

H-France Review Vol. 7 (January 2007), No. 4

**William Fortescue**, *France and 1848: The End of Monarchy*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005. viii + 216 pp. Notes, bibliography and index. \$105.00 U.S. (hb). ISBN 0415314615; \$33.95 U.S. (pb). ISBN 0-415-31462-3.

Review by Bradford C. Brown, Bradley University.

When, where, and how did the French monarchy finally die? Was it in Paris on the edge of a bloody blade on the Place de la Révolution in 1793? Or was it in exile, brought down by cholera (that leveling disease) in far off Gorizia in 1836? Or was it perhaps quietly, of old age, in an English country house in Surrey in 1850 or Kent in 1873? Could it have been so improbably speared in Zululand in 1879? Can it die if there are still pretenders—a Comte de Paris or an imperial president?

François Furet proposed 1877 as the date for the final political defeat of monarchism following one last failed restoration.[1] The simpler answer, according to William Fortescue, is 1848. Monarchy meets its ultimate end, he argues, when a new conservative majority emerged across France in opposition to the briefly triumphant revolutionary left. The new "Party of Order," disillusioned by the failure of the July Monarchy and invigorated by universal adult male suffrage, dropped "monarchy, aristocracy and privilege" (p. 157) in favor of a program of "peace, property, religion, and the family" (p. 2). This major conclusion is not, however, the central subject of Fortescue's recent book, despite the subtitle.

Instead, *France and 1848: The End of Monarchy* offers a general history of the origins, events, and aftermath of the Revolution of 1848. Less an interpretive essay than a summation—a "comprehensive and authoritative study" according to the publisher's description—its ambition is to synthesize the results of recently published research with a fresh reading of primary sources in less than 160 pages of text. The author comes to the task with a substantial record of publication, including a biography of Lamartine, a widely-used shorter history of the same period, and a history of the Third Republic.[2] Evaluated on its goals and scope, *France and 1848* is largely successful. Teachers will welcome this book as an accessible survey of the politics of the first half of the nineteenth century and as an alternative text to assign on 1848.[3] Scholars will be interested in Fortescue's broad reading of newspapers from across France (mostly from 1847-48) as well as his judicious review of the role of principal actors and major historical factors, alongside a host of smaller points of interpretation.

Fortescue organizes the book more chronologically than topically in five separate chapters of uneven length. Chapter one helpfully covers not only the Revolution of 1830 and its violent aftermaths, but the Restoration Monarchy as well. Chapter two considers various sources of domestic and international conflict under the July Monarchy in the 1840s and concludes with the banquet campaign from July 1847 to February 1848. Chapter three—the longest at nearly fifty pages—describes the February Revolution, its repercussions, and the policies of the Provisional Government through the elections in April 1848. Chapter four examines the increasing political conflict in May, the insurrectionary crisis in June, and the authoritarian repression that ensued. The last chapter, "Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte," explains the maneuvers of significant politicians and factions in the fall of 1848 around the writing of a new constitution and the presidential election campaign. The book is rounded out with a brief introduction and a conclusion that summarize the book's arguments about the influence of the political traditions from the ancien regime, the Revolution, Napoleonic era, and the Restoration Monarchy on the events of 1848.

As an interpretation of the Revolution, *France and 1848* emphasizes the role these traditions played in shaping France's "unique political culture" (p. 1). This distinguishes Fortescue's national approach from the tendency toward considering 1848 in a European perspective.[4] In practice, the analysis seems less cultural than traditionally political. The book introduces key leaders and follows them in their efforts to turn events towards their own ends. The story thus turns on the decisions of these men and their alliances within a larger context that includes a nuanced discussion of economic, social, and religious constraints. At its best, the book moves efficiently through campaigns, debates, and ministerial changes conveying both the blow-by-blow action and the swift march of events. The sections on the banquet and electoral campaigns of 1847-48 are among the most detailed in the book and show to advantage Fortescue's knowledge of the popular press and his ability for lucid summary. The author consistently tries to point out some of the many ways in which the events of the 1830s and 1840s reminded participants of the past; the significance of this approach is not lessened by suggesting that there are more comparisons to be made between 1830, 1848 and the revolutionary decade following 1789.

The traditions that Fortescue summarizes, however, tend to inform but not determine events. Instead his analysis turns more on evaluations of the correctness of decisions given the objective reality of the times, rather than the force of the weight of the past. Charles X and Louis-Philippe, Guizot and Lamartine are men who fail or succeed at crucial moments, rather than players acting out scripted parts. These men may use (and misuse) political symbols, but they are not governed by their allegiance to them. The Restoration Monarchy's stubborn attachment to the flag and rituals of the ancien regime was, in Fortescue's view, "avoidable" and "unnecessary" (pp. 8-9). The symbolic gestures of the Second Republic are itemized alongside Marx and Balzac's impression of parody (pp. 93-94, 95-96).

