seventeen for abandoning the banquet with Barrot and Garnier-Pagès abstaining.[36]

Thus the opposition abdicated. The Government had won. The Government knew that these men of the opposition were men of the law; that they would bend before the threat of violence and bloodshed. But the Government had miscalculated about France. Paris awoke to rain on the morning of February 22, 1848, and by nine o'clock crowds had begun to gather at the Madeleine and crys were heard, "Down with Guizot! Down with the municipal guards." The banquet campaign was over. The destiny of the July Monarchy was in the hands of the Paris mobs.

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[36]Garnier-Pagès, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1861-1872), IV, pp. 217-218.

CHAPTER TEN

REFORM MOVEMENTS OUTSIDE THE CAMPAIGN

I

The banquet campaign was but one of the efforts focusing attention on reform in late 1847 and 1848. Other events paralleled the campaign, throve on it, or made heavy contributions to it. After the February Revolution it became possible to look back and see how all these parallel movements fitted into the program of reform activity.

The use of the petition was one of the most promising of the projects, and yet it never reached fruition. It has been noted earlier how Pagnerre and his friends organized the banquet campaign after a program for a reform petition had already been initiated. It was only natural then that the petition should be a part of every banquet, and without exception, in each banquet influenced by the Paris Comité central the petition was passed around and signed. It was not limited, however, to those attending banquets, but had a considerable national coverage as well.

Pagnerre was very careful in the wording of the petition. Addressed to Messieurs les députés, it asked for the reform of the electoral law of 1831. The reasons it presented were many: (1) for sixteen years its imperfections had been abundantly demonstrated; (2) it was based

on no principle while violating many; (3) there was no rational basis according to population; (4) it was even contrary to the principle of parliamentary government that the majority of the deputies be representative of the majority of the electors; (5) the electoral colleges were unequal; (6) the electoral colleges were subject to corruption; (7) it tended to keep a political aristocracy in power; (8) it did not represent the principle of equality; (9) it did not protect the freedom of elections; (10) it thwarted political movement; (11) it narrowed the liberty of the choice of electors.[1]

By August 25 the National reported that the petition had been received with sympathy all over France and that the Comité central was receiving increased requests for copies.[2] Reports reached Paris of signatures from towns with no banquet. Narbonne had many signatures.[3] Most of the electors of Tulle signed.[4] The Courrier de la Moselle reported the same for Briey, while the fact that Michel, councilor of the Cour Royal at Metz had signed, upset the Ministry of Justice because of his position as a civil servant.[5] Five or six hundred signed the petition in

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[1] Pétition pour la réforme (Paris: Lapia, 1847).

[2] National (Paris), August 25, 1847.

[3] National (Paris), October 16, 1847.

[4] National (Paris), November 18, 1847.

[5] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9.

Lisieux where Guizot made his home at Val-Richer.[6] At Clermont l'Hérault there were 350 signatures.[7]

The success of the petition program has been questioned. Henry Contamine has written that the petition did not succeed in the department of Moselle and had only the names of people who habitually sign these kinds of petitions.[8] In the announcement in the National on December 23, the Comité central spoke of receiving many of these signed petitions and asked that more be returned immediately before the deputies had arrived at the opening of the session.[9]

It is here that the trail of the petitions is lost. They cannot be found. In the registry of petitions of the Chamber there is no mention of them. Two reform petitions were registered in the session of 1848; a M. Morris of Paris wanted to give the suffrage to all taxpayers, while M. St. Vincent of Lozère sought a reduction of the cens with three degrees of voting.[10] It can be assumed that the petitions which were collected by the Comité central were either insufficient or were held back from submission

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[6] National (Paris), January 18, 1848.

[7] National (Paris), November 4, 1847.

[8] Henry Contamine, Metz et la Moselle de 1814 à 1870 (Nancy: Société d'impressions typographiques, 1932), p. 410.

[9] National (Paris), December 23, 1847.

[10] Archives Nationales. CC 486 Chambre et Cour des Pairs Royales. Petitions registered with the committee of petitions, sessions of 1846, 1847, 1848.

until after the issue of the banquets had been finally thrashed out in the Chamber. At least the petitions never reached the Chamber, and until they are found, if they still exist, no estimate of the number of signatures can be made.

The role of the petitions in spite of the fact that they never influenced the deputies was important. First they were a connecting link between the local committees and the Comité central, which stood as a clearing house for the petitions. Secondly they served as an additional reason for the banquets, as the ceremony of signing was an inherent part of the program in most banquets. In the third place the petition expressed the position on reform taken by the active opposition and by the Paris committee. Finally they were visible evidence of participation in the reform movement of those communities where it was impossible to have a banquet. By this means all citizens interested in reform could participate actively in expressing their position and, if desired, become promoters of the petition simply by writing to Pagnerre in Paris. It is then a great misfortune that the number of signatures and the names of the individuals are unknown.

Another event of 1847 which supplemented the work of the campaign was the banquet of Mâcon on July 18 which honored the poet-deputy Lamartine. Many authors have included it as part of the banquet campaign; in truth while it was not related to the campaign, taking place nine days

after Chateau Rouge, it did affect public opinion regarding political reform.

The role of Lamartine in the banquet campaign is enigmatic. He would run with the foxes and hunt with the hounds. His personality was such that he refused to participate in any banquet which he could not manage and in which he was not the most prominent speaker. What influence Chateau Rouge, which he did not attend, had on him is not known. Shortly thereafter the banquet of Mâcon was given in honor of him for his successful publication of the Histoire des Girondins. In 1847 Louis Blanc, Michelet, and Lamartine all published their histories of the Great Revolution, and literary France was made increasingly conscious of that revolution. The banquet of Mâcon was consequently labeled a literary banquet.

The meeting took place before nearly two thousand guests, both male and female, under tents in a public garden in Mâcon. There were two speakers, the mayor of Mâcon and Lamartine. In the midst of the introductory speech a summer cloudburst broke forth, interrupting the banquet, tearing the tents, overturning the benches, and thoroughly drenching the guests, many of whom were even injured.[11] After some time, when the storm had passed, Lamartine made his passionate address to those who had been brave enough to remain.

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[11] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1454. Dossier 4183.

Lamartine extolled himself, compared himself to Herodotus. Then he criticized the regime severely and ranted on for a long while against it and for reform. He said little actually, but as an exposition of reform eloquence it was superb.[12] Although called a literary banquet, reform was the principal issue Lamartine discussed. Being a literary event, the publicity was wide, particularly among the intellectuals, although many like Doudan scorned it.[13]

While Lamartine was invited to speak at many of the reform banquets, he always excused himself, although he did send a letter of adhesion to Saint Quentin.[14] After Lille he publicly supported Ledru-Rollin. When he did speak in the months ahead it was always on his own, as was the case of a meeting of 3000 to 4000 workers at Marseilles on August 10.[15]

Of an unspectacular nature, but of great significance in the reform movement and adding greatly to the excitement fomented by the banquet campaign, was the movement in the conseils-généraux to support electoral and

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[12] Extrait du "Bien Public," du 27 juillet 1847. Toast porté par M. de Lamartine dans la reunion à Monceau, de MM. les commissaires du banquet de Mâcon (Mâcon: H. Robert, 1847).

[13] Xavier Doudan, Mélanges et lettres. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1876-1877), II, p. 122. Letter from Doudan to De Broglie, July 27, 1847.

[14] National (Paris), September 24, 1847. Letter written by Lamartine from Monceau near Mâcon on September 17,1847.

[15] Siècle (Paris), August 26, 1847.

parliamentary reform. The conseils-généraux of the departments met usually in late summer and early autumn. They were expected to concern themselves with local departmental business, but even stiff warnings from the prefects did not prevent many from passing resolutions supporting the program verbalized by the banquets.

Thirteen departments had already put themselves on record as supporting reform in 1846. These were Ardennes, Aube, Corsica, Côte d'Or, Côtes-du-Nord, Creuse, Ille-et-Vilaine, Mayenne, Morbihan, Nord, Saône-et-Loire, Seine-Inférieure, and Deux-Sèvres.[16] In 1847 Côte d'Or, Nord, Creuse, and Saône-et-Loire renewed their request. Many additions were also forthcoming. Haute-Garonne, Finistère, Aveyron, Gard, Corrèze, Moselle, Vosges, Haut-Rhin, and Haute-Loire indicated they would like to see some revision in the electoral law.[17] Despite the protest of the prefect, Crévecoeur, the conseil-général of Aisne adhered to reform.[18] It was a Conservative majority in the Oise that voted to support reform.[19] On November 13, by a vote of twenty-five to ten and despite an attempt by the prefect, Rambuteau, to prevent the vote, the conseil-général of the Seine voted in favor of electoral reform and urged revision of the electoral law of 1831 in the next legislative session.[20]

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[16] National (Paris), February 8, 1848.

[17] Ibid.

[18] National (Paris), September 11, 1847.

[19] National (Paris), September 18, 1847.

[20] National (Paris), November 13, 1847.

A typical proposition was that passed by the conseil-général of the Nord.

> The conseil-général, sadly upset by the scandals which for some time have been revealed in diverse parts of the public service, wishes that the government demonstrate, in the choice of its agents, sentiments of probity and high morality which alone can give to the administration the legitimate influence that it must exercise in the interest of all.[21]

Many of the conseils d'arrondissements also spoke out in favor of reform. Sedan was an example.[22] Of course their influence was insignificant; many of the councils were in strong opposition districts. That twenty-three departmental councils had indicated a desire for revision of the electoral law, however, helped focus attention on the need, which the Government chose to ignore. An interesting note is that many of the departments urging reform did not have a banquet.[23]

II

We should consider next the influence of the press. Every newspaper, Parisian or departmental, took a position upon the banquets, and as the number of banquets grew they became more and more vehement in their support or non-support. Not only would the newspapers support or attack

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[21] National (Paris), September 14, 1847.

[22] National (Paris), January 2-3, 1848.

[23] Finistère, Deux-Sèvres, Corsica are examples.

the banquets, but they also attacked each other to the point where this might be considered a press war.

The emergence of a cheap press in France during the July Monarchy was important in the history of French politics, and its use and misuse is fundamental to a study of the Revolution of 1848. During this period Émile de Girardin, whose gossip made him a Paris favorite, introduced the first inexpensive newspaper with a subscription rate of forty francs. The number of subscribers to Paris newspapers rose from 70,000 in 1835 to 200,000 by 1846.[24] Ideas and the reporting of public affairs were becoming more and more accessible to an interested public.

More important most of the newspaper subscribers were reading opposition newspapers. Thureau-Dangin states that by 1847 subscribers to the ministerial press were estimated at about 20,000 as against 150,000 for the opposition.[25] In looking at the effect of the press coverage of the banquets, it is well to note two things typical of the French press at this time. First, the press was opinionated. Secondly, the Paris press reprinted quite regularly columns from local newspapers throughout the country and vice-versa, so that as far as news coverage was concerned the readers were conscious of events going on all over France

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[24] J. Lucas-Dubreton, The Restoration and the July Monarchy, trans. E. F. Buckley (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), p. 329.

[25] Paul Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1892), VII, p. 5.

in an age before extensive newsgathering agencies. There were many French newspapers, championing any shade of opinion that could find sufficient partisans to maintain a newspaper. Most of these never lasted very long, and for the radical papers there was always the constant threat of government seizure and the arrest of the editors.

The chief anti-banquet newspaper was the Journal des Débats in Paris, the spokesman for the Conservatives, in which one usually found a far better coverage of a soiree of Queen Marie-Amélie than of a breat riot in Mulhouse. The Débats criticized the banquets from the first, tending to give them the publicity they sought, rather than shrewdly ignoring them. It carried on a constant feud with the National of Marrast and had no kind words for the Comité central. It spent August in writing polemics especially against the Constitutionnel which represented the philosophy of Adolphe Thiers. The Constitutionnel fought back, but the position of Thiers in the banquets made it feel uncomfortable; the Journal des Débats kept asking for him.

The early maneuver of the Débats was to split the opposition by accusing the Comité central of allowing the radicals to manage the campaign. Its editors were clever enough to see this weakness and to exploit it. After Lille the newspaper felt it had the evidence, and it did its best to destroy the campaign by frightening the moderates into a conservative position. It was the Conservative press which made such an issue of the toast to the king,

although everyone realized the point was more symbolic than real, and few bothered to take it as literally as the Débats. It was always adept at hurling accusations at the participants. Eventually the Débats began to be more critical of even the Guizot policy and to intimate the need for reform of some nature under the initiative of the Conservatives. The actual news coverage of the Débats was exceptional considering its editorial opposition to the banquets.

The chief newspaper of the opposition was the National of Marrast, always taking a moderate republican position. The Constitutionnel, like Thiers, supported the banquets but gave little effective leadership. Its editor, Merruau, was active only in the last weeks of February. The Siècle spoke for Barrot, and its editor Chambolle supported the campaign all the way. Press leadership in the opposition press seems, however, to have been largely delegated to the National. At first this newspaper seemed on the defensive, trying to answer the criticism of the Débats on Chateau Rouge. The newspaper was correct in turning its blasts on the Débats, having greater effect than either the Constitutionnel or the Siècle. With the latter paper it gave the most complete banquet coverage of any newspaper in France. On October 5, 1847, the National wrote:

> Nothing in our opinion shows more the importance and the usefulness of the electoral banquets than the anger to which they have drawn the newspapers of the court. The injuries which they force on the

> honorable citizens who take part, the sarcasms which they hurl at the orators, all demonstrate their own worries.[26]

By November the National was hurling counter-charges at the Débats, saying that it was causing trouble by falsely accusing the reform movement. After Lille the National turned to attack the Réforme of Ledru-Rollin, who was also accused of fomenting trouble. Although a brother in reform and republicanism, the Réforme had itself been attacking the National. The Government attack on the National and the subsequent trial of the editor only served to encourage the newspaper to fight on for reform until its editors were to give birth to the provisional government of February. The three editors, Armand Marrast, A. Dornés, and Thomas offered their continued support to Pagnerre in a personal letter dated February 9, 1848.

> The National was condemned last December 13 to eight months of prison and 6000 francs in fines. This pursuit and judgement should not surprise you. The more a system of isolation, the more it is blinded and passionate; and the press, fighting on the breach, will not escape the laws of September and the juries selected by prefects.
>
> The dangers increase everywhere today while the wakening of public opinion makes the struggle more serious and more animated. . . .
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> Such a situation imposes great duties to the press. The National understands this and it pursues its mission with firmness. . . .[27]

The far left press that was not wandering in the utopia of the pre-Marxian socialists was best represented

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[26] National (Paris), October 5, 1847.

[27] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.4 1).

by the Réforme edited by Ferdinand Flocon and speaking for Ledru-Rollin. It was powerful in ideas but weak in capital. Its turbulent history was dominated by financial difficulties which only the Revolution was to solve temporarily. In the campaign it was at first quite critical, not only of the Government but of the opposition banquets, and particularly of the leaders Duvergier de Hauranne and Barrot. It had many satellite newspapers such as the National de l'Ouest and the Courrier de la Côte d'Or whose editorials it repeated in its criticism of the banquets.

It was the Siècle that the Réforme emphasized as its center of attack. As far as coverage of the banquets in its columns there was virtually none. After Lille the Réforme gave great display to the Ledru-Rollin banquets criticizing all the other newspapers. But also after Lille it demonstrated an increased awareness of the campaign itself to which it devoted more space.

The departmental newspapers simply aped those of Paris and followed the lines presented to them. The campaign grew in importance as it achieved increased notoriety in the press. The only other news items that gave the campaign any competition, even in the Conservative press, were the Praslin murder in August and the civil war in Switzerland. Even the capture of Abd-el-Kadir did not push the campaign from the public eye. Anyone who read a newspaper or had any access to one in 1847 was continually made aware of the

campaign. It was news. To deny that public opinion was not informed or misinformed by the violent and prejudiced press coverage of the campaign would be to misjudge the facts.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MEN AND IDEAS OF THE CAMPAIGN

I

Charles Pouthas recently stated, "In reality the Revolution of 1848 which was made neither by the masses nor by the aristocracy was the work of the intellectuals and of the bourgeoisie."[1] It is the purpose of this chapter to look at the men and ideas of the banquet campaign which confirm the judgment of Professor Pouthas.

