

VINCENT WRIGHT

THE REORGANISATION OF
THE CONSEIL D'ETAT IN 1852

THE STUDY OF A FRENCH ELITE*

The Conseil d'Etat of the Second Republic was dissolved on 2nd December 1851. A letter of protest, signed by eighteen of the forty Conseillers, was sent to Boulay de la Meurthe, Vice-President of the Republic.¹ The Conseil was distrusted by Louis Napoleon; although initially well-disposed towards him after his election, it had generally sided with the Legislative Assembly in its clashes with him. Less than a month before the coup d'état, the Conseil clearly demonstrated where its sympathies lay; in November 1851, a large majority backed the Assembly and not the President over the project of law on "la responsabilité des dépositaires de l'autorité publique" (the "Loi des Questeurs").²

The decree which dissolved the old Conseil also proposed to submit to the nation a new constitution which promised, amongst other things, a "Conseil d'Etat formé des hommes les plus distingués, préparant les lois et en soutenant la discussion devant le Corps législatif." Until the formation of this new body, twenty-eight members of the newly formed Consultative Commission, under the presidency of Jules Baroche, formed an administrative section which was given the task of fulfilling the duties of the old Conseil.

* I should like to thank the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique for the financial assistance which enabled me to do the research for this article. I should also like to thank the staff of the following archives: Archives Nationales, Archives de la Seine, Archives de la Guerre, Archives de la Marine, Archives de la Légion d'Honneur and the Section d'Histoire de France at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Finally, may I express my gratitude to Monsieur Guy Braibant, Maître des Requêtes, Mademoiselle Rabant, Librarian, Monsieur Cerffond and other members of the staff of the Conseil d'Etat who were so friendly and helpful during the time I worked there. For sources not specifically mentioned in footnotes, see Appendix I.

¹ The protest, together with an accompanying letter, is now in the Bibliothèque of the Conseil d'Etat. It was published in *Etudes et Documents du Conseil d'Etat*, Paris 1948, p. 27.

² J. Boulay de la Meurthe, *Notice sur Henri Georges Boulay de la Meurthe*, Paris 1873, p. 64.

The task of forming the new Conseil was completed in the first three weeks of January 1852. Casabianca, who had recently been asked to organise the new Ministry of State, and Baroche appear to have had the main responsibility of sifting through the hundreds of applications. All appointments were clearly discussed in the Council of Ministers. A list was drawn up on 21st-22nd January but had to be quickly and radically altered after nearly a quarter of the men on the list withdrew in protest against the decrees of 22nd January on the confiscation of the Orleans family goods. Amongst the men to withdraw were three Conseillers and four auditeurs of the Conseil of the Second Republic who were reappointed to the Conseil. A new list was established and promulgated on 25th January. The haste with which the changes were effected was such that three men who had withdrawn on 22nd January were still on the list published three days later.¹

The Government's freedom in selecting the new Conseil was limited by a number of requirements. It was clearly impressed upon the Government that an element of continuity with the old Conseil was desirable; however much it disliked the Conseil, the Government would need the expertise of some of its members. The Prince President therefore contacted Marchand who was one of the longest serving members of the Conseil d'Etat. Marchand, in his reply to Louis Napoleon,² recognised that there existed a great deal of ill-feeling against the Conseil. This Conseil, he noted, had been elected by the Constituent and Legislative assemblies; "il y avait donc au Conseil comme dans les chambres, des républicains ardents, des républicains modérés, des légitimistes, des adhérents de juillet et parmi ceux-ci d'anciens conservateurs, des membres de l'opposition et du tiers parti." But the Conseil never divided on political lines. There was one main division; the division between those Conseillers who considered the Conseil as a political body and those who regarded it as an essentially administrative body. The supporters of the second view were normally to be found amongst the professional Conseillers – those who had belonged to the Conseil of the July Monarchy and had been re-elected in 1849. "Les politiques, les gens d'affaires, voilà quelle était la grande division dans le Conseil." He then added that the "gens d'affaires", the administrators, had voted *en bloc* in favour of the

¹ For the purpose of this article I have excluded these three men and included their replacements. I have examined the events of January to May 1852 concerning the Conseil d'Etat and the confiscation of the Orleans family goods in an article which is to appear in the 1969 *Etudes et Documents du Conseil d'Etat*.

² Letter A. M. L. Marchand – Prince President, 26 December 1851, Bib. Conseil d'Etat.

President in November 1851. It is clear that the Government acted upon the observations of Marchand when forming the new Conseil.

The Government's freedom of choice was limited in a second way: it required not only legal specialists and people familiar with the workings of the Conseil but also experts from a much wider variety of backgrounds. It needed financial experts and men of administrative experience in the various ministries as well as specialists from the armed forces.

Finally, the Government's wish to choose the most talented men available was tempered by political considerations. The faithful had to be rewarded and the doubtful had to be rallied. The scramble for place was intense and undignified but not unexpected.¹ The Government was obliged to use this source of patronage very carefully in the hope of not offending too many of the politically influential. Most Ministers appear to have had some say in the appointments; Herman, Allard and Vieyra-Molina all owed their places to the intervention of Morny, the Minister of the Interior, who also managed to secure a place for Léopold Le Hon, the son of his current mistress. Vuitry was clearly backed by Fould, the Minister of Finance, whilst Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, the Minister of War, was responsible for the appointments of his brother and half brother who were both members of the Paris bar. He was only too pleased to see them "enfin sortis de ce Palais ... où il n'y avait que des utopistes ou des défenseurs de libertés dangereuses".² We may assume that the Minister of State felt no *crise de conscience* over the appointment of his son as an auditeur, and may equally assume that Maupas, Minister of Police, was no stranger to the appointment of his brother as Maître des Requêtes. Amongst the men with the most pressing claims to a place in the new Conseil were those members of the Legislative Assembly who had been prominent supporters of the Prince President. Vieillard, ex-tutor and friend of Louis Napoleon and member of the Assembly, was given the task of drawing up a list of his colleagues worthy of being included in the new

¹ One malevolent observer of the time could write that the only reason the members of the Consultative Commission met was to "se surveiller et à se dénoncer mutuellement à l'Elysée. Cela est tout simple. Ils veulent tous être sénateurs ou conseillers d'Etat et ils travaillent à diminuer la concurrence." Letter Duvergier de Hauranne – Thiers, 29 December 1851, quoted in J. Maurain, Baroche, Ministre de Napoléon III, Paris 1936, p. 112.