Fortescue does credit the development of climates of opinion, as when the July Monarchy suffers a general "loss of moral authority" (pp. 50-52). And the book verges on making an argument about the importance of ideology after 1848. Fortescue complains of the failures of the July Monarchy and the Provisional Government to put together compelling political platforms (pp. 156-58; see also *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. 40). The suggested emergence of "a new right" (p. 157) after April 1848 hinges not only on electoral results but a new cluster of central ideas: order, family, property, and religion. And Fortescue spends time analyzing the new rhetoric in electoral manifestos and conservative papers (pp. 107-8). But the book puts more weight on actions than words.[5] Fortescue has recorded his distrust of the category of ideology as a guide to the July Monarchy (*Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. 41). And in the current book, the development of republicanism and socialism between 1814 and 1848 is introduced only after the February Revolution has taken place (pp. 75-80).

This approach complements Fortescue's settled conclusions. The February Revolution is more a collapse of the state than the triumph of the people. The successes of the well meaning Provisional Government in building a better revolution could not overcome the divisions of the left and the solidity of the conservative majority. In particular, the government's efforts to find a solution to the problems of poverty and unemployment in the capital were genuine but constrained by the economic and political situation. The June Days represent the explosion of an embittered fraction of the capital's working class after the decisive battles had been lost. The repression of the insurrection becomes "a victory of provincial France, 'la France des départements', over Paris" (p. 131). And Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's election to the presidency is a "popular mandate to begin the task of burying the Second Republic" (p. 154).

Some of the book's omissions influence its analysis. Fortescue explains the significance of international contexts and foreign policy issues under the Restoration and July Monarchies, but these contexts fade from view in the discussion of the events of 1848. The radicalism of the Paris club movement is mentioned but not explored. Readers will gain little sense of the ideas or fervor of the revolutionary "springtime" of 1848 for socialists, feminists, and all those who longed for social transformation. *La Voix des femmes* is not heard here, even if Jeanne Deroin and Désirée Gay gain a brief cameo (p. 142).[6]

And, of course, without more of those details a sense of the depth of the conservative response is necessarily diminished. Oddly, too, one of the monarchy's key structural weaknesses both in 1830 and 1848--the lack of an adult heir to the throne who might have embodied hopes for future reforms as well as providing a concrete alternative to an aging king at the moment of revolution--is neglected.

There are many stronger aspects to the book. Detailed descriptions of the revolutionary *journées* are juxtaposed to analytical sections on the background of revolutionaries. Fortescue includes a vivid, if brief, section on elite "Reactions to the February Revolution in Paris" (pp. 80-83) that attempts to convey the raw emotions of the moment through the voices of contemporaries. More of this would have been welcome, but Fortescue makes a consistent effort to include the apt and occasionally humorous reflections of well-known authors and politicians such as Balzac, Sand, Tocqueville, and Thiers, as well as the comments of British observers. Interesting issues are introduced even if they are not fully developed. Fortescue mentions elite attitudes towards non-violence several times; it is an issue that has echoes in important political debates on slavery, the death penalty, foreign interventionism, and responses to urban revolts. Similarly, the book highlights the scope of both state and non-governmental traditions of charitable relief under the July Monarchy that at least raises the question of countervailing forces against laissez-faire liberalism (pp. 47-48).

Understandably in a shorter text, there is not room for all that one might wish. Even so, teachers will ask for more. A chronology and brief introductions for prominent names mentioned more than five times would be helpful. French words and phrases included without translation in the text (pp. 60, 64, 89, 94, 104, 116, 149) and footnotes (*passim*) will be an obstacle to many U.S. undergraduates. Discussion of historiographical debate is intermittent, cursory, and tends to close rather than open up investigation (e.g., pp. 3-5, 13, 27, 33). In compensation, the admittedly rich bibliography could be made more comprehensive.[7] It might then find room to represent recent interest in the history of the memory and commemoration of 1848.[8]

Fortescue ends the book with the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as president in December 1848. It is an ending that underlines the book's central premise that perceptions of the past filtered through lenses of culture determined the key decisions of that eventful year and beyond. It is also an ending that complicates the question of monarchy again. After all, the new president cut short the life of the Republic. Then, as Napoleon III, he commissioned a German artist--Franz Xaver Winterhalter, who first earned a reputation as the "painter of princes" under the July Monarchy--to paint a portrait of himself as emperor, surrounded by the traditional insignia of the monarchy, standing in an ermine robe, in front of a new throne built to replace the one burned in February 1848.