The first question to be answered is who were the banquet people. A good deal of information about the persons who spoke at the banquets may be gleaned from records. The danger in using the speakers for statistics is obvious, because the individual who made the speech at the banquet was often someone in the movement who spoke well or someone whom courtesy required be placed on the program. Since in every community in the early nineteenth century the lawyer combined the ability to speak with an interest in politics he was the key person in the campaign. In discussing only the speakers it is well to remember the hundreds of loyal committee workers who perhaps represented best the ideas

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[1]Charles Pouthas, Révolutions de 1848 en Europe (Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1952), I, p. 25.

of the banquets, but who are lost to history because they did not speak publicly.

In the fifty-nine reform banquets that took place there were four hundred and sixty men who gave addresses. The overwhelming majority spoke only once and were local political leaders whose names are all that remain in the history of the banquet campaign. But of these 460 men, sixty-three spoke at more than one banquet.[2] Three men, Pagès de l'Ariège, Pagnerre, and Drouyn de l'Huys spoke four times during the campaign; two men, Frédéric Degeorge and De Beaumont (Somme) spoke five. Crémieux and Corne, each spoke six times, while Odilon Barrot far outstripped his colleagues by speaking at fourteen separate banquets. Some of these men, like Barrot, were heard frequently because of their eloquence, but others volunteered their services because of their sincere conviction in the eventual effectiveness of the banquet movement.

Of the 460 banquet speakers, fifty-six were members of the Chamber of Deputies.[3] The National on February 12, 13, and 17 published the names of 107 deputies who had participated in or had officially adhered to the banquet

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[2]Those addressing three banquets each were Marie, Lherbette, Marquis, Georges Lafayette, Charles de Lasteyrie, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Ledru-Rollin, Duvergier de Hauranne, Feytaud, Garnier-Pagès, Gaulthier de Rumilly, Gustave de Beaumont, Boulanger.

[3]Lamartine is not included in the statistics of banquet speakers.

campaign and who were willing to have their names publicly attached to it.[4] Of the fifty-six whose interest resulted in their making banquet addresses three were not elected to the Constituent National Assembly of the Second Republic, while the other fifty-three sat in that body. Except in these three cases participation did not subsequently hurt the political careers of the deputies and probably it helped them. On the other hand, of the 460 speakers, 134 did sit in the Constituent Assembly, so that sixty-one campaign speakers who were not in national government before the February Revolution did receive national elective positions afterwards under universal suffrage. It was obvious that the banquets did not hinder their political careers any more than they hurt those of the deputies. Of the 917 members of the Constituent Assembly, excluding the colonial representatives, 134 had spoken at at least one reform banquet. Of the bureau of the Constituent Assembly from May 5, 1848 to May 15, 1849 three of the four presidents had participated actively in the banquets: Sénard, Marie, and Marrast. In the same period ten of the twenty-one vice-presidents were banquet men.

Of the members of the provisional government of France from February 24 to May 9, 1848, Dupont (de l'Eure), Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Marrast, Blanc, and Flocon had spoken at banquets. Of the other three,

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[4] National (Paris), February 12, 13, and 17, 1848.

Lamartine had had his own banquet, François Arago had been ill, and Albert, the worker, had no record of participation. The secretary of the provisional government was Pagnerre. Of the provisional ministry from February 24 to May 11, 1848, Lamartine at the Foreign Affairs Office, Goudchaux at the Finance Office, Bedeau and later Cavaignac at the War Office, Arago at the Navy Office, and Carnot at the Ministry of Education were not banquet participants, although Carnot had supported the idea. Garnier-Pagès as mayor of Paris, Caussidière, the new prefect of police of Paris, and Arago at the Post Office were banqueters.

Not just in the national government, but also in French local government the banqueters came into power in 1848. Many of the new prefects, judicial officers, and government commissioners from the Ministry of Interior were banquet people. Sénard, Degeorge, Delescluze are examples. As the last of the Orleanist political appointees disappeared the new civil service included the active opposition men of 1847-1848, the men of the banquets. The government of France from the February Revolution to the meeting of the Assembly in May was almost completely in their hands. The most influential members of the Constituent Assembly of 1848 were the participants in the banquets, and they determined the policy and the Constitution of the Second French Republic. In these short months the banqueters had the opportunity to put into action the ideas they had voiced at the banquets.

Of these 460 men it is possible to discover something of their background, particularly regarding their occupations. Most of the banquet speakers were electors with considerable financial resources back of them, although few were immensely wealthy. At present, the occupation of 180 of them has not been discovered, yet on the basis of the 280 of which there is knowledge, certain occupational trends may be noted.

One hundred and twenty out of 280 speakers were lawyers or had prepared for the law. This figure includes avocats, juges, notaires, and avoués. In France it should be noted that many more study at the faculties of law than become professional lawyers. However the lawyers far exceeded all other professional groups in the banquets, just as they had been a bulwark of the French bourgeoisie since the late eighteenth century.

After the lawyers came the journalists, of whom there were thirty-eight. Nearly all were editors. In many cases the journalist was also a trained lawyer, for the journalists in France at this time took an unusually active interest in political life, although it was rarely of any personal advantage to them. Yet many of these politically minded journalists had definite opinions on government and had turned to publishing political minded newspapers in order to express those ideas which they considered important and which, without public office, they would otherwise have been prevented from voicing.

Many of the journalists were not electors because they did not have enough taxable property.

The third occupational group in the banquets might be classed as businessmen. Twenty-five answered to the title of merchant or manufacturer, with the former far outnumbering the latter. These men were certainly the best representatives of economic liberalism of the school of Adam Smith. In most cases they were electors. Their interest in reform, however, indicates the desire by the entrepreneurs for new privileges as capitalists, and it supports the thesis of Sherman Kent that the public control and voting power of the July Monarchy remained for the most part in the hands of the landed aristocracy.

The fourth largest occupational group was that of the physicians. Here is very definitely the non-elector middle class man seeking political opportunities. The number of physicians is interesting because at this time they were in the forefront in social reform. Recurt would be an example. Many were well acquainted with the deplorable health standards of the lower classes. One senses that these men were pushed into the reform movement by their own humanitarian consciences rather than by a desire for any political responsibility or power of their own.

The military profession ran on a par with the physicians. The professional soldiers, particularly those that had gone into politics following retirement, were very susceptible to the reform program. Many of the old

officers were those of capacité at whom the reform was directed. Others believed that the July Monarchy had failed to continue the military traditions of the Napoleon under whom they had fought in the exciting years of their youth. The national guard officer who was disenfranchised was a key man in the period, and when Louis Philippe lost his support, his regime was headed for trouble. (The banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement in Paris was originated by national guard officers.)

The other occupational groups are less significant. Of the two hundred and eighty speakers, eleven can be identified as writers and poets, men whose livelihood depended upon their pen. In a sense it is unfair to include these men in the statistics because many of the journalists and lawyers may be considered as professional writers, too. Eight men were definite politicians of the ward-heeler type who were looking for political plums if the right side came into power. Caussidière is a good example. Seventeen men were landed proprietors, three were farmers, three were civil engineers, one was an architect, and one a pharmacist.

All these people represented the bourgeoisie; very few of the banquet men could be considered very wealthy. Those who do appear to have had property of unusual amounts were men like De Lasteyrie, imbued with ideas stemming from the Enlightenment. As for the lower classes there is virtually no participation. Three printers, two students, and a tailor are all that we know about. Out of two hundred

and eighty with known occupations, the proletariat speaker is a rarity. It is incontrovertable that the lower income groups did not participate in the campaign except as audience at the very radical banquets. The banquet campaign was an activity by that branch of the bourgeoisie interested in the political life of France both in the present and in the future.

The question might be asked as to whether these men were not working for reform to advance their careers or their economic interests. It is true that with most of them the unexpected revolution did advance their political careers and their status in the community. The overwhelming evidence, however, is also that these men were not working for violent revolution but for a peaceful change. It is, of course, impossible to discover motivation with the limited tools at the disposal of the historian. But the period in which increased position and prestige came to these men was quite brief; most of them returned, following the coup d'état of 1851, to the type of existence they had enjoyed before the campaign. Except for the leaders their years on the stage of history as determinants of French political life were few. If their period of political ascendancy was brief, were they able to increase their material well-being in the campaign and during the subsequent months? On the basis of present evidence the answer is no. Since they were in power for such a short time, and since their philosophy for the most part was opposed to the use of political power for the increase of

material wealth, they did not form a group of society entrenching itself by the acquisition of material goods as a direct result of the banquets. Nor did they in the republic that followed.

There is only one case of any attempt by a banqueter to receive material gain from his activity in behalf of a banquet. A letter was written to Pagnerre by an individual in Clichy asking for a strong recommendation to Arago and the conseil-general of the Seine. There was a project in the air for a bridge across the Seine at Clichy which would be of value to Clichy and would also increase the worth of the property of this individual by some 200,000 francs. The letter asked that in the affair the individual's position in politics in the Fourteenth Arrondissement and his support of the general development of the banquet program there be considered. The letter gave every indication that if the interests of X for his country coincided with his own economic gain, so much the better.[5] Of all the banquet documents this is the only one that indicates any attempt to use the banquets for material advantage. Other evidence may have disappeared, but the lack of it indicates that this case was exceptional.

In order to remove some of these individuals from general statistics, it would be well to look at a few at random, if it is possible to find such a thing as a "typical" banqueter.

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[5]Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. 67 AP (AB XIX 2845.2 31).

Firmin-Louis Aubergé was president of the banquet at Melun where he delivered the toast au roi constitutionnel. He was born at Moissy-Cramayal in the Seine-et-Marne on December 16, 1788, of a family of well-to-do farmers. He studied at the military school of Fontainebleau and became a cavalry officer, seeing service in Italy, Germany, and Russia. He was wounded several times during the Napoleonic campaigns and was decorated in Moscow. He returned to the Seine-et-Marne after the war and became a gentleman farmer. In 1818 he was elected mayor of Malassie. He became vice-president of the agricultural society of Melun and president of that of Seine-et-Marne. After the February Revolution he was elected representative to the Constituent Assembly where he voted with the rig' : and supported Cavaignac. He was elected to the legislative assembly and died during his term on May 7, 1851.[6]

François Babaud-Laribière spoke at the banquet of Rochechouart where he toasted la presse independante. He was born at Confolens in the Charente, April 5, 1819. He studied law at Poitiers, and in 1840 he was made a member of the bar at Limoges. Meanwhile he wrote for several republican newspapers of the region: L'Écho du Peuple de Poitiers, the Progressive of Limoges, the Indépendante de la Charente. In 1845 he campaigned for more adequate

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[6] A. Robert and G. Cougny, Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (Paris: Bourloton, 1889-1891), I, p.105.

school facilities.[7] Because of his work in the banquet campaign the provisional government of 1848 made him Commissioner of the Republic in Charente. In April, 1848, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly from Charente where he sat on the left and was a member of the Committee of the Interior. He was not reelected to the legislative assembly. During the Second Empire he wrote a number of histories: Histoire de l'assemblée constituante; Études historiques et administratives; Lettres charentaises; Questions de chemins de fer. In 1870 he was elected Grand Master of French Freemasonry, and several months later the Government of National Defense named him prefect of Charente. He died at Perpignan on April 25, 1873.[8]

Jacques-François Roger was present at Chateau Rouge, and at Orléans he gave the speech in response to the toast to the deputies of the opposition. He was born in 1793 and began his professional career as a lawyer. Demonstrating exceptional administrative talent, he was named governor of Senegal in 1822, where he tried to establish agricultural schools. In 1827 he returned to France, living in retirement from public life until he was elected the liberal deputy from Gien in the Loiret. In the Chamber he was most active in the support of the abolition of capital punishment.[9]

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[7] Georges Weill, Histoire du parti républicain de France (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1928), p. 151.

[8] A. Robert and G. Cougny, Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (Paris, 1889-1891), I, pp. 131-132.

[9] Biographie des Représentants du Peuple à l'Assemblée National Constituante (Paris: Au Bureau de Notre Histoire, 1848), pp. 330-331.

"With a young head under white hair, M. Roger is a zealous and active deputy with a firm and independent speech. He takes to heart all the philanthropic questions. . . . He sits on the extreme right, undoubtedly to imply his independence of parties, but he votes ordinarily with the left."[10] He was reelected to the Constituent Assembly, but a serious disease in 1849 ended his political career.

Charles Levavasseur was present at the banquet of Chateau Rouge and gave the response to the toast to commerce and industry at the banquet of Rouen. He was born in that city on March 31, 1804. He was a ship-owner and ship-builder who had amassed a considerable fortune. He was elected a deputy from Rouen in 1842 and was reelected in 1846, voting usually with the Barrot group. He was elected representative of the people to the Constituent Assembly, sitting this time on the right where he interested himself mainly in the merchant marine and in colonial problems. He was reelected in 1848, but in the elections of February 29, 1852, he was defeated.[11]

If the men of the banquets were enlightened bourgeoisie, what can be discovered of their ideas from reading their speeches? Are any patterns set by the banquets? As electoral reform was the main item of the banquets so it

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[10] La Chambre des députés actuelle, daguerréotypée par un sténograph. Legislature de 1847 à 1851 (Paris: P. Lesigne, 1847).

[11] Charles Leroy, Lettres inédites provenant de la correspondance de Dupont (de l'Eure) et de celle de Mlle Pauline Dupont, sa fille (Rouen, 1932), p. 27. Footnote. Biographie des représentants du peuple (Paris: Au Bureau de Notre Histoire, 1848), p. 246.

was toasted the most frequently during the campaign, being in fifty-two main speeches with seven responses. In many banquets it was toasted more than once. Parliamentary reform holds to a slightly smaller figure with forty-four toasts and again seven responses. No other item approached these two issues in popularity at the banquets. As might be expected electoral reform was far more popular, probably because a lowering of the cens would affect many more of the individuals participating in the banquets than would the elimination of the fonctionnaires in the Chamber. The local opposition was much more conscious of the electoral problem. In all the six conservative reform banquets electoral reform is mentioned, except in the case of Melun. On the other hand parliamentary reform is considered only in Soissons and Avesnes. With the seven very radical banquets of Le Mans, Isle-Jourdain, Autun, Lille, Dijon, Chalon, and Limoges electoral and parliamentary reform are toasted only once and that time at Lille, where the speakers and program were changed at the very last moment. This would indicate that electoral reform was the principal campaign issue with the conservative and moderate banqueters and that it was not with the radicals. The conservatives were less interested in parliamentary reform and the radicals hardly at all. In the overall picture the strength of the the theme of the banquets in urging electoral and parliamentary reform remained constant.

Next in number of times toasted, and this is startling in light of the past historiography of the banquets, were thirty-one toasts concerning the conditions of labor. Twelve of these with two responses were to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes, ten to the organization of work, and nine plus one response to the working class itself. Out of fifty-nine banquets that may be considered reform meetings a toast and speech concerning the working class was made in twenty-eight, or just a little under a half of them. This is unusual because the banquet campaign as originally planned had not considered the working man. In most cases the electoral reform was not for the working men, and the working people were not party to the banquets in their organization and only rarely in the audience. Only four of that class are known to have spoken at a banquet. The danger of using figures such as these is that each banquet is wrongly put on a par with the other, when actually a banquet like that of Saint Quentin was far larger and had more national influence than one in a small community like Rochechouart. Even taking this into account, that so many banquets mentioned the working man and that it followed after electoral and parliamentary reform as a toast is significant of the social implications within the political banquets.

Why was the bourgeoisie so conscious of the working man? If it was as unconcerned as Karl Marx indicates, why did the bourgeoisie tolerate these banquets and

participate in them as it did? The answer is found in the atmosphere of social romanticism which had developed in France in the closing years of the July Monarchy. Just as electoral reform stemming from a rational age and tempered by economic liberalism influenced the bourgeoisie, so also the humanitarian idea of doing something for the less privileged had won middle class converts. David-Owen Evans in his book, Le Roman social sous la monarchie de juillet, deals with this problem in literature.[12] The mysticism and enthusiasm of early romanticism had turned from Chateaubriand's primeval forests and Indians to contemporary social conditions and with it came the glorification of the worker by many of the enlightened and comfortable bourgeoisie. They saw nothing incongruous in discussing the worker in a banquet primarily organized to promote a lowering of the cens.