² Quatrelles-L'Epine, *Le Maréchal de Saint-Arnaud*, Paris 1929, Vol. II, p. 170. On the other appointments: Letters Herman and Allard – Morny, 4 and 21 January 1852, Archives Nationales (AN), Morny papers 116 AP 1, and extensive correspondence in the Fortoul papers AN, 246 AP 16, and in AN, BB30 728 and BB30 736.

Conseil. Montalembert was given the task of suggesting the names of two men; Veuillot, his first choice, refused the honour.¹

The composition of the new Conseil reflected the compromise between the competing claims of technical competence and political patronage. Yet in many ways, the compromise worked surprisingly well. If, from the Government's point of view, the Conseil suffered from serious weaknesses, these weaknesses were not based on lack of talent. If the occasional *fils à papa* proved to be an unhappy choice as auditeur, most of the new men proved their worth and real ability.

THE APPOINTMENTS OF 25TH AND 26TH JANUARY 1852

Article 2 of the organic law of 25th January which established the Conseil d'Etat, declared the Conseil to be composed of

1. A Vice-President;
2. Forty to fifty Conseillers d'Etat en service ordinaire;
3. Conseillers d'Etat en service ordinaire hors sections; their number should not exceed fifteen;
4. Conseillers d'Etat en service extraordinaire; their number should be restricted to twenty;
5. Forty Maîtres des Requêtes divided into two classes of twenty each;
6. Forty auditeurs divided into two classes of twenty each;
7. A Secretary General having the title and rank of Maître des Requêtes.

The Conseil was thus divided into two groups, the service ordinaire and the service extraordinaire. The service ordinaire was in turn divided between those Conseillers attached to the various sections of the Conseil and for whom the post was supposed to be full-time, and those conseillers who were unattached to any of the sections. The Conseillers hors sections had the right to participate and vote in general assemblies of the Conseil where most of the important decisions were taken. Most of the time, however, they held full-time appointments elsewhere in the public service. As Conseillers they received no salaries. All the Maîtres des Requêtes and auditeurs were attached to the various sections of the Conseil. The title of Conseiller en service extraordinaire was reserved for men who had previously served in the service ordinaire but who had ceased these functions. They could

¹ Quentin-Bauchart, *Etudes sur la Seconde République et le Second Empire*, Paris 1901, 1ère partie, p. 455, and L. Veuillot, *Correspondance*, Paris 1931, pp. 328-329, and E. Veuillot, *Vie de Louis Veuillot*, Paris 1899, Vol. II, p. 484.

attend and vote in general assemblies of the Conseil only when specifically requested to do so by the President of the Republic. All members of the Conseil were appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic. Membership of the service ordinaire was made incompatible with membership of the Senate or the Corps législatif.

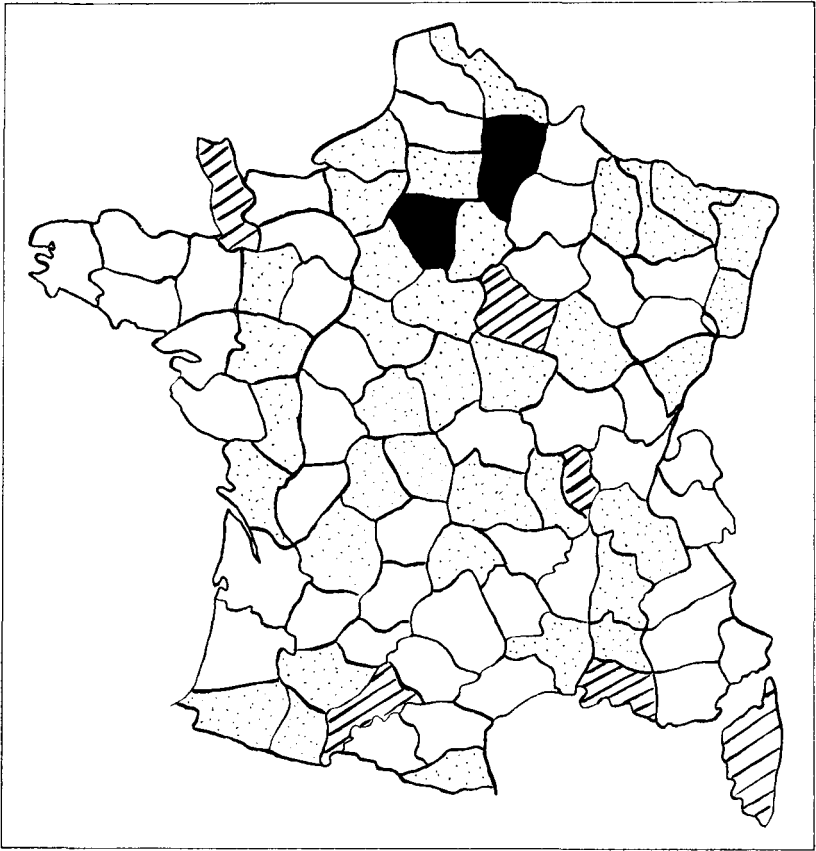
On 25th January, the appointments were announced of Baroche as Vice-President, of forty Conseillers en service ordinaire, of twenty first class Maîtres des Requêtes and twenty second class, of eighteen first class auditeurs and thirteen second class. The following day, eleven Conseillers hors sections were appointed. No Conseillers en service extraordinaire were nominated (the first such appointment took place in July 1857).