## NOTES

[1] *Revolutionary France, 1770-1880*, trans. A. Nevill (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 510-11, 534-37, cf. 120-22.

[2] *Alphonse de Lamartine: A Political Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); *Revolution and Counter-revolution in France, 1815-1852* (New York: Blackwell, 1988); and *The Third Republic in France 1870-1940: Conflicts & Continuities* (New York: Routledge, 2000). Fortescue's other published work related to 1848 includes: "Morality and Monarchy: Corruption and the Fall of the Regime of Louis-Philippe in 1848," *French History* 16, no. 1 (2002): 83-100; "Lettres retrouvées de Lamartine, 1815-1868," in C. Croisille and M. R. Morin, eds., *Autour de Lamartine* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2002), pp. 61-107; "The Role of Women and Charity in the French

Revolution of 1848: the Case of Marianne de Lamartine," *French History* 11 (1997): 54-78; "Divorce debated and deferred: the French debate on divorce and the failure of the Crémieux divorce bill in 1848," *French History* 7 (1993): 137-62; "French political culture and the 1848 revolution in France," *History Review*, no. 17 (1993): 30-34; "Lamartine et l'élection présidentielle du 10 décembre 1848," in S. Bernard-Griffiths and C. Croisille, eds., *Relire Lamartine aujour'd'hui* (Paris: Nizet, 1993), pp. 133-41; "Europe in revolt: the 1848 revolutions," *Modern History Review* 4 (1992): 22-25; "Lamartine, lettres politiques 1847-1848," in C. Croisille and M. R. Morin, eds., *Autour de la correspondance de Lamartine* (Clermont-Ferrand: Université de Blaise Pascal, 1991), pp. 31-110.

[3] English-language survey texts currently in print include: *Maurice Agulhon, The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852*, trans. J. Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Peter Jones, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1991); Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The only contemporary histories still available are Tocqueville's *Recollections: The French Revolution of 1848* (Somerset, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987), Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (New York: International Publishers, 1964) and, now available in a critical edition, *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Mark Cowling and James Martin, eds., *Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire: (Post)modern Interpretations* (Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2002). Meanwhile Marie d'Agoult's *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (Paris: Balland, 1985) still awaits translation. For another recent survey, see Sylvie Aprile, *La IIe République et le Second Empire, 1848-1870: Du Prince Président à Napoléon III* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2000).

[4] See Axel Körner, ed., *1848: A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); R. J. W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, eds., *The Revolutions in Europe 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Sylvie Aprile, Raymond Huard, Pierre Lévêque, et Jean-Yves Mollier, *La Révolution de 1848 en France et en Europe* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1998). See also James G. Chastain's "Introduction" at the useful *Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions*, <http://www.ohiou.edu/%7EChastain/index.htm>.

[5] For an approach emphasizing political language, see James Livesey, "Speaking the Nation: Radical Republicans and the Failure of Political Communication in 1848," *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 459-80.

[6] Compare the treatment of feminism in Nigel Harkness' short chapter "The Revolution of 1848: Republican Principles on Trial," in Claire Gorrara and Rachael Langford, eds., *France Since the Revolution: Texts and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 27-39. For examples of recent research and bibliographies on women and feminism in the Revolution, see: Whitney Walton, *Eve's Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002); D. H. Barry, "Community, Tradition and Memory among Rebel Working-Class Women of Paris, 1830, 1848, 1871," *European Review of History* 7, no. 2 (2000): 261-75; James F. McMillan, *France and women, 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Bonnie S. Anderson, "The Lid Comes Off: International Radical Feminism and the Revolutions of 1848," *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 10, no. 2 (1998): 1-12; Judith A. DeGroat, "The Public Nature of Women's Work: Definitions and Debates during the Revolution of 1848," *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 31-47.

[7] So—to pick some examples—useful (but missing) articles which directly address the historiography, include: Casey Harison, "The Rise and Decline of a Revolutionary Space: Paris' Place de Grève and the Stonemasons of Creuse, 1750-1900," *The Journal of Social History* 34 (December 2000): 403-36; O. E. Heywood and C. M. Heywood, "Rethinking the 1848 Revolution in France: The Provisional Government and its Enemies," *History* 79 (1994): 394-411; and Craig Calhoun, "Classical Social Theory and the French Revolution of 1848," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 2 (Autumn 1989): 210-25.

[8] See, for example, Robert Gildea, "1848 in European Collective Memory," in *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 207-35; Jean-Luc Mayaud, "1848 and France: The Revolution, its Uses and Commemorations (19th and 20th Centuries)," in Charlotte Tacke ed., *1848: Memory and Oblivion in Europe* (New York: PIE Lang, 2000).

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*H-France Review* Vol. 7 (January 2007), No. 4

ISSN 1553-9172