The very use of the term organisation du travail shows this social romanticism. It really meant little of anything specifically and the speeches in its name gave no adequate explanation. The phrase had been used before Louis Blanc popularized it in his book; there is no indication that the program of Blanc was in mind in the many times the phrase was discussed in the campaign. Blanc himself spoke only once in the campaign, at the Ledru-Rollin banquet at Dijon where he made an inconspicuous toast to

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[12] David-Owen Evans, Le Roman social sous la monarchie de juillet (Paris: Picart, 1930).

the future of France. This interest in the lot of the working class by the bourgeoisie of the banquets implies a social interest by much of the opposition far exceeding the contention of some historians, particularly of the Marxian school.

Other toasts in the campaign indicate the extent of the ideas uppermost in the minds of the banqueters. The deputies of the opposition were toasted twenty-five times with thirteen responses, indicating local approval of the deputies. The toast to an increased probity on the part of local officials was popular, as was that to an independent press and the unity of the opposition. National sovereignty was toasted twenty times with sovereignty of the people eleven times; it was far easier for all to agree on the former than the latter. The Great Revolution was toasted twelve times to only seven with one response to the Revolution of 1830. The Comité central received twelve toasts. There were seven to the King of the French and sixteen to the constitutional royalty. Agriculture as a theme was more popular than commerce or industry. The Papacy was considered in eight banquets, while public education in only five. Italy had seven, Poland five, and Switzerland four toasts. Better employment of funds surprisingly had only three toasts as did the question of lowering the taxes.

This gives some indication of the more popular and significant subjects discussed. French oratory however

was far from disciplined, and often content did not entirely follow the indicated title. There were speeches that included thoughts for a united Europe, some were anti-Semitic, others were anti-Jesuit. Reform itself was sought in every direction from postal service to merchant marine.

The banqueters in their speeches demonstrated the point which Professor Pouthas emphasizes as a reason for the failure of the Revolution of 1848. These men remained always in the world of abstraction, of the ideal, and never faced the reality of the historical situation. They never quite said what it was they were seeking. Banquet after banquet reached emotional heights with a serious discussion of generalities without coming to grips with issues. Even a request for the resignation of Guizot is couched in ambiguity. Again this is the element of romanticism and idealism destroying, or at least thwarting, the rationality of their program. The pamphleteers who made definite proposals were not part of the campaign; the suggested laws of Duvergier de Hauranne and Rémusat in the spring of 1847 are the nearest the banqueters ever came in explicitly stating a program for electoral and parliamentary reform, and this was in the winter before the campaign began.

The men of the banquets talked about doing something for the working man, but they never said what. They discussed national sovereignty, but their ideas were hazy. They talked about a union of peoples, about national honor, the progress of liberty, reform in general, truthfulness

in government, liberty, civisme, dignity of government, generosity, the future of religion, general well-being. Yet not once did they recommend to the French government or the French people any specific method for applying their ideas to the immediate situation of France in 1847. The British Chartists spelled out their demands; the French banqueters only implied theirs.

That the banqueters sought to organize a movement acceptable to all shades of opinion is too easy a reason for their generalities. The statement that by temperament the French people are more interested in ideas, in principles, in theory as opposed to action, application, operation is to oversimplify the question. To give to the idealism of the romantic movement alone the credit for the abstract ideas of the campaign is not enough. It was a combination of all three. These men were representative of the times in which they lived, when liberalism and romanticism joined hands. The ideas of liberty, fraternity, equality stemmed from the Great Revolution and its mentor the Age of Reason, and once more in 1847-1848 they captured the imagination of qualified leadership. To the doctrinaire school with its belief in reason and the conviction that its use can be gradually expanded in the political field to bring about greater political liberty with sufficient checks to protect the individual in the use of freedom was added the exuberance of the messianic republican school, which cherished the memory of the Convention. Their mission

was to bring about the triumph of liberty. Once accomplished social justice would follow. In this vision there was only a degree of difference between the constitutional monarchy of Duvergier de Hauranne and the republic of Ledru-Rollin. Only the timing prevented the acceptance of Guizot. They all believed in the tremendous possibilities for political development; they all saw the future as something brighter than the past. All that was necessary was just one more effort. Most of these men were frighteningly patient, because they believed it was reasonable to be patient. But patience too long tried on poor mortals tends to grow thin and to wear out as it did in the month of February, 1848.

II

The reaction of the people of France to the banquets is the factor most difficult to discover as it has been the aspect easiest for historians to speculate upon. Very few actions and ideas in France find unbiased observers. The politicians, the leaders, the people who wrote memoirs took sides politically on the banquets and colored the reactions of the country. The men of the Government and the Conservative Party looked upon them as a nuisance until the change of Government policy in late December, at which time they probably overestimated the danger. They worried over what the banquets might do rather than over

what they did do. On the other hand, those who participated in the campaign were convinced that the banquets were a huge success in arousing the country to action on reform. The public men who took no part in the campaign had to justify their own abstention by underplaying it. The press was partisan and usually failed to estimate accurately the climate of opinion before the day of the public survey poll.

Perhaps the best sources are again the answers to the reports written by the Procureurs-Généraux to the Ministry of Justice in Paris. These men were paid to report the climate of opinion; for them to err in any direction would be costly to their careers. These reports are scattered, but they give an excellent indication that the individual banquets in most cases did not have a great deal of influence on public opinion or cause any radical change in attitudes.

The first official report concerning public reaction is of the banquet at Strasbourg. Here the Procureur-Général wrote that at the banquet there was no manifestation of a nature to trouble public order.[13] Again a Procureur-Général reported that public order was not disturbed by the banquet of Orléans.[14] The Procureur-Général of Paris

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[13]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Colmar, September 7, 1847.

[14]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général at Orléans, October 1, 1847.

reported that the population of Meaux was indifferent to its banquet.[15] From Dijon came the report that the banquet of Autun was completely insignificant.[16] From the Procureur-Général of Douai the report regarding Avesnes stated that the political manifestations had been received with great indifference by public opinion.[17] The same report was made by the Procureur-Général of Grenoble regarding the banquet of Valence.[18] Sometimes these men were not always completely accurate in their judgment because in a report before the banquet of Lyon the Procureur-Général wrote, "The opinion of the enlightened classes of this area is not ready for a manifestation of this kind. . . ."[19] The banquet took place with over a thousand individuals in attendance.

The Procureur-Général of Dijon wrote concerning Chalon, ". . . that the public tranquility was not

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[15]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général at Paris, October 4, 1847.

[16]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général at Dijon, November 5, 1847.

[17]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Douai, November 18, 1847.

[18]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Grenoble, November 25, 1847.

[19]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1441. Dossier 1992a. Letter from the Procureur-Général of Lyon to the Minister of Justice, August 5, 1847.

sufficiently troubled."[20] It was reported that both Romans and Vienne were tranquil after their banquets.[21]

Actually in geographical distribution the banquets were concentrated in five main areas, although these were among the most populous of France. The largest was a belt extending from the southern part of the Ile de France around the city of Orléans north to the Belgian border. This included the Paris basin and industrial sections in eastern Normandy and the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

A second concentration was the Middle Rhône and Saône valleys, extending from Valence north into lower Burgundy. The banquets extended east from the Rhone over into the Alps around Grenoble. The department of Isère alone had six banquets of the fifty-nine. The third area was a belt extending across Languedoc and the upper Garonne valley. From Montpellier in the east it reached across Castres, Albi, Toulouse, and as far west as Condom. Another concentration was in Haute Vienne and the valley of the Dordogne, while yet another was in Alsace and the Vosges. Except for a few scattered spots these were the main areas. Three of these were primarily in the area of new economic

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[20] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Dijon, January 5, 1848.

[21] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Office of Criminal Affairs and Pardons to the Procureur-Général of Grenoble, January 5, 1848.

development where there were new entrepreneurs without political privileges and working people with social and economic grievances.

Reports on reactions of the people to the banquets in the areas further away are not plentiful. The Procureur-Général of Agen wrote to the Ministry of Justice on public opinion in the Lot-et-Garonne in January, 1848. Of the city of Agen he wrote, "The agitation of the united opposition in the reform banquets has met with feeble support in this part of my jurisdiction." Of a proposed banquet in Auch in Gers he stated, "The lists of subscription were not of a sufficient number of signatures, and this attempt was thwarted." Of Figeac in Lot, "There was no electoral banquet in this arrondissement. No agitation has broken out, and all believe that this part of my jurisdiction will remain perfectly calm."[22]

The Procureur-Général in Besançon reported too little interest in his area for a banquet to be successful.[23] Dagnan in his introduction to Gers sous la seconde république states that the reform banquet influence was limited to several towns, but that the countryside was ignorant of political life.[24] Bruneau has reported that

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[22]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Procureur-Général of Agen to the Minister of Justice, January 17,1848.

[23]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Procureur-Général of Besançon to the Minister of Justice, August 29, 1847.

[24]J. Dagnan, Le Gers sous la seconde république (Auch: Coharaux, 1928-1929), p. XXIV.

the campaign passed unperceived in Indre.[25] Banquet plans were launched but never reached fruition in Narbonne, Bourges, Aire, Bordeaux, Charleville, Troyes, Tours, Blois, Piérut (Dordogne), Péronne, Dunkerque, Angers, Laval, Clermont l'Hérault, Béziers, Bernay, Saint-Omer, Boulogne, Vannes, Auxerre, Bastia, Niort, Marseilles, Nantes, Dôle.

Two reasons may be given as to why the banquets did not arouse overwhelming support from the people. One is that they were not directed at the people as much as they were directed at the electors. The second is that the common people were little interested in political problems. Durrez, a lawyer from Lisieux in the Calvados wrote to De Lasteyrie on August 8, 1847, giving an explanation.

> At present most of the people, at least in my country, live, I do not say in indifference, but in the most complete ignorance of their political rights; they do not even know the form of government to which they have submitted; they do not know the advantages which result for them and for the country from the exercise of these rights.
>
> Accustomed to having the rich vote, they do not understand that the right of which they should be jealous, belongs to them; and they do not feel the necessity of laying claim to it.
>
> The children of the people reach manhood without any notion of their rights as citizens because in the schools no one ever speaks of them.
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> It seems indispensable to me that before speaking to the people of electoral and parliamentary reform, words which most of them do not understand, to work a little for political education.[26]

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[25] Daniel Bruneau, L.Peygnaud, and Frédéric Naudin, Aspects de la Révolution de 1848 dans l'Indre (Chateauroux: Badel, 1948), p. 1.

[26] Archives Nationales. Pagnerre Papers. AP 67 (AB XIX 2845.2 3).

To state that throughout France there was no positive reaction from the banquets is unfair. Even if the people were indifferent the governing classes were made more conscious of the political needs. Actually this was not the result of any particular banquet, but the result of the overall campaign, coming as it did in a period of potential economic and social unrest.

The very numbers of those in attendance is indicative of strength. According to Government figures, which in every case are below partisan estimates and do not take into account any banquet after Limoges, nearly 21,000 men attended these banquets.[27] It would be safe to say that between twenty and twenty-five thousand people directly participated in these banquets. There were only about 241,000 electors in France. Five banquets had attendance with over a thousand, Paris, Dijon, Lyon, Saint Denis, and Rouen. Undoubtedly there were thousands of Frenchmen who would have attended a banquet had they had the opportunity. This was a formidable number, considering that most of them represented the prosperous middle class.

The attitudes of this middle class is considered in a revealing report made by Pares, the Procureur-Général at Colmar in a report on attitudes in Alsace on September 9, 1847.

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[27]Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[30] 276. Statistique des Banquets Réformistes.

> . . . the morale has been greatly increased [economically speaking]. But this is not the case on the political side; a grave change has shown itself, which requires the serious attention of the government.
>
> The Alsatian is essentially a friend of order. That is why, in spite of his tendency to be in the opposition . . . he has generally since 1830 sent Conservatives to the Chamber of Deputies. He read a great deal about the fact that the government was corrupt, but he did not see the corruption and he did not believe it. Of late he has seen the great trials which have given credence to all the previous accusations; new facts have come to join the old, and he has ended by persuading himself in all good faith that the public powers are not pure. . . . The opinion is not hostile but it is inquiet; one sees that it is troubled by all that has happened. . . .
>
> This sentiment will explain to you, Monsieur le Garde des Sceaux, the reform banquets of Colmar and Strasbourg; it will explain to you especially the presence at these banquets of a large number of conservatives. They seem to want to protest against immorality which they believe to be more widespread than it is, and to push away from themselves the responsibility. . . .[28]

There were other indications that the banquets had been symptomatic of unrest and an outlet for verbal expression of what many of the bourgeoisie were thinking. Wrote the Duke of Broglie to his father in early 1848, ". . . the events of the past year have left their traces, and the majority, which felt itself solidly established has begun to dream of reform projects. . . ."[29]

General Hautpoul of the Chamber of Peers wrote in his memoirs:

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[28] Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB[18] 1414. Dossier 7050a9. Letter from the Procureur-Général of Colmar to the Minister of Justice, September 9, 1847.

[29] Jacques V. A. de Broglie, Mémoires du duc de Broglie (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1938), I, p. 181.

> I left for Paris in the first days of January. . . . The capital appeared quite agitated to me. The reform banquets had taken place in many areas. . . . All the men of the opposition ranged around them. These people, who had neither political views nor sane appreciation of events which were serving, in reality, the revolutionary party. . . .[30]

The Duc de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, wrote to Duchâtel on September 5, 1847.

> The meetings which have taken place in Paris denote some bad tendencies; it is necessary unceasingly to be on guard and to be ever ready to combat and repress vigorously the attempts of parties under whatever form they present themselves.[31]

The idea that causes a man to give his life on a barricade is a personal one, which no historian can fathom. Certainly no man gave his life in Paris in February, 1848, because of a banquet. Many consciously or unconsciously gave their lives because of the ideas expressed in the banquets. More than any other factor the banquets prepared the bourgeoisie to accept the February Revolution and to prevent the counter-revolution until fear forced them to destroy the radicals in the Constituent Assembly and in the bloody June Days.

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[30] Alphonse d'Hautpoul, Mémoires du général marquis Alphonse d'Hautpoul, pair de France (1789-1865) (Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1906), pp. 297-298.

[31] Archives Nationales. 2 AP Carton 9. Letters of Louis d'Orléans to Duchâtel.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

The history of the banquet campaign of 1847-1848 is brief. There was no idea when 1847 began that France would be in the throes of a political crisis by fall; still less did anyone imagine that in fourteen months France would be a republic. Yet within the few crowded months, between July and February, took place this political activity whose results were so surprising.

In the early months of 1847, the opposition had met once again a rejection of its program for electoral and parliamentary reform. The desired change was relatively small, hardly enough to frighten Guizot or Louis Philippe, yet the Government insisted that the time for it was not appropriate. It was because of this stubborn wall against which the opposition was continually hammering that the conservative elements in the opposition drew together to formulate a unified political program which would widen the suffrage to include those whom intelligence and experience had qualified for taking an active role in the country's political life. The corollary of their program was the resignation of Guizot.

The nucleus of this unified opposition was the element which could compromise, the Gauche Dynastique, who

saw the inevitability of democracy but who were not yet ready for it, and those republicans who likewise believed in its inevitability but who considered that the best course of action was to work through existing institutions. The right of the opposition, the Centre Gauche, wanted reform without democracy. The extreme republicans wanted democracy at once.

The healthy center of the opposition took the initiative with tolerable support from the right and none at all from the left. Of that center group, however, it was the republicans who determined the course of the campaign, and although legalists they still remained opposed to the monarchy. Their primary method of maintaining control was by the domination of the organization bureau. Even in a country like France, where the lack of organization is often notorious, it was still the organizational directors that determined the direction of events. In the first banquet in Paris it was the Comité central of Pagnerre and his friends that pointed the way. It was that same group that was relied upon all the way to the Rouen banquet, and it was the Comité central in the end who took over the planning for the Banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement.

A second reason for the power of the moderate republicans was that they possessed the most spirited leadership. The dynastics had always worked within the framework of a limited suffrage and had therefore a small core of followers. The republicans, on the other hand, always had

a wide organizational core which encouraged new leadership and large membership. Finally the republicans dominated the campaign because they had a clearer vision of what they wanted and a more exciting goal; they had something to work for over and beyond electoral and parliamentary reform.

Basically moderate republicanism did not frighten the Gauche Dynastique as much as it did the Centre Gauche. The two groups found they could work in harmony. The Gauche Dynastique would participate in a banquet whenever constitutionality was acknowledged. This was the Barrot position at Lille. He would have accepted his bitter foe, Ledru-Rollin, if the banquet had indicated a belief in constitutional forms. On the other hand, the moderate republicans would accept working within constitutional institutions if they believed it would assist them in their way toward a republic for France. This working compromise was satisfactory to these two groups, but to them alone.

