

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BOURBON RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

REFERENCES: FYFFE, *Modern Europe*, Chapter XVI.; PHILLIPS, *Modern Europe*, Chapter II., pp. 22-36; Chapters VIII.-IX.; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe Since 1814*, Chapter V., pp. 103-35; Chapter VIII., pp. 229-38; Chapter XII., pp. 374-88; ANDREWS, *Modern Europe*, Chapters IV., VI.

SOURCE READINGS: ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Documents*, Nos. 101-5; ROBINSON, *Readings*, Vol. II., Chapter XXXIX. (French charter of 1814, reasons for Belgian independence).

Louis XVIII. grants a constitution.

THE restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and again in 1815, was the work of the allies, for the old royal family was as good as forgotten in France and aroused no enthusiasm among the people. Its position, therefore, was precarious, and its success would depend on the wisdom with which it used its opportunity. Louis XVIII., the most moderate member of his family, made a not unpromising beginning when he published a constitution (*la charte constitutionnelle*), which recognized the institutions of Napoleon—his administration, his judicial system, his church, his army, and even his nobility—and conceded to the people a share in legislation by two houses, a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. Here was the solemn assurance that the restoration of the old dynasty did not mean the return of the old *régime*, and that France was to remain in possession of the social and administrative advantages secured by the Revolution.

The main problem before the king was to create confidence and allay suspicion. But this was difficult in view of the fact that he was surrounded at court by the *émigrés*, who had flocked back with the fall of Napoleon and foolishly imagined that they had come once more into their own. At their head was the count of Artois, the king's fanatic brother, who in twenty-five years of exile had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. These courtly gentlemen thought chiefly of revenge and repression. Selfishly animated with the desire to recover their confiscated estates and to restore the Church to power, they compassed, after a few ephemeral triumphs, their own ruin and that of the royal family. Their party policy—they were known as ultra-royalists—was not, at least for the present, to overthrow the constitution, but to insist on a sharp control of the press and to insure themselves a majority in the chamber by restricting the right to vote to a very small body of wealthy citizens.

The ultra-royalists.

Louis XVIII., with laudable common-sense, at first resisted the clamor of the ultras, but was too weak to maintain his position in the face of their continued pressure. The assassination in 1820 of his nephew, the duke of Berri, shook him profoundly. Although the murder was the deed of a fanatic, the liberals were held responsible for it, and had to yield power to the ultras under their leader, Villèle. Now at last the party of the hated *émigrés* had conquered the king; controlling also the ministry and chambers, it carried what laws it pleased, muzzled the press, limited the right to vote, sent an army into Spain to put down revolution, and governed France in a way to delight the heart of Metternich. While this party was floating on the tide of power Louis XVIII. died (1824). He was succeeded by the count of Artois, under the title Charles X., whose accession completed the triumph of the forces of reaction.

Louis, at first liberal, yields to the ultras.

Charles X.
carries out a
coup d'état.

Events now rapidly travelled toward the inevitable crisis. The repressive policy of Villèle raised him enemies even among the royalist deputies, and the elections of 1827 brought him a crushing defeat. He took his dismissal, but the infatuated king clung stubbornly to the policy of the past, only to find that the Chamber of Deputies would no longer support him and that the country began to show ominous signs of unrest. With the courage of ignorance he resolved to break resistance by an illegal act, a so-called *coup d'état*. On July 26, 1830, he issued, in the spirit of the old absolutism, four ordinances by which he practically suppressed the newspapers and still further limited the right to vote.

The revolution of July, 1830.

The ordinances sounded a challenge which was immediately taken up. Bands of students and workmen paraded the streets cheering the constitution; but presently the ominous cry was raised and echoed from street to street, "Down with the Bourbons!" The king himself was at St. Cloud and the few thousand troops in Paris were not adequate to keep the insurgents in hand. Occasional conflicts soon led to a pitched battle, in which the soldiers, outnumbered and fighting without enthusiasm, yielded ground until their commander ordered them to evacuate the capital. On the night of July 29th, the people, brimful, after three days of fighting, of the old republican spirit, rested from their bloody and triumphant work.

The middle class turns to Louis Philippe.

In spite of Charles's misrule, there was a large monarchical party of liberal tendency still in France, and this party now stepped forward to save the country from anarchy. In opposition to the street-fighters, who were workmen of republican sympathies, they were members of the middle class or bourgeoisie. In a gathering of leaders it was decided that what France wanted was a really constitutional monarchy, and that the person to secure it was Louis Philippe,

duke of Orleans. The duke was head of the younger branch of the House of Bourbon and had a revolutionary record, for he had served for a time (1792-93) in the republican army. This, and the fact that his father was the unsavory Egalité of Jacobin fame, had opened an unbridgeable chasm between him and the elder branch of his House. At the invitation of the moderates he appeared in Paris and by an adroit conciliation of the republicans, who had accepted the aged Lafayette as leader, took the reins into his hands, practically without opposition. The first business of the improvised government would in all likelihood be a struggle with Charles X. But the king pleasantly disappointed expectations. In a fit of despondency he resigned in favor of his little grandson and fled to England; but the Chamber of Deputies chose to take no further note of his acts, and, on August 7th, proceeded to proclaim Louis Philippe king of the French.