The appointment of Baroche was not unexpected; since early December 1851 he had been Vice-President of the Consultative Commission. Both as Procureur Général in Paris and as Minister, he had proved himself to be a faithful servant of the President. By limiting himself to the execution of the will of his master he fulfilled his conception of duty. For the next ten years he dominated the life of the Conseil, never hesitating, if necessary, to bully the Conseil if it was unduly reticent about passing some imperial scheme. For many, he was too jealous of his own prerogatives to effectively safeguard those of the body he represented. He kept all the important tasks for himself and systematically stifled the initiative of many of his inferiors. Like many members of the dynastic opposition during the July Monarchy, he was frightened into conservatism after the June Days; for Baroche, eternal vigilance was the price of security. Able, hardworking, cautious, rather narrowminded – these were the hall marks of his personality.¹

From the forty Conseillers en service ordinaire were chosen the presidents of the six sections.² The headship of a section carried considerable power, responsibility and prestige. Political friends of the President, Rouher (Legislation), Delangle (Interior) and Parieu (Finances) were chosen to head those sections which could have a political character or role. For the three sections dealing with matters of a largely technical nature, “professionals” were chosen; they were Maillard (Contentieux), Magne (Public Works) and Admiral Leblanc (War).

¹ There are a number of very good studies of Baroche; amongst the better ones are those of Pierre de la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, Paris 1905, Vol. II, pp. 18-19, and Oscar de Vallée, *M. Baroche*, Paris 1875. The best work is, of course, that of J. Maurain, *op. cit.*

² The six sections were: Guerre et Marine; Travaux Publics; Agriculture et Commerce; Législation, Justice et Affaires étrangères; Intérieur; Instruction Publique et Cultes; Finances.



-  1-2
-  3-4
-  more than 5

Place of Birth of Members of the Conseil d'Etat, 1852

The average age of the forty Conseillers en service ordinaire was fifty, although the average conceals a wide range of ages:

	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	oldest	young- est	aver- age
auditeur 1	13	—	—	—	—	—	27	21½	24
auditeur 2	15	3	—	—	—	—	33½	20	26½
M. de R. 2nd	1	10	7	2	—	—	53½	29	38½
M. de R. 1st*	—	6	8	7	—	—	57	31½	44
C.E.s.o.	—	5	15	17	2	1	78	37	50
C.E. hors s.	—	—	8	3	—	—	57	40	48

* Includes (as in other tables) the Secretary General.

The oldest Conseiller, Maillard, was 78 whilst Rouher and Parieu, both Presidents de section, were only 37. Not surprisingly, as a general rule, the younger the man, the more humble was his rank in the Conseil likely to be, although there were exceptions. There were, for example, thirty five Conseillers younger than Gasc, the oldest first class Maître des Requêtes. Similarly, two first class and seven second class Maîtres des Requêtes were younger than the oldest auditeur. The youngest member of the Conseil, Léopold Le Hon, first class auditeur, was a month short of his twentieth birthday.

Not unexpectedly, the composition of the new Conseil reflected the power of the aristocracy and the urban bourgeoisie. A study of the birthplaces of the one hundred and twenty three men shows the importance of Paris and its region:

BIRTHPLACES OF MEMBERS OF THE CONSEIL D'ETAT

<i>Department:</i>	<i>Number:</i>
Seine	42
Seine-et-Oise	8
Aisne	7
Bouches-du-Rhône	3
Manche	3
Yonne	3
Corsica	3
Rhône	3
Haute-Garonne	3

Well represented regions¹ were Picardie with eight (seven from the Aisne), Rhône-Alpes with seven and Provence-Côte-d'Azur-Corsica with the same number. Amongst the poorly represented regions were Franche-Comté and the Nord with only one representative each. Two regions, Champagne and Brittany, had no representatives at all. A

¹ For this article I have quite simply adopted the twenty-one modern regions.

large majority of the men came from towns with a certain administrative activity or cultural life. Apart from the fifty men born in the Paris area, a further twenty nine were born in departmental *chefs-lieux* and sixteen in the *chefs-lieux* of an *arrondissement*. The dominance of Paris is particularly marked amongst the young members; all but one of the second class auditeurs were born in the Paris region. Six members of the Conseil were born abroad; they were generally the sons of colonial administrators.

The dominance of Paris and the urban areas reflects the fact that a large number of men had fathers who were either government officials or in the liberal professions. This latter point is confirmed by an analysis of their fathers' professions:

FATHERS' PROFESSIONS¹

<i>Profession:</i>	<i>C.E.s.o.</i>	<i>M. de R.</i>	<i>aud.</i>	<i>hors s.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Army and Navy	1	4	2	3	10
Diplomats	2	1	1	1	5
Judges	6	5	7	—	18
Prefects	1	3	—	—	4
Other senior officials	1	1	1	1	4
Other minor officials	1	3	1	2	7
University teachers	2	1	1	—	4
Deputies	5	4	—	—	9
Barristers	1	2	2	—	5
Solicitors	2	1	—	—	3
Notaries	2	1	2	1	6
Doctors	1	4	1	—	6
Architects	—	—	2	—	2
Civil Engineer	1	—	—	—	1
Landowners	5	5	4	3	17
Bankers, industrialists, merchants and shopkeepers	9	5	7	—	21
<i>Total</i>	40	40	31	11	122

¹ A word of caution: in the great majority of cases, I have adopted the profession of the father at the time of the reorganisation of the Conseil – or as close as possible to that date. In a small number of cases, however, I have been obliged to take the father's professions from the members' birth certificates. Several fathers held a number of posts during their careers; I have included the one he spent most time in; this is the case, for example, of those government officials who spent only short spells in the Conseil d'Etat. All fathers owned some property, but in the category "landowners" I have included only those with no other occupation. The profession of Boilay's father has not been included as no indication was given in the biographies of the time. His birth certificate, one of the very few not reconstituted by the Archives de la Seine (it was finally traced to his dossier in the Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur), reads "fils de Sophie Boilay et de père absent".