The Centre Gauche split on the issue of the campaign. Some like Duvergier de Hauranne and De Malleville could make the adjustment with republicanism, because they were men of some vision. Others like Dufaure and Faucher were afraid and could not make the philosophical adjustment. The indecision, the split of the Centre Gauche, was the fault of Thiers, who is the tragic failure of the banquet campaign. Thiers failed in leadership, perhaps the greatest failure of his long political career. If he had disapproved of a coalition with the republicans, if he had entirely disapproved

of the banquet campaign, he could have withdrawn his party from the first and so weakened the banquet idea that it could not have reached the stage of Chateau Rouge. If he had heartily approved he could have led the Centre Gauche into the campaign, and together with the Gauche Dynastique have weighted the banquets toward constitutionality and prevented the Comité central from moulding the philosophy of the spoken campaign. Thiers did neither, and the Centre Gauche was allowed to flounder and finally to collapse in the revolution. His motives are obscure, but the facts will always be there. Thiers abdicated political leadership in 1847 when it was needed most.

The extreme republicans refused to work with the dynastics at all. On his side Ledru-Rollin exerted the leadership that Thiers did not. He had the advantage of a smaller and more philosophically united following, far more of a personal leadership than Thiers, and he knew what he wanted. His ambition was recognized by the dynastics and moderates who did not ask him to join their movement.

Thus it was that in July the banquets began under the sponsorship of the moderate republicans, the Gauche Dynastique, and part of the Centre Gauche. The general course of the campaign was to be radical and republican from the start, although it was a tactful and legalistic republicanism. The republicans dominated completely until late September when Barrot became active and began to share responsibility. Only in October did the Centre Gauche show

any strength, but with a weak and divided leadership that could not become effective. The moderate center tried to drive a middle course, and the history of the campaign would have rested here had not the Ledru-Rollin faction usurped the banquet idea. What made Ledru-Rollin come to Lille? Did he believe he was losing support? Did he wish to embarrass the campaign? He probably counted upon embarrassing Barrot at least, but Barrot was clever enough to see the aims of the extreme republicans. He could unite with the Pagnerre republicans, but not with his political enemies of the extreme left. In the end the extremists gained control of Lille and marched on to new banquets.

From November until the end of December there were in reality two banquet campaigns, although distance gives them the appearance of two parts of the same. The Duvergier de Hauranne-Barrot-Pagnerre campaign continued the old program, entered into it with new vigor because of the threat from the left, but they failed to produce any new ideas. The other campaign was that of Ledru-Rollin, selling democracy and republicanism pure and simple. The two campaigns fought for two months with violent distaste for one another, attacking personalities rather than ideas.

The whole object of the campaign was to demonstrate that the French people were interested in reform and wanted the Government to initiate some kind of electoral and parliamentary changes. A favorable response was expected from the Government by late 1847, but the ministry had

not understood the issues involved in the banquets and saw in them only a threat to internal security. At first the Government wanted to leave them alone, but after the entrance into the banquet campaign of the extreme republicans at Lille, followed by the inability of the constitutional elements always to control them the Government changed its mind. The threat of Limoges and similar banquets made it clear to the ministry that the manifestations must be stopped.

The Government believed that the only reasonable approach was to show the opposition that it looked upon the banquets with disfavor, marking them as essentially unconstitutional. The opposition took this as a personal affront. The debate on the speech from the throne was over the right of the Government to maintain that the banquet campaign had demonstrated a naively hostile position against the July Monarchy. The result was that the majority of the Chamber accepted this position of the ministry. If then the Government and Chamber had said that the banquets represented hostility to them, any further banquets would have been a threat to public order and an attack upon the French government. The opposition continued its program, and despite the temporary possibility of a compromise, the banquet of the Twelfth Arrondissement was forbidden. The constitutionalists accepted this fact; the extremists encouraged a revolution. The final issue was not over the constitutional efficacy of reform, but an even more important

constitutional issue, that of the right of the opposition to hold a banquet.

The results of the campaign itself are to be distinguished from the conclusions of this study. Being a purely internal French activity, the banquets had a minor effect on the other countries of Europe. Some opposition groups in other countries did use the French banquets as a method for arousing their own people, but it is difficult to find any direct connection between the French banquets and those of other states. A banquet did take place in Düsseldorf in October, 1847, which closely resembled the French banquets.[1] Munich had a political banquet on October 3.[2] There was even a political banquet by the progressives in Madrid on July 21.[3] In direct imitation of the French banquets was that held at Nice on November 11. Among the discourses were those in praise of the King, of Pius IX, and of Mazzini. One speaker, Thomas Dalmas, spoke in French, which was reported to have caused a sensation.[4] However except for such spotty showings there was no large-scale imitation of the banquet campaign in the rest of Europe.

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[1] National (Paris), October 15, 1847.

[2] National (Paris), October 15, 1847.

[3] National (Paris), July 28, 1847.

[4] André Compan, "La révolution de 1848 dans l'ancien comté de Nice," Nice Historique, April-June, 1949, p. 83.

Most important was the effect of the banquet campaign on France. Did it accomplish what it set out to do; to arouse the people of France, to encourage the Government to reform the political system, and to unite the opposition? First, the banquets did not arouse the people of France; they made few converts to the program of reform. But they did excite the leadership of the bourgeoisie, and they animated those who had already supported political reform with little enthusiasm.

The banquets did not convince the Government as represented by the ministry of the efficacy of political reform for France. In early 1848 the Government remained as adamant in its position that France was not ready for political reform as it had been in 1847. The banquets did have, however, some effect upon the Conservative Party. Many members by February had become convinced that the Guizot ministry was reckless in the rigidity of its policy. This was seen in the editorial position of the Journal des Débats in 1848, in such indications as the Sallandrouze amendment and in the decreasing majority support in the Chamber of Deputies. The banquets had alerted many Conservatives to the importance of reform.

The third aim of the banquets was to unite the opposition. Here again they failed. The only elements that formed a solid coalition were the Gauche Dynastique and the moderate republicans. Certain elements of the Centre Gauche, led by Duvergier de Hauranne and De Malleville,

joined this group. The far left, or extreme republicans, refused to unite with this opposition. Surprisingly elements of the Legitimists occasionally participated, as at Condom, and the socialists, as at Montargis, although the latter felt more comfortable in staging independent banquets for reform along the lines of Bac at Limoges. Thus it was that by the semiofficial close of the banquets at Rouen only certain parts of the opposition found any unity over the banquet program. The real political opposition was as disunited at the end as at the beginning. The unity that is demonstrated in and out of the Chamber in February by the opposition is a unity in the face of the Government's assertion that the banquets were a threat to order. The opposition from Thiers to Ledru-Rollin agreed to fight this, and consequently it is a fact that the opposition did not find unity in the issues of the campaign, but unity rather as a result of the hostile reaction to the campaign.

It is correct therefore to say that the banquet campaign failed to accomplish its mission, the program for which it had been organized in June, 1847. It was the indirect results of the campaign that gave it its significance.

Perhaps the most important of these was the very issue developed at the conclusion, that of the right of an opposition to hold a peaceful assembly and the question of what determines whether a manifestation is hostile.

France had not yet achieved the unqualified right of free assembly for its legal opposition. When did a loyal opposition become disloyal? In this particular issue there were two points of view. The Government approach, based on evidence which it believed well-supported, was that its early tolerance of the assemblies of the opposition had resulted in an increasingly hostile campaign, which had become a serious threat to the internal security of France. Liberty had turned to license. On the other hand the opposition loudly maintained its belief in constitutionality, while naively ignoring or underestimating the effect of the hostile banquet speeches. In the end all the opposition was forced into the position of supporting this contention by the tactless method of Guizot and Louis Philippe in accusing them all equally of hostility. By February then the issue is the right of holding a political demonstration. When the opposition leaders yielded to the Government on February 21, it was too late to prevent street rioting. The debate in the Chamber marks a high point in the history of the fight for free political assembly in France.

A second important indirect result was that, while not arousing the country to action as had been hoped, the campaign focused the attention of the country upon its political difficulties. The bourgeoisie and aristocrats, and to some extent the proletariat and the peasants, were certainly made conscious of this political unrest, even if

not driven to political action or the change of a vote. An excellent little satire appeared in 1848 entitled Conversation politique de M. et Mme. Denis, which showed a simple lower middle class pair who, while rejecting the banquet method, were indirectly made conscious of needed reform by the campaign.[5] The opposition felt justified in its criticism of the electoral laws, and the very means of making a lot of noise brought the issue to the nation's attention.

Another effect upon France of the banquets was that they brought new vigor into political life. The closing years of the July Monarchy before 1847 suffered from political lethargy. The Conservatives were in complete control and thought only about foreign affairs such as maneuvering with Palmerston, spreading French power in Algeria, and finding wives for the young Orléans princes. The conviction of the efficacy of a laissez-faire economic policy had kept politics and economics publicly separated. In political life the country had slept. Lamartine had exaggerated when he said that the country was bored, but he was correct in implying that political life had reached a very low point. Then came the banquet campaign of 1847, which aroused the political leadership of France as nothing else had in years, and for the first time the July Monarchy

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[5]Conversation politique de M. et Mme. Denis, ou il est prouvé que le parti conservateur ne peut pas être corrompu; suivi d'un aperçu sur l'utilité des banquets réformistes. (Signé: Démocrite) (Paris: Librairie Passage du Commerce, 1848).

found itself and its position challenged by alert, active, and legal political forces. It was a healthy sign, and the campaign inaugurated once more an interest by Frenchmen in the question as to how they were to be governed.

In January, 1848, the issue of electoral and parliamentary reform had been made the order of the day by the opposition banquet campaign and a decision had to be made. In this the Guizot ministry alone disagreed. In its decision to ignore this demand the Government misjudged grievously the temper of the hour. The politicians saw that the banquets had forced the Government to make a decision on parliamentary and electoral reform, but Guizot unhappily sought delay.

Finally while the banquets did not bring a permanent unity to the opposition based upon a common program sincerely supported, they did demonstrate the power of the opposition which had been latent in the earlier years of the July Monarchy. The banquets showed to France, if not to the Guizot Government, that there was a very real opposition to the policy, if not to the monarchy,and that it had popular leadership, that it was capable of organization outside of the Chamber to promote a program, that it could rally popular support and even win converts. The banquet campaign showed not only that there was political vitality left in France, but that it could be organized and channeled into a path of action. Despite varied motivations, the opposition could organize itself effectively.

These, then, were the principal results of the banquet campaign. They would have existed whether the revolution had broken out or not, but it was the revolution that terminated the banquets and destroyed all opportunity of seeing what might have come about peacefully.

After centuries of Capetian administration royal absolutism had come to an end in France with the Great Revolution. The Republic that followed was not built on firm foundations, with the result that the Napoleonic Empire succeeded it. Once more in the Restoration and the July Monarchy France tried the limited monarchy which had been forced upon Louis XVI and had proved unsuccessful. It was a limited monarchy built on reason. However there were forces that believed that France must control its monarch or even dispense with him if his policy proved exasperating. By late 1847 this group had become increasingly articulate, but it was still legalistic. The banquet method appealed to the legalistic bourgeois mentality as the reasonable way to rectify an unsatisfactory political situation. It did not work, partly because the program was too idealistic and too advanced for most of the country, and partly because the monarchists had not learned the lessons of previous revolutions. If the banquet program had fitted the realities of the political situation, or if Louis Philippe and his advisers had been more sensitive to the climate of opinion in their country, the banquets would have been successful. The approach was reasonable and the philosophes

would have approved. But the reasonableness of the banquet method did not mean that Louis Philippe, his advisers, his opposition, or his people were capable of using reason in politics. Hence the failure of the banquets and the advent of a period of violence.

Pouthas has stated that the revolution of 1848 was the end of an era, rather than the beginning of a new. It was another attempt of the liberal bourgeoisie to come to grips with government. All the ideas that had been formulated from the Enlightenment on were to come into play once more; republicanism, democracy, popular sovereignty, liberty, equality, fraternity. They had all been discussed and written about by the intellectual middle classes for three generations. The banquets were another expression, the last before the rise of an industrial proletariat, of these thoughts and ideas by the men who were to have a second opportunity to put them into effect. This is the position of the banquets in intellectual history. In February, 1848, the banqueters put their ideas into action. Only a few of these survived the wreckage of the June Days and the Coup d'État of 1851. Why these ideas failed at this time is another problem, but when France became a republic once more it was the result of accident rather than purpose. The banquets demonstrated the ideology of the enlightened bourgeoisie before the complications of proletarian socialism.

What finally is the position of the banquets in the history of the revolution of 1848? The banquets did not cause the revolution; but the ideas formulated in the campaign were those that brought on the revolution, and the men that made the banquets were the men that made the revolution. There have been three dogmatic theories of explanation of this revolution. The oldest thesis and the one emphasized in the nineteenth century explained the revolution as purely the result of political events and issues. The July Monarchy failed to govern France, and hence it was overthrown. Another thesis has claimed that the economic factor was the determinant of the revolution. Arthur L. Dunham and Ernest Labrousse have been leaders in exploring this explanation.[6] For these scholars an economic motive underlay the political and social and, of course, the economic unrest. The third explanation is that of the Marxists. For them 1848 was the first wedge in the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; it was a social war. Most accept the fact that there are elements of truth in all three theses.

The study of the banquet campaign of 1847-1848 challenges the Marxian interpretation, because it was the bourgeois intellectuals who led the political revolution of February, although as in every revolution it was the

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[6] Arthur L. Dunham, "Unrest in France in 1848," The Tasks of Economic History, Supplement VIII, 1948 to The Journal of Economic History, pp. 74-84. Ernest Labrousse, "1848—1830—1789, Comment naissent les révolutions," in Actes du Congrès historique du centenaire de la révolution de 1848 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 1-29.

people who shed the blood. The campaign refutes the dogmatism of the economic interpretation because the evidence of economic difficulties is not revealed by the banquets. The study of the banquet campaign supports the old political thesis, but does not allow it to regain its former position of supremacy. The generalization that the banquet campaign caused the Revolution of 1848 is shown as false, but the fact cannot be refuted that the political causes of the revolution are focused in the banquets of July, 1847 to February, 1848.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I. REFORM BANQUETS AND SPEECHES IN FRANCE 1847-1848

1. Paris July 9, 1847 President: De Lasteyrie

De Lasteyrie: À la souveraineté nationale!
Recurt: À la Révolution de 1830!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse au toast: À la Révolution de 1830.
Pagnerre: À la Réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Duvergier de Hauranne: Réponse au toast à la Réforme électorale et parlementaire.
Sénard: À la ville de Paris!
Marie: À l'union de Paris et des départements!
Grisier: À l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses!
Gustave de Beaumont: Réponse a ce toast.
Riglet: À la presse!
Chambolle: Réponse.
Frédéric Degeorge: Réponse.
Hamelin: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Léon de Malleville: Réponse et toast au Comité Central!

2. Colmar August 8, 1847 President: Rossée

Fleurant: À la réforme électorale!
Koenig: À l'union des peuples!
Chauffour: À la révolution française! À la réalisation pacifique mais sincère, progressive mais constante de ses doctrines et de ses principes!
Joeuger: À l'organisation du travail!
De Heckeren: À l'honneur national!
Yves: À la probité des pouvoirs publics!
Boersh: Aux patriotes du Haut-Rhin!
Koch: Aux patriotes du Bas-Rhin!
Coulmann: Réponse.
Fuchs: À. M. Rossée, président du banquet!
Rossée: Au Roi des Français!

3. Le Mans August 10, 1847 President: V. Louchet

Louchet: À la souveraineté du peuple! À l'avenir!
Hippolyte Lecornué: Au 10 août 1792!
N. Gallois: Au prochain triomphe de la raison! à la démocratie! à l'égalité!

4. Pontoise August 22, 1847 President: Berville

Coulbeaux: Au roi constitutionnel des Français!
Martel: À M. Berville, député de Pontoise!
Berville: Discours sur la réforme électorale et parlementaire et toste aux électeurs de Pontoise!

5. Reims August 31, 1847 President: Dérodé

Dérodé: Au roi constitutionnel!
Léon Faucher: À la réforme électorale!
Pérignon: À la conscience et à la probité politiques!
Demaison-Henriot: À la réforme administrative!
Ed. Henriot: Au progrès de la liberté en Europe!
Carpentier: À la garde nationale!
Ad. David: À M. L. Faucher!