Louis Philippe
king of the
French.

The succession of the younger or Orleans branch of the Bourbons to the throne, which at first blush seems to measure the whole achievement of the so-called July revolution, does not express the whole change which came over France. In the first place, the constitution was modified in a liberal sense, above all, by reducing the property qualification and thereby doubling the number of electors; and, second, the coronation of Louis Philippe was nothing less than a complete change of system. Charles X. represented legitimacy and the old *régime*; he was identified with the *émigrés* and the Church, and ruled by grace of God. Louis Philippe, a revolutionary and illegitimate sovereign, was abominated and avoided by the old royalists, and in order to secure his throne had to lean upon the monarchical middle class. For this reason the July monarchy is often called the reign of the bourgeoisie, and Louis Philippe himself the citizen-king (*roi-bourgeois*). Caricatures habitually represented

Results of the
revolution.

him as a thickset, comfortable grocer, armed with a huge umbrella.

Effect of the
revolution on
Europe.

Meanwhile, the report of the revolution in Paris had travelled abroad, producing joy among the peoples of Europe and equal consternation among the governments. Since the work of the reaction was so easily undone in France, there was good reason to hope that the national and liberal sentiment, outraged by the Congress of Vienna and persecuted by the mean-spirited police-control of Metternich and Alexander, might assert itself with success. France, ever since the eighteenth century the acknowledged leader of opinion in Europe, had given the signal, to which her imitators and admirers everywhere joyfully responded.

The Belgians
discontented
with the
Dutch.

The first people to be infected with the new spirit were the Belgians. The reader will remember that by the Congress of Vienna the old Austrian provinces had been annexed to Holland in order to create a strong power on the French border. But the union was unfortunate, for the Belgians were not treated as equals but subjected to the Dutch, while the fact that one state was Protestant and the other Catholic kept up a constant irritation, very cleverly fostered by the Belgian clergy. Besides, there was the question of race; while a large section of the Belgians were Flemings and closely allied to the Dutch, about one-half were Walloons, that is, Celts who used the French language. Lastly, Flemings and Walloons alike were imbued with French civilization and looked rather toward Paris for inspiration than toward The Hague.

The Belgians
revolt, August,
1830.

In August, 1830, a revolt, begun in Brussels, spread so rapidly that the Dutch army had to abandon the whole country with the exception of a few fortresses. King William, who had treated the Belgian national movement with much contempt, now offered concessions, but it was

too late. Nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the revolutionists, and since the Dutch king resisted this demand, war was almost a certainty.

Here was an opportunity for a typical Metternichian intervention in behalf of the "legitimate" monarch, but in proof that democracy reigned supreme for the moment, the exact opposite occurred. A conference of the powers held in London decided to yield to the will of the Belgian people and sever their lot from the Dutch. King William was cowed into acquiescence, and, not without many difficulties and delays, the Belgians declared themselves a constitutional monarchy and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king. The boundary of the new realm caused a prolonged dispute with the offended king of the Netherlands, but this matter, too, was gradually disposed of, and Belgium, a new state under a new dynasty, was added to the fraternity of nations.

Europe inter-
feres in behal-
of the Bel-
gians.

In central Europe, in Italy and Germany, the revolution was not received with such enthusiasm as might be expected, when we consider that these countries had been made the innocent victims of the treaties of 1815. In Italy there was no outbreak outside the papal states, where the government, exclusively in the hands of the clergy, was as unprogressive as that of Turkey itself. Of course the Pope called in the Austrians, who quickly extinguished the revolutionary fire. The fact was that Italy, in consequence of the defeat of its democratic hopes in 1821 and its experience of Austrian omnipotence, was unwilling for the present to risk a national conflict. The total result of the year 1830 for the peninsula was an increased sense of enslavement to Austria and an increased hatred of the master.

The revolu-
tion of 1830
in Italy.

In Germany political activity had been reduced to very meagre proportions between 1815 and 1830. The Bund, as its projectors planned, was treated as a nonentity by the

Germany dur-
ing the domi-
nance of
Metternich.

sovereign states and soon became a laughing-stock.¹ The only occasion on which it showed signs of life was when, at the instance of Metternich, it adopted police measures for bridling the universities and the press, and hunting the sporadic democrats to their holes (Carlsbad decrees, 1819). In the middle states of South Germany—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden—constitutions were granted by the rulers, and here all that Germany could show of political activity during this period took refuge. The two great states, Austria and Prussia, and almost all of the small North German states, were, politically speaking, as dead as extinct volcanoes. In all this region absolutism flourished unchecked. In Austria the reaction had no single redeeming feature; Metternich's hand seemed to have paralyzed the national energies. In Prussia the case was somewhat different. The king had indeed not fulfilled his promise to his people, given at the height of the struggle with Napoleon, to create a representative government, but he offered some compensation by a rigidly honest administration and a progressive economic policy. His leading achievement was the Customs-Union, called *Zollverein*. Begun in 1818 and completed after patient efforts continued through a generation, it gathered around Prussia, under a uniform tariff system, all the German states except Austria, and by this economic unity paved the way to political consolidation.