These categories inevitably hide great differences of status. Amongst the magistrates, for example, there were three humble Procureurs (Denjoy, François and Allard) and men of more exalted rank like Comte Portalis and Mesnard, both Présidents de Chambre at the Cour de Cassation and Senators of the Empire. The soldiers ranged in rank from captain (Bréhier and Narcillac) to General (Daumas, Arrighi de Padoue and Darricau). The category "other senior officials" hides the distinction between an Administrateur Général des Douanes (Maillard) and the Governor of the Bank of France (Argout). Nonetheless, the table does give some indication of the family background; it is generally a background of high social status and financial comfort. The new men came from educated families with traditions of service to the state.

The following table is based not only on the fathers' professions and, in some cases, his income but also on the position of other members of the family.

SOCIAL CLASS OF MEMBERS OF THE CONSEIL D'ETAT

	<i>C.E.s.o.</i>	<i>M. de R.</i>	<i>aud.</i>	<i>hors s.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nobility	5	13	13	4	35
Haute-bourgeoisie	11	8	8	2	29
Bourgeoisie-moyenne	15	15	10	4	44
Petite-bourgeoisie	6	2	—	—	8
"origines modestes"	3	3	—	1	7
<i>Total</i>	40	41	31	11	123

Some of the most impressive members of the Conseil were of very humble origins; Baroche, the son of a poor Parisian haberdasher, orphan at eleven years old, never failed to emphasise his unpromising start to life.¹ Magne, son of a "sergeur et teinturier" continually boasted of being born in one of the poorest quarters of Périgueux,² whilst Delangle, to the immense irritation of Haussmann, paraded his modest origins as yet another mark of his virtue.³ Other men of humble background were Bonjean, son of a poor jeweller from Valence, and Gasc who was the illegitimate son of a poor clerk at the Tribunal criminel of the Haute-Garonne. Perhaps the least promising start to life was that of Boilay, the Secretary General, who was the illegitimate son of Sophie Boilay, "artiste de l'Opéra"; he never knew his father.

The majority of men came from wealthy, educated and often distinguished families. As a general rule, the lower the rank in the Conseil, the more elevated was the social class of the family. Thus, 37

¹ Madame Jules Baroche, *Notes et Souvenirs*, Paris 1921, p. 1.

² J. Durieux, *Le Ministre Pierre Magne 1806-1879*, Paris 1929, Vol. I, p. 16.

³ *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann*, Paris 1891, Vol. II, p. 39.

per cent of the Conseillers were from families belonging to the aristocracy or the haute-bourgeoisie; the figure rises to 50 percent for the *Maîtres des Requêtes* and 65 percent for the *auditeurs*.

The imperial nobility was well represented; eleven were sons or grandsons of ministers, generals or *Conseillers d'Etat* of the First Empire. Others were of longer, though no less distinguished, lineage. Baron Cardon de Sandrans could trace his title back through bishops, cardinals, generals and parliamentarians to 1040. Comte de Pons-Renepont, "châtelain de Renepont", was the last of a family ennobled by Charles VI in 1422. The Marquis de Ségur belonged to a family which had already produced four *Conseillers d'Etat* and innumerable other high placed servants of the crown and the Church.

Many were part of a family network which reached out into all branches of public life. Three examples will suffice to illustrate this:

Godart de Belbeuf

- great grandfather: Procureur at the Parlement de Rouen;
- grandfather: Deputy at the *Etats Généraux*;
- father: Premier Président at the Cour de Rouen and Senator II Empire;
- father-in-law: Comte Siméon, ex-*Conseiller d'Etat*, Senator II Empire;
- brother-in-law: Bernon, Trésorier Payeur Général of the Drôme;
- his only son married the daughter of Morny, Minister of II Empire.

Bernon

- grandfather: Trésorier de France en la Généralité de Grenoble;
- father: Great Landowner and *Conseiller Général* of the Drôme;
- uncle: Chasseloup-Laubat, Minister of the II Empire;
- brother: Trésorier Payeur Général of the Drôme;
- father-in-law: Duc de Richebourg.

Portalis

- grandfather: *Conseiller d'Etat* and Minister of the First Empire;
- father: Pair de France, Minister, *Conseiller d'Etat*, Président de Chambre at the Cour de Cassation, Senator II Empire;
- brothers: 1) *Conseiller* at the Cour d'Appel de Paris;

Dubois,
 Boinvilliers (fils),
 Camus du Martroy,
 Boulay de la Meurthe,
 Herman,
 Portalis,
 Redon de Beaupréau.

Two were nephews:

Bernon,
 Cuvier.

Two were brothers:

Vaïsse,
 Boulay de la Meurthe.

One was the son-in-law:

Belbeuf.

A large number of the 1852 men were linked by family ties; Thayer and Arrighi de Padoue were brothers-in-law, Forcade la Roquette and Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud were half-brothers, Magne and Maigne were cousins as were Fouquier and Argout. Perhaps the most impressive family network in the history of the Conseil was that which linked the families of Allard, Ségur (four Conseillers in the family), Vuitry, Cottin, Haubersart, Roederer and Hély d'Oïssel (three Conseillers in the family); this family tradition of service in the Conseil commenced during the ancien regime and is still alive.¹

Family connections with other branches of the state service – the armed forces, the diplomatic corps, the bench and the prefectural corps – were all strong. So too were links with prominent politicians; two were the grandsons, three the sons, four the brothers and two the sons-in-law of ministers or ex-ministers. Twenty seven, or a fifth of the total membership of the Conseil, were the sons or grandsons of parliamentarians.