6. Strasbourg September 5, 1847 President: Liechtenberger

Liechtenberger: À la souveraineté nationale!
Lobstein fils: À l'avenir de la France!
Édouard Gloxin: À la probité politique!
Steiner: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
B.... : À l'organisation du travail!
Ch. Boersch: À la révolution française! aux principes et aux souvenirs de 1789 et de 1830!
Coulmann: À l'union de toutes les opinions libérales!
De Bancalis: Aux honnêtes gens de tous les parties.
Martin (de Strasbourg): À l'union de toutes les nuances de l'opposition libérale, et de tous les hommes honnêtes!
Silbermann: Aux patriotes de l'Alsace!
Ignace Chauffour: Aux patriotes du Bas Rhin!
Kayser: À l'association des écoles; au progrès!
Kugler: Au président du banquet!

7. Bar-Le-Duc September 9,1847 President: Paulin Gillon

Paulin Gillon: Au roi constitutionnel des Français!
Etienne: À la moralité des pouvoirs publics!
Chadenel: À la réforme électorale!
Brien: À l'honneur national!
Grenier: À l'union des patriotes de la Meuse!

8. Forges September 12, 1847 President: Lelong

Mignot: À M. Desjobert!
Desjobert: Réponse et toast à la Réforme!
Cisseville: À M. J. de Lasteyrie, député de la Sarthe!
Jules de Lasteyrie: Réponse et toast à l'économie dans les dépenses!
Mallard: À la réforme électorale!
Lelong: Allocution.
Marette: Discours sur la corruption.
Decaux: À la garde nationale!

9. Soissons September 12, 1847 President: Lherbette

. . . : Au roi des Français!
. . . : À la députation de l'Aisne.
Lherbette: À la moralité dans le gouvernement!
Missa: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Odilon Barrot: À la réforme des lois électorales et des moeurs politiques!
Quinette: À l'agriculture et au commerce!
Soul: À l'union des patriotes et à leur persévérance!
Lemaire: À l'avenir de la France!
Griffon: À M. Quinette, ancien maire de Soissons!

10. Saint-Quentin September 19,1847 President: Ch. Lemaire

Vivien, De Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Béranger: Lettres d'adhésion.

Dufour: À la Réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Lherbette: Réponse.
Beauchart: À la députation de l'Aisne!
De Cambacérès: Réponse et toast à la vérité du gouvernement représentatif!
Quinette: Aux communes de France!
Corne: À la régénération de l'esprit public!

Gavet: À la presse indépendante!
F. Degeorge: Réponse.
Henri Martin: À la sainte alliance des peuples!
V. Considérant: À l'accomplissement des destinées de la France! À l'organisation progressive de la fraternité dans l'humanité!
Souplet: Au comité central de Paris!
Pagnerre: Réponse.
Tillancourt: À l'agriculture! à l'industrie manufacturière! au commerce et à l'union de toutes les branches de la production nationale!
Magnier: À la classe ouvrière!
Théophile Dufour: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse.

11. Périgueux September 19, 1847 President: Mayrand

Dubois: À la réforme!
Charpentier de Bellecour: À la moralisation du pouvoir! à celles du pays!
Decous-Laperrière: À la révolution, à la résurrection de l'Italie!
Chastenet: À la papauté démocratique!
Villamonte: À la révolution de 1789!
Odon de la Roche-Félines: À la presse! à sa liberté!
Dupont: Aux députés réformistes de la Dordogne!
Taillefer: À la réforme électorale!
Lapeyrière: À l'organisation du travail!
Chavoix: À l'union des parties pour obtenir la pureté et la sincérité du gouvernement représentatif!

12. Isle-Jourdain (Gers) September 22,1847 President: Castillon

Un ouvrier: À l'organisation du travail!
Un électeur: À la réforme la plus large!
. . . : À la souveraineté du peuple!
. . . : À la liberté de la presse!
. . . : À la régénération de l'Italie!
. . . : A M. Arago et à M. Ledru-Rollin!

13. Orléans September 23, 1847 President: Abatucci

Danicourt: À la souveraineté du peuple! à la souveraineté nationale!

Pereira: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Abatucci: Réponse.
Greffier: À la probité politique!
Péan: A l'honneur national!
Crémieux: Réponse.
J. Tricot: Aux travailleurs! A l'amélioration des classes laborieuses!
Marie: Réponse.
Sallé: À la garde nationale!
Amy: Réponse.
Marchand: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Roger: Réponse.

14. Meaux September 26, 1847 President: Dumoulin-Dusays

Houzelof: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse.
Charbonneau: À la mémoire de Lafayette!
Georges Lafayette: Réponse.
Damaireau: Au député de l'arrondissement de Meaux!
Oscar Lafayette: Réponse et toast à la probité politique!
Bully: A l'agriculture, au commerce et à l'industrie!
Cordier: À nos hôtes, MM. les députés!
Larabit: Réponse.
De Lasteyrie: Aux liens indissolubles qui unissent les patriotes de Paris à ceux des départements !
Paul Cère: À la propagation des comités électoraux!
Adrien: Aux électeurs des arrondissemens de Melun, Coulommiers, Provins et Fontainebleau!
Drouyn de l'Huys: Réponse.
Garnier (de Lisy): Aux classes laborieuses!
Odilon Barrot: Au président et aux commissaires du banquet!

15. Coulommiers September 30, 1847 President: Despommiers

Despommiers: À la souveraineté nationale et à la royauté constitutionelle!
Nottin: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Louis Viardot: Même toast.
J-B. Josseau: À la moralité publique!
Drouyn de l'Huys: Discours sur la corruption politique.

Blavot: À M. Georges Lafayette!
G. Lafayette: Réponse et toast aux banquets politiques de 1847.
Delamare: À la mémoire du général Lafayette!
Jules de Lasteyrie: Réponse.
Edmond Lafayette: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse et toast à l'arrondissement de Coulommiers!
De Varennes: Au vénérable président du comité central de Paris, M. de Lasteyrie, père!
Ferdinand de Lasteyrie: Réponse et toast: À l'union des électeurs de la France!
P. Despommiers: À l'union des électeurs de Seine-et-Marne!
Chappon: À tous les électeurs de France!

16. Vitré (Ille-et-Vilaine) October 3, 1847

. . . : À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
. . . : À la régénération sociale!
. . . : À l'accomplissement des promesses de la Charte!
. . . : À la presse indépendante!
. . . : À la liberté de l'enseignement!
. . . : À l'égalité devant la loi!

17. Damville (Eure) October 3, 1847 President: Picard

Picard: À la réforme électorale! à l'amélioration du sort des classes ouvrières! À la moralité des pouvoirs publics! À la souveraineté du peuple!
Baziret et Morise: À l'union des gardes nationales!
De St. - Amand: À M. Dupont (de l'Eure), député!
Picard: À M. Garnier-Pagès, député!

18. Charité-sur-Loire October 17, 1847 President: Duvergier de Hauranne

Duvergier de Hauranne: À la souveraineté nationale et au roi constitutionnel!
Girard: À la révolution de juillet!
Archambault: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire, et à M. Duvergier de Hauranne!
Duvergier de Hauranne: Réponse et discours sur la réforme électorale et parlementaire!

Garnier: À l'union de toutes les fractions du parti libéral, et aux comités électoraux!
Masson: Réponse.
Grangier de la Marinière: À l'émancipation des peuples et aux progrès de la liberté dans le monde!
Ad. Massé: À la liberté de la presse!
Lalvador: À la presse départementale!
Gravelis: À l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses!

19. Melun October 17, 1847 President: Aubergé

Aubergé: Au roi constitutionnel!
Cordier: À M. Drouyn de l'Huys!
Drouyn de l'Huys: Réponse et discours sur la corruption électorale.
Duclos: Aux députés présents!
Baulant: À la famille Lafayette!
G. Lafayette: Réponse.
Belin: Aux électeurs des arrondissemens de Seine-et-Marne!
Edmond Lafayette: Réponse.
Fontaine (de Melun): À Pie IX!
De Mancey: Au maintien de nos institutions et à leur développement progressif!
Gustave de Beaumont: Réponse et toast aux banquets!
Lajoye: À la presse indépendante!
De Valméry: À l'agriculture et au commerce!
Drouyn de l'Huys: Au président et aux commissaires du banquet!

20. Chartres October 24, 1847 President: Isambert

Barthélemy: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Isambert: Réponse et même toast.
Vavin: À la grandeur, à l'avenir de la France, à la restauration de l'indépendance et de la liberté en Italie et en Pologne!
Raimbault: Aux réformes financières!
Lefèvre: Au Comité central des électeurs de la Seine!
Pagnerre: Réponse.
Hennequin: À l'union de la presse parisienne et de la presse départementale!
Selleque: Réponse.
Cadou: Au réveil de la France! (verse)
Mariscal: À l'honneur français, à l'antique bonne foi de nos pères; à la probité publique et privée!

Gougis: À l'union des patriotes d'Eure-et-Loir!
Barbé(t): Aux députés indépendans!
Manoury: Au courage civil!
Martin: À la France regénerée!
De Lacroix: À la garde nationale!
Damars: Réponse.
Rey: À l'institution de la garde nationale italienne!
Isambert: À la souveraineté nationale et aux institutions constitutionnelles de France!

21. Saint-Marcellin (Isère) October 24, 1847 President: Martin

Saint-Romme: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
F. Duvernay: À l'exécution des lois!
A. Clément: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Repellin de Grenoble: À l'union des patriotes dauphinois et de toutes les oppositions nationales!
Monin: À l'honneur français!
Chalvet: À la persévérance des patriotes!
Martin: Au députés de l'opposition constitutionelle!
Royer: Réponse et toast à la vérité et à la moralité du gouvernement fondé en 1830!

22. Autun October 27, 1847 President: Martin

Martin: À l'union des opinions! au roi constitutionnel!
Merandon: Au peuple!
Guillemin: À l'avènement d'un gouvernement qui ne soit point couard et corrupteur!
Bazin: A l'extinction de l'indifférance politique!
Duvault-Pichard: Quelques paroles contre la corruption et à l'honnêteté gouvernementale.
Ulysse Pic: À la réforme électorale considérée comme moyen d'arriver a des réformes plus larges!

23. Lille November 7, 1847 President: Bonte-Pollet

Huré: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Delebecque: À la presse libérale et indépendante!

Ledru-Rollin: Aux travailleurs! à l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses!
Ladureau: À M. Dutilleul, propriétaire de la salle du banquet!

24. Avesnes November 10, 1847 President: Odilon Barrot

Marchant: Au roi constitutionnel des Français!
Aubry: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Crapez: À la revolution de 1830!
Gaulthier de Rumilly: À la probité politique!
Vendois: À la presse indépendante; à ses infatigables champions!
Feytaud: Reponse.
Douai-Macarez: Aux anciens deputes du Nord!
Dumont: Réponse.
Choque: À l'arrondissement d'Avesnes!
Corne: À la constance politique!
De Beaumont: À la garde nationale!
Walraud: Réponse.
Piette: À l'agriculture, au commerce et a l'industrie!
Devoisin: À Pie IX, régénérator de l'Italie!
Hannoye: À la souveraineté nationale!
Odilon Barrot: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Marchant: Aux invités!

25. National Guard Banquet, Paris November 11, 1847
President: Bonamy

. . . : À la réforme électorale!
. . . : À la souveraineté du peuple!
. . . : À l'organisation du travail!
. . . : À tous les citoyens morts pour la défense des droits de l'homme et pour la liberté!
. . . : À la garde nationale, à son union!
. . . : Au droit électorale confére à tous les gardes nationaux!
Bonamy: Allocution.

26. Valenciennes November 11, 1847 President: Dumont

Dumont: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Gaulthier de Rumilly: À l'union des intérêts industriels et des intérêts politiques contre la corruption!

Choque: Au progrès de la civilisation française!
De Beaumont: Aux patriotes de Valenciennes!
Leclercq: Réponse.
Boulanger: Aux députés réformistes!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse et toast à la réforme!
Regnard: Au comité central des électeurs de la Seine dans la personne de leurs délégués!
Corne: À la moralité dans le pouvoir!
Victor Hennequin: À l'abolition de la misère par le travail!
Maugeard: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Demarne: À l'union de toutes les opinions indépendantes sur le terrain national de la réforme électorale!
Urbain Feytaud: À l'indépendance des fonctionnaires publics!
Langlé: À la réunion de tous les parties et au président!
Dumont: Réponse.
Carion: À Pie IX et au clergé réformiste!

27. Loudéac November 11, 1847 President: Glais-Bizoin

Le Gorrec et Legraverend: Lettres d'adhésion

Glais-Bizoin: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
F. Carré: À la souveraineté du peuple et à l'amélioration du sort des travailleurs!
Tassel: Aux électeurs de l'arrondissement de Loudéac et à leur député!
Ollitrault-Durestre: À l'exclusion des fonctionnaires dépendans des Chambres législatives!
Boury: À Pie IX!
Garnier-Pagès: Réponse aux toasts précédens.

28. Bethune November 14, 1847 President: Odilon Barrot

Degouve Denuncques: À la souveraineté nationale!
Crémieux: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Lenglet: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Oscar Lafayette: Réponse.
Ayraud Degeorge: À l'union de toutes les nuances de l'opposition, à la ligue du bien public!
Odilon Barrot: Discours sur les devoirs du citoyen.
Dumoutier: À la presse indépendante!
Sarrans: Réponse.
Boulanger: À M. Piéron, député de l'arrondissement de Saint-Pol!
Piéron: Réponse.

Corne: Au progrès des moeurs politiques, aux électeurs de Saint-Pol!
Lambert: Réponse.
David (d'Angers): À l'entière indépendance des arts!
Labélonye: Réponse au toast porté à ce comité central!
Chabet: À M. Bartier, propriétaire du chateau d'Annezin!
Bartier: Réponse.

29. Valence November 14, 1847 President: Leo de Sieyes

Leo de Sièyes: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Boveron-Desplaces: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Repellin: Au peuple!
Rittiez: À l'union des réformistes!
Coste: À l'union des honnêtes gens contre les ennemies de l'intérieur!
Curnier: À l'organisation du travail!
Amédee de Sièyes: À l'amélioration de notre situation politique!
Mathieu: À la liberté!

30. Albi November 20, 1847 President: M...

Bancarel: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Clarence: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Pagès (de l'Ariège): Au triumph des principes qui ont amené 1789 et 1830!
Victor Doat: Aux députés réformistes!
Janot: À la liberté de la presse!
Maurice Dupuy: À l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses!
Blanquel: Au président du banquet et aux réformistes d'Albi!

31. Compiegne November 21, 1847 President: Barillon

Barillon: Au roi! Aux institutions constitutionnelles!
Donatien Marquis: Réponse.
Girard de Blincourt: Au conseil-général de l'Oise qui a formulé un voeu pour la réforme électorale!
Leroux: Réponse.
Letondu-Dumay: A l'union des honnêtes gens de toutes les opinions!

De Beaumont: À l'agriculture!
Flye: À l'amélioration du sort de la population laborieuse, à la réforme charitable!
Crémieux: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Président du comité d'organisation: Aux invités!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse et toast à la franchise, à la verité politique!

32. Dijon November 21, 1847 President: Hernoux

Lignard: Aux démocrates de Lille!
Marlet: À la réalisation des principes démocratiques!
Quillot: À la jeunesse démocrate!
Flassières: Au courage civique!
Carion: Au journal la Réforme!
Demontry: À la démocratie, à la vérité de son principe!
Étienne Arago: Aux beaux arts et à la littérature du peuple!
Baune: À la Suisse démocratique, à son indépendance!
Louis Blanc: À l'avenir de la France!
Floçon: Aux démocrates de Lille et aux démocrates étrangères!
Ledru-Rollin: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Grandmesnil: Aux démocrates de Dijon, aux organisateurs du banquet réformiste!
Noel: Aux membres du Comité et aux invités de Paris!
Morel: Au peuple!

33. Montargis November 22, 1847 President: O'Connor

Rondeau: Au roi constitutionnel des Français!
Cormenin, fils: À la jeunesse française!
Danicourt: À la liberté de la Presse!
V. Considérant: Discours sur la corruption politique.
Barthélemy Gager: À la réalisation de la fraternité!
Souesme: Aux invités! Aux rédacteurs du Journal du Loiret et de la Démocratie pacifique!
V. Considérant: Réponse.