Prussia creates
the *Zollverein*.

The revolution
of 1830 in
Germany.

This was the situation when the news of the revolution in Paris reached Germany. A really significant movement would have to be initiated in the great states, Austria and Prussia, but as these remained quiet, the outbreaks in Germany never acquired more than a local character. In a number of the absolute states of North Germany—Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover—there were risings

¹ This is the time when the street-boys sang Heine's rhyme: "Bund, Du Hund, bist nicht gesund."

which were quickly disposed of by the grant of representative government. Phlegmatic Germany, unused to the exercise of political rights, had not acquired the revolutionary habit, and the sole result of the year 1830 was the establishment of constitutionalism in the small states. In Austria and Prussia the absolute system as yet survived, though it was clear as daylight that the peoples of these states, too, would before long be seized by the liberal current of the time.

It deserves special notice that the German movement of 1830 was not only scattered and local, but exclusively liberal in tendency, and that no cry was raised for a more effective national organization. The Bund, with its Diet of princely delegates sitting at Frankfort, remained as feeble and despised as ever. Evidently it took the national movement a long time to gather force, for it was plain that German sentiment, once aroused, would first and without delay shatter this travesty of a national senate. The conclusion to be derived from the events of the year 1830 is that the liberal movement in Germany was more developed than the national one, but that both alike were hardly out of their swaddling clothes.

The German
movement of
1830 liberal,
not national.

But if the year 1830 saw hardly more than storm-signals in Germany, there was a fierce tempest to the east of her, in Poland. We have seen that at the Congress of Vienna the Czar Alexander, to whom had been assigned the grand-duchy of Warsaw, converted it into the kingdom of Poland with himself as king. At the same time he gave it a constitution, by which it acquired independence from Russia, a Diet to manage its own affairs, together with a Polish administration and a Polish army. That this was an act of unusual magnanimity cannot be denied, but it did not satisfy the Polish nation. The Poles chafed under the few remaining restrictions and could not forget the time when the

Alexander
creates the
kingdom of
Poland.

parts were reversed, and they, and not Russia, ruled eastern Europe.

The Poles
rise in revolt,
November,
1830.

The discontent was kept under control while Alexander lived, but Nicholas I. had no sooner succeeded his brother (1825) than the signs of conflict multiplied. The excitement caused by the July revolution applied the torch to the accumulated discontent, and in November, 1830, the capital, Warsaw, rose in insurrection. The country took the cue from the metropolis, the few Russian troops retired with all possible speed, and not without surprise at the ease of the achievement, the Poles discovered that they were free under a government of their own.

Reasons for the
Polish failure.

Plainly, the success of the movement depended on united, intelligent action. But that was hard to obtain, owing to the impatience and caprice which lay in the national character, and to the lamentable social divisions. For one thing the landed proprietors, being great nobles, found it difficult to agree with the democratic element in the city of Warsaw, and second, the bulk of the nation were agricultural laborers, in a condition little above that of brutes. Serfs for centuries, they had indeed been declared free by Napoleon (1807); but as nothing was done to convert them into peasant-proprietors, they lived from hand to mouth and were worse off than before. Nevertheless, recruits flocked to the standards, and with next to no training and a very deficient equipment the Poles sustained a most honorable combat, when in the spring of 1831 Czar Nicholas launched his Russian legions against them. But mere valor was of no avail; at Ostrolenka (May, 1831) the Russians overwhelmed the Poles with their numbers, and a few months later (September) entered Warsaw in triumph. Thus the seal of fate was set upon the *finis Poloniae* pronounced in the previous century.

When the Russian autocrat again took hold, it was with the

grim resolve to remove all chances of another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with because he and his predecessor had proved themselves too kind. He would not err in that way any more. He began by abrogating Alexander's constitution and merging Poland with Russia as a Russian province. Then he carried through a succession of measures which aimed to break the rebellious spirit of the Poles: a Russian army of occupation was saddled on the country; Russian was made the official language; the press was put under supervision; and most of the educational institutions were closed. Poland fell into a sad eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia, but as long as there was life her people were determined to cling to their national memories. And they have clung to them to this day.

Poland crushed
by the Russian
autocracy.

Reviewing the effects of the revolution of 1830 throughout Europe, we may assert that though its fruits, outside of France and Belgium, were small, a new era had struggled into being. The liberal platform, inspired by the faith that nationality should be respected and that political control belongs not to the monarchs but to the peoples, had directed universal attention to itself and could never again be treated as a trifle. The best the old reactionaries like Metternich could do from now on was to delay the coming of the dawn; they could not bring back the chains and darkness of the period of congresses and intervention.

Results of the
revolution of
1830.