From various sources² it was possible to find details of the private

¹ I am most grateful to Monsieur Roland de Margerie (member of the present Conseil d'Etat) and his wife who kindly provided me with this information.

² Based essentially on four sources: 1) their dossiers, 2) the electoral lists of the Seine in the Archives de la Seine VD4 4163 and DM 259 and of a number of other departments for which details are given in the departmental almanachs Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), série Lc30 and Lc31, 3) AN, F1b I 230 1-21 for those who belonged to a Conseil Général, 4) AN, BB30 736-742 for those who belonged to the Conseil d'Etat of the July Monarchy. On the value of these private incomes, the relationship between the property tax and the amount of private annual income, and a discussion of the private incomes of other groups: A. J. Tudesq, *Les Conseillers Généraux en France au temps de Guizot*, Paris 1967, pp. 111-159 and p. 272; L. Girard et al., *Les Conseillers Généraux en 1870*, Paris 1967, pp. 22-26 and pp. 54-84; Th. Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III*, London 1958, pp. 61-65 (for the private incomes of the deputies of 1852); A. J. Tudesq, *Les Grands Notables en France 1840-1849*, Paris 1964, Vol. I,

incomes of about half the members of the Conseil. It would appear that a small number were very wealthy; amongst the very rich were Martin de Chassiron (paying 7,546 francs in property tax (*cens*) in 1847), Thayer (paying 6,165 francs) and Richaud (paying 3,509 francs). Montaud, son of a very wealthy Parisian notary, had an estimated annual private income of 100,000 francs in 1855 whilst Arrighi de Padoue had his calculated at 150,000 francs in 1853. Dariste (30,000 francs), Lacaze (30,000 francs), Parieu (40,000 francs) and Royer ("au moins 60,000 francs") may all be considered wealthy. Very few men may be considered as not having a comfortable private income, although Allard, Villemain, Blanche, Denjoy, Suin and Gavini all had less than 5,000 francs a year.

The great majority of annual private incomes appear to have ranged between 10,000 and 25,000 francs,¹ although it must be remembered that many men were either rapidly making, or could expect to inherit, handsome fortunes. Thus, the estimated annual private income of Fremy grew from 15,000 francs in 1839 to 50,000 francs in 1870. Vuitry's private income increased from 20,000 francs in 1852 to 50,000 francs in 1870 and Royer's from 60,000 francs to 150,000 francs in the same period. The most dramatic change of fortune was surely that of Magne whose lowly self-confessed 3,000 francs of 1835 had grown to an estimated 150,000 francs by the end of the Second Empire. Marbeau had a father lucky enough to be paying 6,332 francs in property tax in 1847 whilst Bernon, Dufau and Bartholoni were heirs to annual private incomes calculated at 50,000 francs, 70,000 francs and 100,000 francs respectively. Heurtier's annual private income jumped from 6,000 francs to 30,000 francs (1855) following the death of his father.

A few men improved their delicate financial situations by the time-

pp. 384-385 (for a comparison with members of the Conseil d'Etat of 1840); my article "Les préfets d'Emile Ollivier", in: *Revue Historique*, juillet-septembre 1968, Vol. CCXL, pp. 123-125 (for the private incomes of another elite of the Empire).

¹ Of the thirty nine men for whom details were found:

less than 5,000 francs	3
5,000-9,500 francs	5
10,000-19,500 francs	16
20,000-29,500 francs	9
30,000-39,500 francs	2
40,000-50,000 francs	1
more than 50,000 francs	3

Figures for *cens* paid in either 1846 or 1847:

200-499 francs	3
500-1,000 francs	12
more than 1,000 francs	6

honoured technique of marriage. Denjoy, the son of a minor judge “de fortune modeste”, and whose annual private income was admitted to be but 4,000 francs in 1847, married the daughter of the immensely wealthy Comte de Salvandy, Minister of the July Monarchy. General Daumas, son of a distinguished but impecunious Imperial general, was in precarious financial condition until his marriage in 1847 to Mademoiselle McCarthy, daughter of a rich merchant of Bordeaux. This happy event brought him an estate worth 150,000 francs and producing an annual income of 5,000 francs. General Niel, who enjoyed rapid promotion in the army in spite of a “fortune médiocre” (1848), married Mademoiselle Maillères, daughter of the Receveur Principal des Douanes in Paris; the dowry was worth a delightful 120,000 francs.¹

Details of the education of the members of the Conseil underlines the importance and attraction of Paris. Of the sixty one men for whom details of secondary education were found, twenty-eight were educated in Paris lycées;² eleven of these men were born in the prov-

¹ For details of the men mentioned in this paragraph, cf. their dossiers which are listed in Appendix II.

² Nine Lycée Henri IV; six Lycée Louis-le-Grand; four Lycée Charlemagne; four Lycée Saint-Louis; eight “études classiques à Paris” (there is some slight overlapping as three men went to two of the above schools).

For details of secondary educations: their dossiers and

- a) Archives de la Seine, Collège Sainte-Barbe:
 - 104 Association amicale des élèves 1852-1889;
 - 105 Association amicale etc Annuaire 1790-1837;
 - 106-108 Association amicale etc Correspondance, lettres de faire-part.
- b) Associations des anciens élèves de:
 - Louis-le-Grand BN, 8° Jo 4411;
 - Saint-Louis BN, 8° R 55(1053);
 - Henri IV BN, 8° Jo 379.
- c) On the Collège Sainte-Barbe:
 - J. Quicherat, Paris 1862, 3 vols, BN, R 47853;
 - E. Nouvel, Paris 1948, BN, 4° R 6283.
- d) On Lycée Henri IV:
 - M. Chaumeix, Paris 1936, BN, 8° 42655(3);
 - Centenaire 1804-1904, Paris 1904, BN, 8° R 20306.
- e) On Lycée Louis-le-Grand:
 - M. Donnay, Paris 1939, 8° R 42655(4);
 - Etudes, Souvenirs et Documents, Paris 1963, BN, 8° R 65757;
 - G. Dupont-Ferrier, Paris 1921, 3 vols, BN, 8° R 35677.
- f) On Lycée Charlemagne:
 - Centenaire 1804-1904, Paris 1905, BN, Rés m R 71.