34. Lyon November 23, 1847 President: Alcock

Alcock: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire pour forcer le pouvoir par les moyens légaux et constitutionnels d'entrer dans la vérité et les conditions du gouvernement representatif!
Chipier: À la souveraineté nationale!
Lortet: À la réforme de l'instruction publique!
Bergier: Au comité central de Paris; aux députés de l'opposition!
Marion: Aux électeurs lyonnais!
Tranchant: Au réveil politique de Lyon!
Rittiez: À la prompte réalisation de la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Kauffmann: À la conquête des droits électoraux!
Morellet: Au progrès pacifique et à l'application sérieuse dans nos lois et dans nos institutions des principes de justice absolue et de solidarité!
Larat: À l'Italie!
Ph. Faure: À la Suisse libérale, au triomphe de ses armes!
Ed. Dégeorge: À la Pologne!
Ordinaire: Au chef des doctrinaires!
Lardière: À la jeune armée!
Morton: À l'organisation du travail!

35. Epinal November 25, 1847 President: Boulay (de la Meurthe)

Boulay (de la Meurthe): À la réforme électorale!
Doublat: À la révolution de juillet; à la pureté et à la sincérité de ses institutions, et à toutes ses légitimines conséquences!
Turk: À la souveraineté nationale; à l'égalité devant la loi!
Habert: À la probité politique!
Deblaye: À l'indépendance et à l'émancipation des peuples!
Najean: Au rétablissement de l'influence et de la dignité nationale à l'intérieur!
Magnien: Aux classes ouvrières et a leur émancipation prochaine!
Grandjean: Au conseil général des Vosges!
Marchal: Aux députés indépendans des Vosges!
Lhuillier: À Pie IX; au régénérateur de l'Italie!

36. Condom November 28, 1847 President: Gavarret

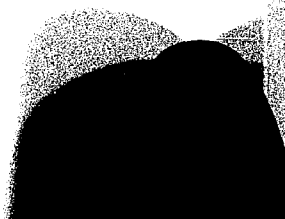
Gavarret: Allocution.
Pagès (de l'Ariège): À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Grisony: À l'article Ier de la Charte!
Carbonneau: À la probité politique!
Mahé: À l'honneur national!
Mainvieille: À l'union de toutes les opinions indépendantes sur le terrain national de la réforme!
Lamarque: Aux classes laborieuses!
Duputz: À Pie IX!
Gounod: Au dévoument politique!
Cazeneuve: À la souveraineté nationale!

37. Saint-Germain-en-Laye November 28, 1847 President: Barrot

Odilon Barrot: Allocution sur le but et caractère du banquet.
Crémieux: À la souveraineté nationale et aux institutions de juillet!
Dubail: À la probité, à la constance, au dévoument politiques!
Perrache: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
F. de Lasteyrie: À la propagation des idées françaises de 1789 et de 1830!
Mayer d'Almbert: Au comité central de Paris!
De Lasteyrie, père: Aux électeurs de l'opposition de l'arrondissement de Saint-Germain!
Garnon: À la prospérité de l'agriculture!
Alexandre Dumas: À la presse! (Lettre d'adhésion)
Moresty: Au députés de l'opposition, à M. Odilon Barrot!
Odilon Barrot: Réponse et toast à nos glorieux prédécesseurs de 1789!

38. Castres December 5, 1847 President: De Malleville

De Malleville: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Guibal: À l'amélioration du sort des classes laborieuses par l'organisation du travail!
Dugrès: Au réveil de la conscience publique!
Besse: À l'éducation nationale!
Hilaire: Au civisme!
Pagès: À la liberté de la presse!



Barthez: Au progrès de l'opposition constitutionnelle!
Combes: À l'Italie!
Ducros: Aux députés présents au banquet!
D'Aragon: À la probité politique!

39. Chateaudun December 5, 1847 President: Raimbault

Raimbault: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Lefebvre: Aux députés de l'opposition!
Lemuy: Aux principes de 1789 et de 1830, et au comité central des électeurs de la Seine!
Renaud: Réponse.
Lolems: À la pureté des institutions constitutionnelles!
Isambert-Péan: À l'extension du droit d'électeur et à la minorité d'Eure-et-Loir!
Barthélemy: À l'arondissement de Chateaudun!
Selléque: À l'union des patriotes d'Eure-et-Loir!
Lemay-Chantard: À la garde nationale!
Ropton: À la souveraineté nationale!
Piche: À la sincérité du gouvernement représentatif!
Moissart: À la réalisation des promesses de 1830!
Isambert: À la Suisse libérale!

40. Amiens December 5, 1847 President: Barrot

Barrot: Allocution sur la caractère constitutionnel du banquet.
Creton: Au roi des Français, aux institutions de 1830 et à la souveraineté nationale!
Gaulthier de Rumilly: À la sincérité du gouvernement représentatif et au progrès des moeurs publiques!
F. Degeorge: À un meilleur emploi de la fortune publique!
De Beaumont: À la garde nationale!
Donatien Marquis: Au commerce et à l'agriculture!
Petit: À la presse!
Dehesdin: À l'amélioration du sort des classes ouvrières!
Leroy d'Etioles: À l'union des oppositions!
Mollet: À la prospérité du commerce d'Amiens!
Jolibois: À la probité politique!
Barrot: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!

41. Montpellier December 5, 1847 President: Charamaule

Gilles: Au principe inaltérable du gouvernement représentatif, au vote consciencieux et pur de toute subornation!
Allemand: À la jeunesse des Écoles!
Laissac: À la France, à sa nationalité!
Anterrieu: À la Pologne!
Teulon: À la mémoire des fondateurs de la liberté!
Brives: À la mémoire de Cambon, notre compatriote!
Gervais: Au peuple!
Renouvier: À l'accord des réformistes! Au progrès dans les réformes!
Garnier-Pagès: Discours sur l'union des radicaux avec l'opposition de gauche et du centre gauche.
Charamaule: À la réforme électorale!

42. Rochechouart December 6, 1847 President: Maurat-Ballange

Cadet-Boisse: Aux députés réformistes!
Maurat-Ballange: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Desbregères: À la souveraineté nationale!
D'Assailli: À la dignité du gouvernement au dedans et au dehors!
Trichon: À la probité politique!
Roche: Aux travailleurs!
Poquillon: À l'indépendance des électeurs et des députés!
De la Guironnière: À l'union des parties!
Babaud-Larivière: À la presse indépendante!
Desarbes: Au développement de la vie politique!
De Brie: À Pie IX!
Reybaud: À la résurrection de la Pologne!
Alfred de la Guironnière: À la fraternité des peuples!
Frichin: À M. Maurat-Ballange!

43. Arras December 7, 1847 President: Barrot

Répécaud: À la souveraineté nationale! À la réalité du gouvernement représentatif fondé en 1830!
Rigley: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
D'Havrincourt: Aux vrais principes conservateurs!
Corne: À l'indépendance des électeurs! À la presse!

Leleu: Réponse.
Piéron: À l'agriculture et à la diminution des impôts et des charges qui ralentissent ses progrès!
De Beaumont: Réponse.
Feytaud: Au classes laborieuses!
Lantoine-Harduin: À l'éducation politique des citoyens!
Demarne: À l'égalité politique!
Langlet: Au règne de la justice et de la vérité!
Boulanger: À la garde nationale!
F. Degeorge: Réponse.
Billet: À Odilon Barrot!
Barrot: Réponse et discours.

44. Le Neubourg December 12, 1847 President: Dupont (de l'Eure)

Dupont (de l'Eure): Allocution.
Picard: À la réforme électorale! à Dupont (de l'Eure)!
Legendre: À la renaissance de l'esprit public parmi les électeurs!
Charlemaine: À l'industrie, agricole et manufacturière!
Meunier: À l'instruction primaire!
Pagnerre: À l'union réformiste!
Davy: Au Comité central des électeurs de la Seine! à la presse indépendante! aux députés de l'opposition!
Vitcoq: Réponse.
Sarrans: Sur la liberté de la presse.
Garnier-Pagès: À la souveraineté nationale!

45. Saintes December 12, 1847 President: Cremieux

Mosnier: Au patriotisme électorale!
Labretonnière: À l'unité départementale!
Brard: À la probité politique; à la pureté, à la sincérité des élections!
Vallein: À un meilleur emploi de la fortune publique!
Gaudin: Au courage civil!
Drault: À la dignité dans le pouvoir!
Hamelin: À la réunion de toutes les oppositions!
Saint-Marsault: À l'agriculture!
Renou de Ballon: À la France!
Jobit: À l'amélioration du sort des ouvriers!
Crémieux: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Descombes: À M. Crémieux!
Crémieux: Réponse.

46. Saint Denis December 14, 1847 President: F. de Lasteyrie

F. de Lasteyrie: À la souveraineté nationale!
Marie: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Lherbette: À la probité politique!
Vavin: À l'affranchissement des peuples et aux martyrs de la liberté!
Véron: À nos bons et loyaux députés de l'opposition!
Bethmont: Réponse.
Simonet: Au conseil général de la Seine!
Ferron: Réponse.
Desmarest: Aux ouvriers!
Buisson: À la presse indépendante!
Lavaud: Au comité central de l'opposition!
Recurt: Réponse.
Barrot: Discours sur la réforme.

47. Chalon-sur-Saone December 19, 1847 President: Mathey

Mathey: Allocution.
Thevenin: À la presse!
Bouché: À la réforme!
Forest: À l'émancipation des classes laborieuses par le travail!
Gindries: À la liberté, à l'égalité, à la fraternité!
Ordinaire: Aux cités progressistes!
Druard: À l'union, à la fraternité de la jeunesse démocratique!
Baune: À la presse démocratique de Paris et des départements!
M. Caussidière: Réponse.
Noël: À l'union des patriotes de Dijon et de Chalon!
Flocon: Aux droits de l'homme et du citoyen!
Sommier: À la probité politique!
Ledru-Rollin: À l'unité de la révolution française! à l'indivisibilité de la Constituante, de la Legislative et de la Convention!

48. Thoissey (Ain) December 19, 1847

No information

49. Vienne December 21, 1847 President: Jacquier de Terrebasse

Tranchant: À la franche et complète manifestation de l'opinion du pays!
Faugier: Aux députés de l'opposition réformiste!
Ponsard: À la révolution française!
Lortet: À l'alliance des réformistes dauphinois et des réformistes lyonnais!
Fleury: À la sincérité, à la vérité des institutions représentatives! à la probité gouvernementale!
Kaufmann: À la dignité de la France!
Couturier: À l'union des réformistes et des socialistes!
Membre du conseil municipal de Vienne: À la fierté nationale!
Feyat: À l'amélioration du sort des ouvriers!
Bonjat: À la régénération du sentiment philosophique, humanitaire et civilisateur qui inspira les principes proclamés en 1789!

50. Grenoble December 25, 1847 President: Thévenot

Thévenot: À la régénération de l'esprit public!
Royer: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Crozet: Même toast.
Repellin: Au développement par la réforme politique des intérêts moraux et materiels du pays!
Nicollet: À la fraternité!
Rey: À l'organisation du travail!
Leydet: Au courage civil!
Sestier: Aux députés indépendans!
Royer: Réponse.
St. Romme: À la moralité politique!
Farconnet: Aux nations amies! spécialement à la Pologne, à la Suisse, à l'Italie!
Clément: Au triomphe des principes de 1789 et de 1830!
Viallet: À l'émancipation des travailleurs!
Ladichère: À M. Royer, député!
Royer: Au président et aux commissaires du banquet!

51. Romans December 25, 1847 President: Du Bouchage

Du Bouchage: À la réforme!
Leo de Sièyes: Allocution.
Talin: Aux principes de 89!

Incomplete information

52. Rouen December 25, 1847 President: Sénard

Sénard: À la souveraineté nationale et aux institutions fondées en juillet 1830!
Desjobert: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Duvergier de Hauranne: Réponse.
Desseaux: À la réforme financière, à l'économie et au bon emploi des deniers publics!
Lefort-Gonssolin: Réponse.
Drouyn de l'Huys: Au commerce et à l'industrie!
Levavasseur: Réponse.
Justin: Aux classes pauvres et laborieuses! aux institutions qui doivent leur faire obtenir l'éducation, le bien-être et les droits dont elles sont privées!
Bethmont: Réponse.
Visinet: À l'alliance des peuples!
Crémieux: Réponse.
Gustave de Beaumont: À la presse indépendante!
Cazavan: Réponse.
Germonière: Au Comité central de Paris; aux deputés réformistes!
Foy: Reponse.
Barrot: Réponse.

53. Beaurepaire January 2, 1848 President: Suffet

No information

54. Limoges January 2, 1848

Raybaud: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Dussoubs-Gaston: À l'avenir religieux!
Yvernaud: À la solution pacifique du problème du prolétariat!
Capet: À la solidarité!
David: À l'éducation nationale!
Villegoureix: À la liberté, à l'égalité, à la fraternité!
Tarnaud: Au triomphe de la vérité!
Mourier: À l'organisation du travail!
Patapay: À la liberté de la presse!
Dutreix: Au vote universel!
. . . : À la transformation morale de tous par la transformation morale de chacun!
Dussoubs, jeune: À la patrie, à la famille, à la propriété.
Lizardin: À Jésus Christ!
Bac: Au peuple!

55. Cambrai January 9, 1848 President: Lenglet

Lenglet: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire comme moyen d'obtenir les conséquences de la révolution de juillet!
Choque: À la probité politique!
Billet: À la liberté dans les élections!
Lemaire: À l'union de Saint-Quentin et de Cambrai!
Lancelle: À la presse indépendante!
Degeorge: Réponse.
Lefebvre: À la persévérance politique!
Mouton: Au Comité central de l'opposition!
Saint-Amans: Réponse.
Corne: Aux sentimens généreux!
Huré: Aux réformistes de Cambrai!

56. Toulouse January 9, 1848 President: Joly

Lucet: À la souveraineté du peuple!
Bauguel: À la presse et au jury!
Bonnal: À l'organisation du travail par l'association!
Roquelaine: Aux libertés communales!
Chabrier: Au nouveau développement de la vie politique!
Janot: À l'humanité!
Pagès: À Toulouse!
Joly: À l'indépendance nationale! Aux peuples combattant pour leurs libertés!

57. Pont-de-Beauvoisin January 23,1848 President: Mieslle

Dulac: À la réforme parlementaire!
Belly: À la réalisation des idées françaises chez tous les peuples!
H. Martin: À la diminution de l'impôt, à l'extension du mouvement réformiste, à l'abolition de la corruption!
Mieslle: Allocution

58. Moras February, 1848 President: Hours

Hours: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Romain-Goubernand: Au bien-être universel! à la liberté!
Bérard: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Mettey: À la prospérité de l'agriculture!

59. Roissard February, 1848 President: Mounier

Dumas: À la réforme électorale et parlementaire!
Gueymard: À la diminution des impôts!

APPENDIX II. LETTER OF THE DEPUTIES REGARDING THE BANQUET OF LILLE

Declaration published in the Écho du Nord of Lille and the Siècle, Constitutionnel, and National of Paris.

[Jules Gouache, Lille (7 novembre); Dijon (27 novembre); Chalon (19 décembre) (Paris: Bureaux de la Réforme, 1848), p. 18]

Saturday, October 6, 1847, at eleven thirty in the evening, MM. Odilon Barrot, De Beaumont (de la Somme), Gaulthier de Rumilly, Delespaul, Lestiboudois, deputies, and M. Marchant, former deputy, meeting with M. Delespaul, received M. Saint-Léger, president of the banquet, and M. Testelin, member of the committee and declared to the latter that with the presence, according to public announcement, at the banquet of Lille of persons who had protested against the association of all nuances of liberal opinion made with the end in mind of electoral reform by legal means, and under the circumstances which would give to the banquet of Lille such an interpretation, they could not be present without a toast giving the manifestation a legal and constitutional character.

The members of the Chamber signing below stated that they wished the maintenance of the institutions which govern us; that they seek the reform of the electoral law in order to consolidate the constitutional monarchy, not to destroy it; that they wished to modify the march of government, but by the methods opened by the constitution; therefore, they demanded in a formal manner that the following toast be made:

À la pureté, à la sincérité des institutions représentatives fondées en juillet!

Numerous observations were exchanged between the below-named deputies and the members of the committee of the banquet. M. Testelin declared that it did not seem to him that a toast so formulated could be refused. M. Saint-Léger said that the toast expressed the opinion of ninety-five per cent of the citizens of Lille. These gentlemen announced that they would make known the opinion of the

committee the next morning at nine, when the members of the committee would make a visit to the invited deputies.

On Sunday, November 7, at nine in the morning, the deputies named at the beginning of this report, MM. Creton, Piéron, deputies, and M. Corne, former deputy, who had joined their colleagues and had adhered to all that had been decided, meeting again with M. Delespaul, received MM. Saint-Léger, Fémy, Castelain, Bonte-Pollet. M. Testelin, speaking in his own name and in the name of several of his friends, declared that, in a meeting of the commissioners of the banquet, a program of toasts had been set, that it had been decided that no change would be made in the tenor of this program; that, consequently, it was impossible now to adopt any modification whatsoever; he added that if M. Delespaul had made known that he regarded as a condition sine qua non of his presence at the banquet the adoption of a toast analogous to the one which had been proposed, they would have instigated a discussion of this fact, and that, in the case that the toast had been admitted, they would have retired.

M. Delespaul answered that he had made known his thought to M. Saint-Léger, to M. Bonte, to M. Blocquel; that consequently it had been well known, that besides, when he had been invited by the banquet commissioners among whom was M. Testelin, he had declared that he would accept the honor that had been given him only as long as the banquet retained a legal and constitutional character. M. Lestiboudois added that he had made known to M. Saint-Léger, to M. Bonte, to M. Blocquel, to M. Heddebault, his opinion of the fitness of this very toast, that he had asked to be heard when the committee deliberated on this fact, and when he had wished to go to the committee session of which he had by chance heard, M. Heddebault had told him that all was decided and that nothing could be changed.

The deputies then present repeated that they had always had the unshakable belief of maintaining the character of a constitutional act at the manifestation; that the circumstances previously mentioned made it a duty for them to declare clearly and absolutely their position; that, consequently, they insisted on the proposed toast in all its entirety. The president of the banquet then declared that he accepted the toast, that he would carry it, that he had the promise of seventy commissioners that they would help to maintain order, that he did not doubt that the toast would be accepted universally by the persons present.

MM. Testelin, Fémy, Castelain then declared that they would retire and that they could not be present at the banquet; one of them said that he could no longer answer

for the maintenance of order. He stated that all the responsibility for disorder would fall back on those who caused it, and that this consideration should not prevent the deputies from manifesting their opinion. M. Bonte thought that it would be possible to adjust the first toast with the formula presented by the deputies, and that this toast would be given as follows.

À la réforme électorale et parlementaire comme moyen d'arriver à la pureté et à la sincérité des institutions représentatives de juillet. He wrote out this formula by hand and insisted with MM. Fémy, Testelin, and Castelain that they adopt this statement. The deputies declared that they found no inconvenience in accepting it; but the commissioners, opposing all change, would not admit it. MM. Testelin, Fémy, Castelain said that they saw that the respective determinations had been definitely set and that they would retire.

The president of the banquet then restated that he would make the toast suggested by the deputies. He made known the words he would use to support it, words which were in entire agreement with the sentiments expressed by the deputies.

At one o'clock the deputies arrived at the place designated for the banquet, retiring into a private room. They were approached by several commissioners of the banquet; one of them repeated the reasons which had been presented to combat the modifications; the deputies mentioned previously, to whom was added M. Choque, former deputy, insisted on the indispensable necessity which they would obey of taking part only in a manifestation which had a constitutional character, that they could not understand the thought of reform separate from the maintenance of institutions. They declared that they had not come to assist at a deliberation, that the members of the committee had retired, to deliberate among themselves, that according to their declaration the former would make the final decision.

The commissioners retired. After some time they returned and said that they could not change the formula of the toasts, but that the orators could give to them the meaning that they believed suitable. The deputies answered that such a proposition was inadmissable; that they could not consent to such equivocation; that the formula of toasts was the true sense of the manifestation, that the developments concerned only the orators; that the necessity to give to the manifestation a constitutional character imposed on them the obligation to save it and to retire themselves, and immediately the deputies left the waiting room.

Meeting with M. Delespaul, they received the visit of the president, who told them that he had presented himself to the assembly in the banquet hall, and had announced in his opinion that the manifestation of Lille must have a constitutional character, that what had just happened did not permit him to continue as president and that he would retire, which he did immediately.

The signing deputies have a deep regret for the circumstances which have placed an obstacle to the union of all men who protest against the march of the government; they have the conviction that the opposition which has presented itself was the result of individual determination, but they believed that at no price could they accept a manifestation which would leave any doubt on the energy and sincerity of their conviction.

M. Crémieux, deputy, arriving in the evening and taking cognizance of these facts, declared himself in agreement with the resolutions of his colleagues.

Signed: Odilon Barrot, Gaulthier de Rumilly, De Beaumont (de la Somme), Lestiboudois, Delespaul, Marchant, Creton, Piéron, Choque, Corne et Crémieux.

APPENDIX III. LETTER OF ACHILLE TESTELIN REGARDING THE BANQUET AT LILLE

Letter addressed to the editor-in-chief of the Écho du Nord on November 10, 1847.

[Archives Nationales. Ministry of Justice. BB^{30} 396]

Monsieur,

Permit me to answer in your columns the declaration that M. Odilon Barrot and his honorable friends have recently inserted there.

It happens that the public is aware of the facts which have passed. I am going to recount them as briefly as possible. A meeting of reformists took place in Lille to organize a banquet which was to reunite all the shades of liberal opinion. A program was discussed and adopted by a commission chosen from the midst of the committee of organization; the President of the banquet and I went to Paris to communicate this program to M. Odilon Barrot. This step we took because a deputy from Lille had informed us that M. Barrot placed as a condition of his presence a toast to the constitutional monarchy. When we had communicated to the honorable chief of the left the reason for our journey, he hastened to declare to us that in effect he would like to have this toast given not only at Lille, but in all the reformist banquets; that, moreover, he had never made it a condition of his adhesion and the proof was that he had gone to Chateau Rouge and to Saint-Quentin where it had not been given. We then wished to make known to him the reasons which would not permit us even had we wished, to revive this toast. Our principal arguments were precisely the circular sent by the bureau and the polemics engaged in by the ministerial press, and finally the presence of radical reformists. He replied that he appreciated the validity of our reasons and that on his account he had always thought that the toasts (expression of the opinion of the assembly) should be drawn up in such a manner that all friends of reform, to whichever opinion they belonged could take part in the manifestation without doing violence to their political faith; that consequently we could count

on him. I communicated to him then by word the text of all the toasts, which for the most part, had been furnished us by his friends. He found nothing there to reprove. We came back to Lille to submit the work of the commission to the entire committee; they found nothing there to retrench; but one member proposed to add a toast to national sovereignty. It was supported by almost all of the committee, and his opinion was going to be adopted when I made known the necessity that we should communicate our program to M. Barrot before it be adopted by the entire committee and of the inconvenience of now making the least modification which would make this honorable deputy believe that the step that we had taken would not have an official character. These reasons prevailed. The program was definitely established and signed.

What was my stupefaction when on the sixth of November, introduced at a late hour to M. Barrot, I heard him declare that since our interview in Paris circumstances had changed; that he had just learned that M. Ledru-Rollin had just arrived at Lille to excite a sedition (literally) and that consequently he and his friends believed it indispensable that he change the formula of his toast to that: à la monarchie constitutionnelle. A long discussion began, in which I did not fail to resort to the injustice of the accusation made against the honorable M. Ledru-Rollin, whom I had left just a moment before, and who had just submitted with the best grace to the decision of the committee and who, supporting the program, had seen himself refused a toast to the sovereignty of the people and given a speech only on the condition that he accept the toast to the workers, the only one that remained free. This would place my friends and myself in a false position. Someone proposed finally as a compromise the following formula: à la pureté, à la sincérité des institutions representatives fondées en juillet.

I finished by declaring that although in the end these were the same thing there would be more of a chance of seeing this modification adopted, but that nevertheless I could do nothing on my own. I hastened to see a few of my friends which such a late hour permitted me to consult; after a mature examination all were of the opinion that we could not yield to the pretensions that nothing justified it and that to make this abrupt change would be to change brusquely the character of the manifestation. The next day, at nine o'clock, I returned to M. Barrot accompanied by the President and MM. Frémy and Castelain, who came as an act of courtesy and did not yet know of the new incident. When I communicated it to them they shared my opinion. We insisted a long while with M. Barrot for maintaining the program; we beseeched him principally in the interest of

order, that the least infraction would, according to what had happened, be considered as a sort of betrayal, hurting the committee and the subscribers, bringing about the most difficult recriminations. Our efforts brought no result. We thought we should retire, declaring that our intention was not to be present at the banquet and protesting with all the calm and moderation possible. Leaving there we found ourselves in contact with a large number of subscribers and of members of the committee, all of whom were indignant at what had taken place; they reproached us our decision to retire; they showed us that we were failing in our duty and the confidences which they had placed in us, that we had reached the place where the majority could not even pronounce itself legally and pacifically; that we would be responsible for the disorder which would follow our decision. We took their advice and events have proved the correctness of our position.

This is what we believed ought to be remarked in this declaration. The rest having passed into the public, is known. I must add, however, that we have no recollection of the step they say they made to us at a meeting held with M. Bonte Pollet. Finally I will not finish without acknowledging the affectation, hardly generous, with which they repeat at each instant that they wished only to accept a legal and constitutional manifestation. I have repeated to M. Barrot that on this point we were in complete accord. I begged him in vain to indicate to me something illegal or unconstitutional in our program; he was not able to do it. In conclusion we agreed to have a manifestation in favor of electoral reform and at the last moment they wished in defiance of the part written and decreed in advance to impose violently on us a cocarde that was not ours. We have right and justice on our side, we have resisted, our conscience is clear, although we have been pained by what has happened, we report it without fear of judgment from any impartial men.

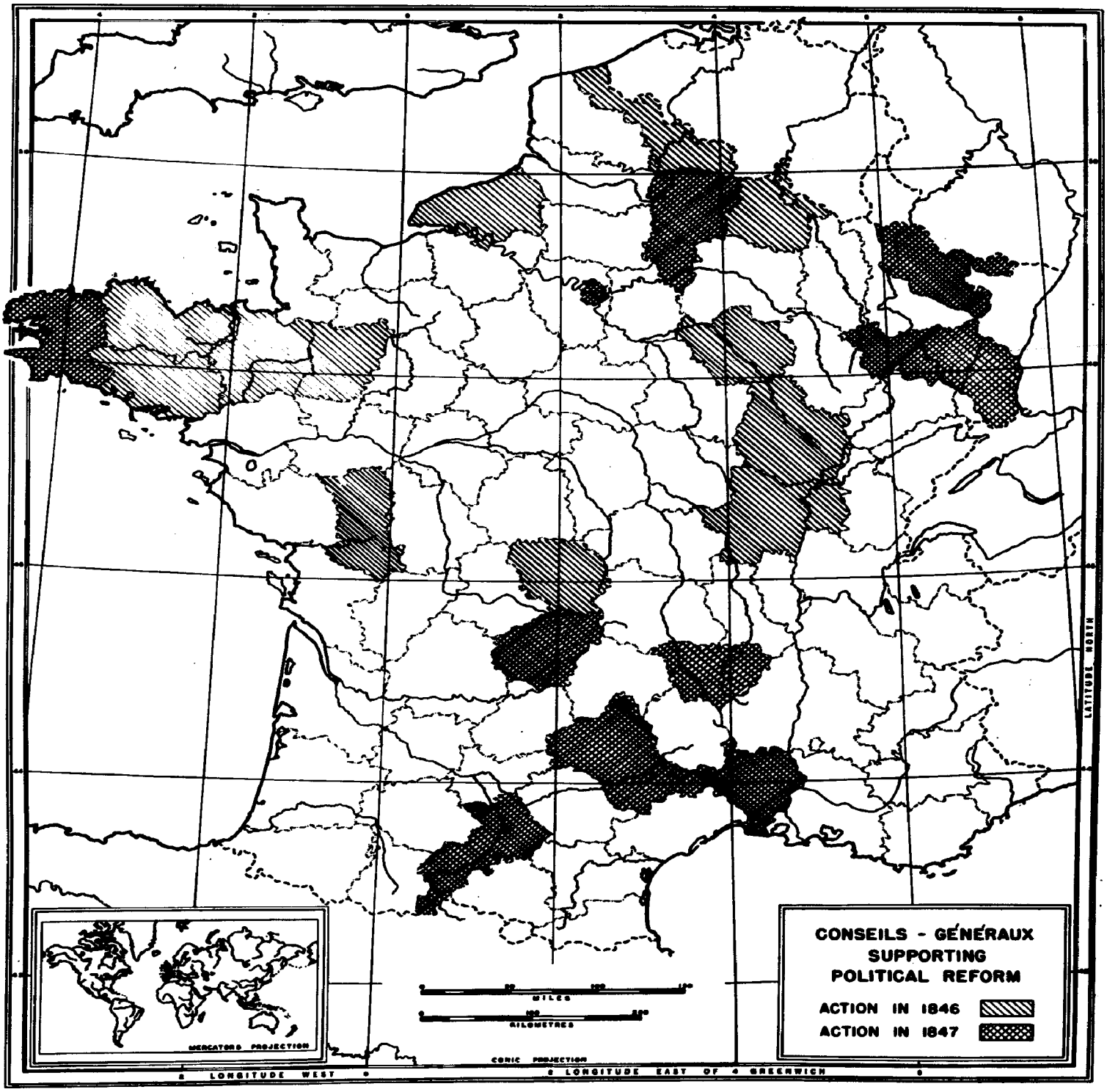
Testelin

Secretary of the Reformist
Committee of Lille.

APPENDIX IV


1. PARIS
2. COLMAR
3. LE MANS
4. PONTOISE
5. REIMS
6. STRASBOURG
7. BAR-LE-DUC
8. FORGES
9. SOISSONS
10. SAINT-QUENTIN
11. PÉRIGUEUX
12. ISLE-JOURDAIN
13. ORLÉANS
14. MEAUX
15. COULOMMIERS
16. VITRÉ
17. DAMVILLE
18. CHARITÉ-SUR-LOIRE
19. MELUN
20. CHARTRES
21. SAINT-MARCELLIN
22. AUTUN
23. LILLE
24. AVESNES
25. VALENCIENNES
26. LOUDÉAC
27. BÉTHUNE
28. VALENCE
29. ALBI
30. COMPIÉGNE
31. DIJON
32. MONTARGIS
33. LYON
34. EPINAL
35. CONDOM
36. SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE
37. CASTRES
38. CHATEAUDUN
39. AMIENS
40. MONTPELLIER
41. ROCHECHOUART
42. ARRAS
43. LE NEUBOURG
44. SAINTES
45. SAINT DENIS
46. CHALON-SUR-SAONE
47. THOISSEY
48. VIENNE
49. GRENOBLE
50. ROMANS
51. ROUEN
52. BEAUREPAIRE
53. LIMOGES
54. CAMBRAI
55. TOULOUSE
56. PONT-DE-BEAUVOISIN
57. MORAS
58. ROISSARD
CITIES WITH
POLITICAL REFORM BANQUETS
IN 1847 - 1848
ARRANGED
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER
MILES
KILOMETRES
LONGITUDE EAST OF GREENWICH

APPENDIX V


CONSEILS - GÉNÉRAUX
SUPPORTING
POLITICAL REFORM
ACTION IN 1846
ACTION IN 1847
MILES
KILOMETRES
MERCATORS PROJECTION
CONIC PROJECTION
LONGITUDE WEST
LONGITUDE EAST OF GREENWICH
LATITUDE NORTH

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Because of its position in a transitional period of French history the banquet campaign of 1847-1848 has been fortunate. The history of the July Monarchy has always included the campaign at the end of the reign, while in the history of the French Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic the campaign has always served as an introduction. It has, therefore, the advantage of being part of the historiography of both eras, but the disadvantage of being always in the fringe chapters of histories of either period.

The historiography of the French Revolution of 1848 is remarkable in quantity if not always in quality. The materials available in archives regarding revolutions in France are always more plentiful than those of the calmer years. Revolutionary committees have a tendency to be history conscious. Not only has a great deal of material been preserved, but interest in the revolution has been sustained. It has long been a favorite with the democrats and republicans, and the Marxists look upon the revolution as an introductory chapter to their own history.