For details of higher education: there is much more information in the dossiers and biographical studies on university education. Note also:

 - Ecole Polytechnique, Livre du Centenaire, Paris 1895-1897, 3 vols, BN, Lf 210 33;
 - Ecole Normale, Le Centenaire 1795-1895, Paris 1895, BN, 4° R 1192 and

inces. To the twenty-eight, may be added the eight men educated at the famous Collège Sainte-Barbe, and Dariste and Parieu who were educated by the Jesuits at the Collège de Juilly. Nineteen men were pupils at provincial colleges or lycées.

The pull of Paris is particularly marked in university education; although about two fifths of the members of the Conseil were born in the capital, more than four fifths were educated there. Information was found for all but ten of the men:

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION OF MEMBERS OF THE CONSEIL D'ETAT

Ecole Polytechnique	11
Ecole Navale, Brest	1
Saint Cyr	2
Ecole de Cavalerie Saumur	1
Law Faculty Paris	82
Grenoble	1
Rennes	1
Strasbourg	1
Aix	4
Toulouse	4
Medical Faculty Paris	1
Ecole Nationale d'Administration	1
None	3

There is a certain degree of overlapping; Dubois, for example, brilliantly passed examinations at Saint Cyr, the Ecole Polytechnique and the Paris Law Faculty. Vuitry took a law degree (and doctorate) in Paris after leaving the Ecole Polytechnique whilst two men, Royer and Parieu, attended both provincial law faculties and the Paris Law Faculty.

The pre-eminence of law is apparent and not surprising given the nature of the work of the Conseil; ninety one of the men for whom details were available were *licenciés en droit* and of these, at least fourteen were *docteurs*. The attraction of Paris for the law students is truly remarkable; fewer than one in nine of the law degrees were obtained in the provinces.

The new Conseil contained some men with brilliant academic records; the case of Dubois with his successes at the Ecole Polytechnique, Saint Cyr and the Paris Law Faculty, has already been mentioned. Arrighi de Padoue was the first of his year at the Ecole Polytech-

Notice Historique: Listes des élèves par promotion, Paris 1884, BN, 8° R 5808;

Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Association des anciens élèves: Revue de la cinquantaine, Paris 1899, BN, 8° R Pièce 13595.

nique whilst Forcade la Roquette, Georges L'Hôpital and Victor de Lavenay were all prize winners at the *concours général*. Hudault was the winner of several prizes at the *concours* of the Paris Law Faculty.

Higher education appears to have been as important, if not more important, than high social status as a qualification for accession to the administrative elite – although one invariably went with the other. Only three men were not university educated; they were Chassériau (official historian of the French Navy), Grétérin (Directeur Général des Douanes since 1836) and Mestro (Directeur des Colonies since 1848). Chassériau was the son of a French Consul in Puerto Rico who came back to France in 1821 “sans fortune et accompagné d'une famille nombreuse”. Because of his father's financial difficulties, he was unable to attend university.¹ Like Grétérin and Mestro, he had reached the top “par la petite porte”; all had entered their respective ministries as ordinary clerks.

CAREERS BEFORE 25 JANUARY 1852

A convenient point of departure for the study of the previous careers of the members of 1852 Conseil is to examine the positions they were holding on 1st December 1851, the day before the coup d'état.

All branches of the administration were represented in the new Conseil d'Etat. Diplomats, judges and generals rubbed shoulders with ex-prefects, civil servants from the Paris ministries and members of the old Conseil, but a cursory glance at their careers shows that the composition of the Conseil was dominated by three main elements: members of the old Conseil, the political element and the legal element.

The largest single category were the members of the old Conseil; nine Conseillers (of the forty), fifteen Maîtres des Requêtes (of the twenty four) and eight auditeurs (of the twenty one)² were re-integrated into the Conseil. These figures would have been higher had it not been for the resignations of three Conseillers and four auditeurs of the old Conseil who withdrew from the 22nd January list after the publication of the decrees on the confiscation of the Orleans family goods.³ It should be noted, too, that fifteen men, though not members of the dissolved Conseil, had previously held posts in the Conseil; these included Janvier, Conseiller en service ordinaire and Grétérin and Michel

¹ Letter Chassériau – Minister of Navy, 17 November 1826, dossier Chassériau.

² There were three vacancies amongst the auditeurs at the time.

³ They were the Conseillers Hély d'Oissel, Paravey and Pérignon and the auditeurs Batbie, Meurinne, Montesquiou-Fézensac and Martin (du Nord).

POSITIONS HELD ON 1ST DECEMBER 1851

	aud. 2nd	aud. 1st	M. de R. 2nd	M. de R. 1st	C.E.s.o.	C.E. hors s.	Total
Ministers	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Deputies	—	—	2	8	15	1	26
Conseillers d'Etat	—	—	—	—	9	—	9
Maîtres des Requêtes	—	—	5	8	2	—	15
Auditeurs	—	7	1	—	—	—	8
Ex-Maître des Requêtes*	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Ex-auditeur	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Armed forces	—	—	—	—	3	4	7
Diplomatic corps	—	—	1	—	2	1	4
Prefectoral corps	—	1	1	1	—	—	3
Magistrature	—	1	1	—	3	1	6
Other officials	2	4	3	2	—	4	15
Barristers	5	4	4	1	3	—	17
Journalist	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Landowner	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Others**	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Too young – no position	6	—	—	—	—	—	6
Total***	13	18	20	21	41	11	124

* Dismissed in February 1848.