In this century two events have stimulated an interest in the revolution. One was the organization of the

French society, Société d'histoire de la Révolution de 1848 by Georges Renard in 1904. Meeting annually in Paris ever since, the society's greatest influence has come through the publication of a journal devoted to the scholarly study of this revolution. It appeared from 1904 to 1939 under the title of La Révolution de 1848. The journal was revived following the war under the title 1848 et les Révolutions du XIXe siècle, but lack of funds caused its discontinuance in the fall of 1951. The society plans to publish bulletins from time to time, but until there is a drastic improvement in its income, the journal will not be published. As far as the writer knows, outside of a few personal libraries, only the Widener Library of Harvard University possesses the series in full in this country.

A second important event in the historiography of the revolution was the centenary in 1848. In that year a new interest was awakened in 1848, and many meetings in Europe and America were devoted to a study of the movement. The December meeting of the American Historical Association in 1948 was an example. An immense amount of research went into the preparations for the centenary celebration and much of it was of a very high quality. The French took a renewed interest in the period and encouraged research, but naturally it was colored by the post-war social and political situation within France. There the centenary celebration was a hurried affair with a great deal of enthusiasm, but not always with a very thorough scholarship.

Many local authorities writing on 1848 in departmental journals did a solid piece of work, while often big national names generated enthusiasm, but wrote much that was uncritical. It is to be regretted that once again lack of funds hurt the former, while not seeming to have affected the latter. The Marxists and existentialists were influential in intellectual circles in 1948, and their writings emphasized the socialist and heroic elements. Perhaps the most important result of the celebration was the encouragement of many students to study this phenomenon with greater care and more time. The next few years should begin to see the results of their work.

One of the important results of the centenary was the publication of a bibliography of the revolution, entitled La Révolution de 1848 and under the direction of the Comité de Publication of the Comité Nationale du Centenaire. Professor Charles Pouthas was in charge of this publication and had the assistance of such scholars as Camille Bloch, Georges Bourgin, Pierre Caron, Ernest Labrousse, Georges Lefebvre, Pierre Renouvin, and Charles Schmidt. Published by the Bibliothèque Nationale, it is the best small specialized bibliography of the revolution.

Of the general histories written by contemporaries the Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: G. Sandré, 1850-1853), 3 vols., by Marie d'Agoult using the pseudonym Daniel Stern continues to be the most authoritative and popular. The Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris:

Pagnerre, 1861-1872), 10 vols., by Louis Garnier-Pagès is another standard work, approaching the revolution from the moderate republican point of view. Alexis de Tocqueville in his Souvenirs (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1893) has written of the period in what has become one of the "classics." Others that should be mentioned, although their accuracy must at times be qualified, were Alphonse de Lamartine, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: Perrotin, 1849), 2 vols.; Karl Marx, Les Luttes des classes en France, 1848-1850 (Paris: Schleicher, 1900); and Louis Blanc, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: Lacroix, 1870), 2 vols.

Many books on the revolution written in this century could be singled out. The general historical series have all been excellent on the revolution. In the Lavisse series, Histoire de la France contemporaine, is volume six by Charles Seignobos, La Révolution de 1848 (Paris: Hachette, 1921). The social developments are emphasized in the excellent volume in the Histoire Socialiste series of Jaurès in volume nine, Georges Renard, La République de 1848 (Paris: Jules Rouff, 1906). The volume in the Peuples et Civilizations series by Charles H. Pouthas, Démocratie et capitalisme (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941) deals with the revolution. The conservative point of view is given by Pierre de la Gorce in Histoire de la Seconde République française (Paris: Plon, 1887), 2 vols. In 1948 appeared a composite work of a radical tendency with such

authors as J. Bruhat, J. Cassou, H. Guillemin, E. Dolléans, etc., entitled Le Centenaire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948). Of a similar nature are the books in the Collection du Centenaire de la Révolution de 1848 published by the Presses Universitaires de France in 1948 under the patronage of the Comité National du Centenaire. Two excellent joint works were the Société d'histoire moderne, Études d'histoire moderne et contemporaine. Tome II: Études sur la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: A. Hatier, 1948); and the Comité Français des Sciences Historiques, Actes du Congrès Historique du Centenaire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948). A valuable source book is that of Jacques Suffel, 1848 La Révolution racontée par ceux qui l'ont vue (Paris: Éditions du Myrte, 1948).

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The period of the July Monarchy from 1830 to 1848 has been less fortunate in its historiography. The period

has not offered itself as one for exciting historical study. Research has been limited often to such romantic but overworked subjects as the adventures of the Duchesse de Berry. In order to justify the history of 1848 and its aftermath it has been typical for historians to make the period of the July Monarchy rather disagreeable, or at least boring. There is a substance of truth in the fact that 1830-1848 was rather mediocre politically when taken as a whole, but we also now recognize that the old cliches are quite worn: "bourgeois monarchy," "old pear-head," "France was bored," "Enrichissez-vous," "the king with the green umbrella." It was a period of historical interest, a high-point in political liberalism, a period of economic development, of industrial expansion, of the growth of population and urban centers, of intellectual flowering. The names of many working at this time indicate that the picture is not black. Guizot, De Broglie, Blanc, Rothschild, Thiers, Lamartine, Balzac, Arago, Sand, Daumier, Daguerre, Berlioz, Stendhal, Ampère, Michelet, Dumas, and Lamennais will serve.

Other than a fear of dullness, the dearth of archival materials, particularly in the field of government, has hindered research. The records of the July Monarchy were not well preserved with the result that many historians have been discouraged from venturing into the period.

For the most part the books in the historical series have been adequate, but not exceptional. In the Lavisse

series is volume five by Sébastien Charléty, La monarchie de juillet (Paris: Hachette, 1925); in the Peuples et Civilizations series is Georges Weill, L'éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libérale (Paris: Alcan, 1930). Volume eight in the Jaurès series by Eugène Fournière, Le Règne de Louis Philippe (Paris: Jules Rouff, 1906) does not come up to the standards of many volumes of the series.

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prevented his continuance of a study of social conditions which began in La Crise social de 1848 (Paris: Hachette, 1920). The political problem was reinterpreted by Sherman Kent in Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937). Actually one of the best pictures of French political life in the July Monarchy is the novel by Honoré de Balzac, Scènes de la vie politique, Le Député d'Arcis (Paris: L. de Potter, 1845). The book by Henri Sée, La Vie économique de la France sous la monarchie censitaire, 1815-1848 (Paris: Alcan, 1927) discusses the economic conditions of France in the July Monarchy as does Arthur L. Dunham in the final chapters of The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930).

In studying the specific problem of the banquet campaign four sources were relied upon, manuscripts, newspapers, brochures, and published memoirs and letters. The initial problem was to locate the banquets. Once these were found it was possible to discover the leaders of each banquet and how the banquets were related to one another. Certain banquets were mentioned in the general studies, and it was necessary to turn to these first, Paris, Lille, Rouen and others.

The problem of banquet locations was greatly helped by the discovery of a small booklet written by an anonymous author M.D.R., probably a René Dubail, Campagne réformiste

de 1847 (Paris: Paulin, 1848). Written before the revolution and after the Limoges banquet, this book has in its appendix a list of most of the banquets and speeches. Research has indicated the basic accuracy of this list for the most part. Once the banquets were located in time and space the task of working out the story became possible.

It was reasonable that since it was first, the Paris banquet would be the key one and would serve as a guide for the others. The first task then was to discover who was most responsible for the banquet at Paris. The path led to the executive secretary of the Paris banquet committee, the one most active in the operation of that banquet and the one to whom the other banquet committees would turn for assistance. This man was the Parisian publisher, Charles Pagnerre. The problem was to find his papers.

Pagnerre had a role in the provisional government in 1848, and R. Balland had written an article entitled "Pagnerre et ses amis" in 1848 - Revue des Révolutions Contemporaine, but the part dealing with the banquets was not adequate. It was then discovered that Madame Busquet-Fouqué, the granddaughter of Charles Pagnerre had given her grandfather's papers to the Archives Nationales in January, 1948. These papers contained letters written to him during the banquet campaign, particularly in regard to the banquet of Chateau Rouge. There were relatively few of his own letters, but the letters sent to him were a rich discovery for this study. Since the papers have been in the possession of the

French Government they have not been used, although an inventory is now available. Whether they were ever used while in private possession is not known, but internal criticism would indicate that Garnier-Pagès had access to them while writing his history. Pagnerre died in 1854, and Garnier-Pagès published his history in 1861-1872.

There were two principal sources for the comptes rendus of the banquets. One was the material of the pamphlets. The Bibliothèque Nationale is particularly rich in its collection of brochures, pamphlets, leaflets, petitions, etc., having nearly 4500 on the July Monarchy alone. These are listed in the Catalogue de l'histoire de France (pp. 563-804) in order of date of publication. Thus it was possible to locate most of the printed pamphlets concerning political reform as well as many of the unsigned petitions for reform, printed comptes rendus of the banquets, and printed invitations to the banquets.

The second source on the banquets themselves was the press. Four newspapers of the period from July, 1847 to February, 1848, were examined carefully. The two Parisian newspapers which supported the banquets, the National and the Siècle, gave extensive coverage of the banquets and in most cases a compte rendu. The Journal des Débats represented the Conservative Party and the Réforme the extreme republican position. The Moniteur Universel was used for specific periods prior to June, 1847. Fortunately excerpts from local newspapers were available in th

Parisian newspapers, although some local newspapers are available at the annex of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Versailles.

In addition to working with the reports of the banquets themselves it was necessary to have the reaction of the Government. The book by Charles Schmidt, Les Sources de l'histoire de France depuis 1789 aux Archives Nationales is a handy guide to these materials. Most of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior are in series F, Administration générale de la France. For a study of political reaction the series F^{Ic}_{III}, Esprit public et élections: 1790-1856 is the most valuable. One division in this series gives the Comptes rendus administratifs for each department which often include the valuable prefectoral reports. Actually this series is not as rewarding for the banquets as series BB, Versements du Ministère de la Justice. A detailed inventory has appeared since the publication of Schmidt's book and is available at the Archives Nationales. These papers contain the correspondence of the courts and the criminal divisions. In 1904 and 1905 the Ministry of Justice turned over to the Archives Nationales some thousand cartons which were filed under series BB^{30}, Versements nouveaux du Ministère de la Justice and included cabinet correspondence on political affairs and elections, and reports from the procureurs-généraux. Among the important numbers of cartons on the Government reaction to the banquets

are BB^{18} 1441, BB^{18} 1454 for the Lamartine banquet, BB^{18} 1455-1458, BB^{18} 1450, BB^{18} 1414, and BB^{30} 296.

Materials regarding the banquets in archives outside of the Archives Nationales are scarce. In the Archives de Préfecture de Police there is one carton $A^{A}426$, Événements Divers- 1840 à 1847, which has material on the early July Monarchy, but nothing on the banquets. The departmental archives are far from rewarding for the banquets. The Archives Départementales des Côtes-du-Nord have nothing regarding the campaign, although series M deals with troubles in that area in 1846-1847. The Archives de la Ville d'Amiens and the Bibliothèque municipale d'Amiens have no documents. The Archives de la Seine Inférieure in Rouen are not in a state available for scholarly research. During the Second World War they were placed in the basement of the Palais de Justice, but because of the bombardment certain water pipes were destroyed and the basement was flooded, damaging many of the papers. Series M might contain material and M. Blanchet, the Archivist-in-Chief, asks our indulgence. The Archives Départementales de la Meuse have nothing. Again Series M of the Archives de la Marne contains background for the banquet at Reims as perhaps does 30 M 15, Manifestations légitimistes et républicaines, 1832-1847. The resources of the Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais are limited because of destruction in 1915.

In the Archives Départementales des Vosges there is no trace of banquet material, although there are

allusions made to the banquet of Epinal in I Z56 (Correspondance administrative de la Préfecture, Ier Bureau, annee 1848). The Archives Départementales du Haut-Rhin are barren for the banquets, although for the Revolution of 1848 the collection J-J. Waltz, Series J, M no3 is recommended. The Archives Départementales de Saône-et-Loire possess only the discourse of Lamartine at Mâcon. Several documents concerning the events of 1847-1848 are in the Archives Départementales de Seine-et-Marne under 6 M 155[2] which includes comptes rendus for the banquets of Meaux and Coulommiers.

The Archives de l'Eure possess a copy of the compte rendu of Neubourg. The Archives Départementales d'Eure-et-Loir report a lacuna on the banquets, although there is economic data in series M, Police générale et événements publics, Monarchie de Juillet. The Archives de Loiret were largely destroyed in June, 1940. Some gleanings may be had in series M, Affaires politiques, correspondance du cabinet du préfet, in the Archives du Tarn. The Archives de la Haute-Vienne report no papers regarding the banquets, although series E 740 and E 741 concern public opinion in 1847-1848 at Limoges. The Archives Départementales de l'Isère have little as do the Archives du Département du Gers, the Archives Départementales du Dordogne, and the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Périgueux. M. Paul Cordonnier, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque du Mans and Président de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Maine, has called my attention to documents available at

the Bibliothèque du Mans concerning the period of the banquets. The Archives de la Nièvre contain a compte rendu of the banquet at Charité. Needless to say most of these archives and libraries possess local newspapers of 1847.

Although many papers and letters have been lost, there are still many valuable ones available, both in manuscript and printed sources. As noted the Pagnerre Papers are at the Archives Nationales. Odilon Barrot's memoirs, Mémoires posthumes de Odilon Barrot (Paris: Charpentier et Cie., 1875) are rather superficial in regard to the banquets. Most of the Barrot papers are in the possession of his descendant the Comte d'Argence. The writer did not receive access to the papers, but they were used by Charles Almeras in Odilon Barrot (Le Puy: J. Le Henaff, 1950). The biography of Ledru-Rollin has yet to be written, although Calman in Ledru-Rollin and the Second French Republic (New York: Columbia University, 1922) has dealt with Ledru-Rollin's revolutionary years. Madame Ledru-Rollin gave her husband's papers to the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, where they have never been catalogued.

The Thiers papers are at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Thiers, but offer nothing on the banquets with the one exception of a comment by his sister-in-law Mille Dosne in the notes she took while reading Thureau-Dangin. The François Guizot memoirs are available in the printed source, Mémoires pour servir l'histoire de mon temps (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1867), 8 vols., and in

The Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe (London: R. Bentley, 1867). His papers are in the private collection at the Archives Nationales and at Val-Richer. The University of Michigan Library possesses the collection of pamphlets owned by Guizot, and while there is nothing pertaining directly to the banquets, the series is valuable for the political history of the July Monarchy. The papers of Louis Philippe have never been published and are being collected by the Comte de Paris at Dreux. A great service was done for historians when the French Government permitted the return of the Orléans family to France, since the present pretender is collecting the family papers from storage in France, Great Britain, and Portugal and opening them to qualified students.

The Duchâtel Correspondance is available in the Archives Nationales and includes letters from Louis Philippe from 1834 to 1850, the letters of Guizot to Duchâtel, plus stray letters from Thiers, Nemours, Barrot, Hébert. The papers of Léon Faucher are also at the Archives Nationales, but offer nothing on the banquets. Many letters are published in Léon Faucher, Biographie et correspondance (Paris: A. Thomas, 1889), 2 vols.

The Bibliothèque Nationale contains many letters from banqueters, although none add to the story. These include Arago, Crémieux, Considérant, Dufaure, Duchâtel, Drouyn de l'Huys, Flocon, Garnier-Pagès, Marrast, David d'Angers. The Crémieux papers have not been opened for the

public. The Duvergier de Hauranne papers were not found. The De Lasteyrie papers were destroyed by fire.

A number of published memoirs and correspondence should be included. Comte d'Alton-Shée, Souvenirs de 1847-1848 (Paris: M. Dreyfus, 1879) is quite helpful. Also is Pierre-Jean de Béranger, Lettres inédites de Béranger à Dupont de l'Eure, 1820-1854 (Paris: V. Zaretsky, 1908); Jacques V. A. de Broglie, Mémoires du duc de Broglie (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1938); Aimé Cherest, La Vie et les oeuvres de A-T. Marie (Paris: Durand et Lauriel, 1923); Adolphe Crémieux, En 1848. Discours et lettres de M. Ad. Crémieux (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1883); Charles Leroy, Lettres inédites provenant de la correspondance de Dupont (de l'Eure) et de celle de Mille Pauline Dupont, sa fille (Rouen: Albert Lainé, 1932).

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