** One university professor and one ex-prefect of Police.

*** Includes one overlap; one man both diplomat and deputy.

Column M. de R. 1st includes the Secretary General.

Chevalier, Conseillers en service extraordinaire, during the July Monarchy. Thus, about two fifths of the new Conseil had experience in previous Conseils; the essential element of continuity was guaranteed. The man with the longest experience in the Conseil was Charles Maillard who first entered the Conseil as an auditeur in 1809 thus providing a link between the Conseils of the First and Second Empires.

The second most important group were the ex-politicians. At the time of the coup d'état, two men, Thorigny (Interior) and Graud (Education) were holding ministerial posts. Nine others had previously been ministers of the Second Republic. Two of these nine, Magne (Public Works) and Rouher (Justice) were recalled as ministers on the day after the coup d'état. A quarter of the Conseillers en service ordinaire had ministerial experience. An even greater proportion had parliamentary experience. Twenty-six of the Conseillers and Maîtres des Requêtes were members of the Legislative Assembly and eleven others had belonged to previous assemblies:

<i>Deputies:</i> July Monarchy only	6
July Monarchy and Constituent	3
July Monarchy, Constituent and Legislative	3
July Monarchy and Legislative	1

Constituent only	2
Constituent and Legislative	12
Legislative Assembly only	10

Two fifths of the *Conseillers* and *Maitres des Requêtes* had previous parliamentary experience. Many also had experience in local assemblies; twenty nine had been members of a departmental assembly (*Conseil Général*) and eleven had been mayors or town councillors. The connection between the new *Conseil* and the political world was reinforced by the family backgrounds of the members; it has already been shown that many were the sons or grandsons of parliamentarians.

The third largest category of professions were the twenty-three barristers and members of the magistrature. But, again, the figures refer only to those men practising law in December 1851. At least thirty-five others had been barristers at some stage in their careers, thus bringing the total to fifty-five or nearly half of the total membership of the *Conseil*. Of these fifty-five men, thirty-seven had practised at the Paris bar.

Another of the more striking characteristics of the composition of the new *Conseil* was the relative paucity of prefectural experience; only five had ever been prefects and one, *Carrier*, the Prefect of Police. Six had reached the rank of sub-prefect and nine had served as *Conseillers de préfecture*. Also surprising was that only very few men had practical experience in industry and trade; this was a weakness shared with previous regimes. The absence of such men was perhaps understandable in the early nineteenth century but the accelerated growth of industry and commerce was now making experience in these fields more desirable.

It was the combination of experience gained in previous *Conseils* together with legal and parliamentary experience which was the dominant characteristic of the composition of the 1852 *Conseil d'Etat*. In the development of prejudices and attitudes of mind, professional experience was of significance equal to social origins. Most of the men had been "deformed" by the traditions of the *Conseil d'Etat*, of the elected assemblies or of the bar. Their careers bred attitudes of mind which were potentially inimical to the anti-parliamentary, authoritarian and occasionally arbitrary nature of the new regime. The political backgrounds of the members could only strengthen the hostility to these arbitrary tendencies.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Some members of the new *Conseil* had no pronounced political views. Unassociated with any particular system of government, their tech-

nical competence and administrative ability was demanded by, and given to, all regimes. This group included not only the military element but many of the diplomats and high ranking civil servants. It included such men as Grétérin who entered the Ministry of Finances during the First Republic as an ordinary clerk and whose steady rise up the administrative hierarchy was unchecked by the constant changes of regime. Similarly, Herman served the First Empire as a sub-prefect, the Restoration Monarchy as a prefect, the July Monarchy as the head of one of the divisions of the Ministry of the Interior and the Second Republic as the Secretary General of that Ministry. Charles Maillard, as already noted, served in the Conseil d'Etat of every regime from the First to the Second Empire. For these men, the notion of public service (and perhaps private interest) was something far more important than the question of regime. They probably had political opinions and prejudices but they were not sentimentally attached to any particular regime or form of government as were many of their colleagues.

By far the most important political group within the new Conseil were the ex-Orleanists. Although the publication of the decrees on the confiscation of the Orleans family goods had led to the withdrawal from the Conseil of a large number of Orleanists, the resultant vacancies were often filled by less scrupulous supporters of the exiled monarchy. Rouher and Magne, who resigned as ministers over the question, were able to fill two of the places left vacant. Other Orleanists, like Léon Cornudet, accepted a place only after a great deal of heart searching.¹ For many Orleanists, the July Monarchy represented a period of political and social advancement; they replaced the old Legitimist cadres in the administration or parliament or as the leading "notables du pays". Less attached to the Orleans family than the political system associated with it, they generally had little difficulty in accepting the new regime.² They might have serious reservations about some of the tendencies of the new regime, but it had put a stop to the social disorder and promised to remedy the economic dislocation of the previous four years.

¹ Letters Cornudet to his father, 26 January and 12 February 1852, quoted in Leon Cornudet d'après sa correspondance et d'autres documents inédits, pp. 83-84, an unpublished manuscript kindly made available by Monsieur Le Seigneur, whose wife is the great granddaughter of Cornudet.

² "Aux orléanistes la personne importe moins que le régime et la dénomination du régime moins que les institutions ... alors que la fidélité au souverain constitue une définition valable et presque suffisante du légitimisme, l'attachement à la branche des Orléans ne caractérise pas l'orléanisme et en épuise moins encore le programme; il y a bien autre chose dans cette nouvelle force politique que les Orléans." R. Rémond, *La Droite en France*, Paris 1954, p. 78.

There were two distinct groups amongst the Orleanists; the conservatives ("les satisfaits") and the men who belonged to the dynastic Left. The conservatives included men like Janvier, Magne and Renouard de Bussière who were all prominent Guizotists in Parliament. For the conservatives, the February Revolution represented the loss of position and prestige. Amongst the large number of high ranking but politically compromised magistrates who were dismissed in February 1848 were Barbaroux (Procureur Général, Ile Bourbon), Delangle (Procureur Général, Paris) and Thorigny (Avocat Général, Paris). Two men of the prefectural corps of Louis Philippe, Vaisse (Prefect at Perpignan since 1843) and Denjoy (sub-prefect at Lesparre since July 1847), were dismissed at the same time. The list of dismissals is by no means complete.¹

To the Left of these men were a small number who had previously been active supporters of the dynastic liberal opposition. Typical of these men was Baroche, the new Vice-President of the Conseil; unsuccessful candidate at Mantes on three occasions, he was finally elected, in November 1847, opposition deputy at Rochefort. The group included such prominent parliamentarians as Ferdinand Barrot (the brother of Odilon), Paul Boudet, Lestiboudois and Stourm. Others, like Suin and Quentin-Bauchart (both barristers at Laon and friends of Odilon Barrot) and Gasc (barrister, member of the Toulouse town council and Conseiller Général of the Haute-Garonne) were all prominent in the banquets campaign. Most of these men accepted the February Revolution; Gasc, for example, became a member of the Republican Municipal Commission established in Toulouse whilst Quentin-Bauchart personally suspended the sub-prefect and proclaimed the Republic at Saint Quentin. A number of the supporters of the dynastic Left were elected members of the Constituent Assembly on Republican platforms.

The Orleanists were thus divided between the political conservatives and the political liberals. On social and economic matters, however, they were generally united; the rule of the bourgeoisie, protectionism, "gouvernement à bon marché", gallicanism and, above all, parliamentarianism – these were the hall marks of the Orleanist mentality. Fear after the June Days brought the two sides much closer together in the struggle against the radicals; internal rivalries disappeared in the face

¹ Others to lose their posts in 1848 included Chevalier (professeur d'Economie Politique at the Collège de France), Giraud (vice-recteur de l'Académie de Paris), Cuvier (chef de la division des cultes non-catholiques), Boilay (Inspecteur Général des prisons) and Allard (Directeur des fortifications à Paris).

of opposition from a new force.¹ Prominent members of the old dynastic Left eagerly joined the conservatives in persecuting the Republicans. Symbolic of this new-found unity was the joint action of Royer (ex-*ministériel*) and Suin (ex-dynastic Left) who were the *Avocats Généraux* at the High Court of Justice at the trial of Left wing leaders at Versailles in October 1849. Similarly, the *Comité de la rue de Poitiers* brought together the liberals Baroche and Stourm and the conservatives Bonjean and Denjoy.

There were very few Legitimists in the new Conseil. The vicomte de Guernon-Ranville, the vicomte Pandin de Narcillac and the comte de Pons-Renepont were, as their names might suggest, members of well known Legitimist families. They themselves were too young to have played any part in politics. Their presence in the Conseil suggests, however, that the Legitimism of their families was not of the intransigent variety. Baron de Sibert-Cornillon, scion of an old Legitimist family of the Languedoc, resigned from the magistrature in 1830, and was, until 1843, "une des colonnes du parti légitimiste dans le Gard". He then rallied to the usurping Monarchy and was duly rewarded with his appointment as *Avocat Général* at Nîmes. In February 1848, when he was dismissed from this post, he was apparently prepared to rally to the Republic.² Also of Legitimist persuasion during the July Monarchy was Parieu. Unsuccessful Legitimist candidate in 1840, he was elected on a very moderate Republican programme in 1848, backed the royalist coalition in 1849 and then rallied to the President at the time of the coup d'état. Like many of the time:

"De crainte d'anicroche
Je n'ai jamais d'avis,
Je porte dans ma poche
L'aigle et la fleur de lys."

The Conseil contained a group of about a dozen ex-Republicans. For these men, the February Revolution meant not social demotion but the rightful recognition of their previously ignored talents. Such was the case of Conti who was appointed *Procureur Général* at Bastia, of Flandin who was nominated *Avocat Général* in Paris and of Lefebvre who became French Ambassador at Karlsruhe. Edmond Charlemagne was appointed *sous-commissaire* of the Provisional Government at Issoudun in February 1848 before his election, as a Republican, in April of that year. Alfred Blanche "a fleuri sous le gouvernement provisoire de 1848. Simple avocat à Paris, sans renom, la République

¹ Nowhere is this better described than in A. J. Tudesq, *Les Grands Notables* etc., op cit., pp. 1233-1235.

² Letter Proc. Gén. Nîmes - Minister of Justice 4 March 1848, dossier Sibert-Cornillon.

fit sa fortune";¹ under Ledru-Rollin he was given an important post in the Ministry of the Interior and under Cavaignac he was appointed Head of the newly formed Ecole d'Administration. The Republic also made the reputation of Boulatignier; during the period from February to November 1848, he was appointed Conseiller d'Etat and professor at the Ecole d'Administration and was elected Republican Representative of the Manche. Until the coup d'état, against which he protested, he was considered to be a moderate Republican.²

The number of convinced Bonapartists "de vieille date" was very small. Only Bataille, Bréhier, Ferdinand Barrot and the two Corsicans, Conti and Gavini, appear to have been active supporters before the December 1848 election. Bataille became involved in bonapartist politics as soon as he left the Ecole Polytechnique in 1834. In 1840, he accompanied Louis Napoleon to Boulogne, was arrested and later sentenced to five years imprisonment. Bréhier was a personal friend of Prince Jérôme; for several years he had been the private tutor to his eldest son. Gavini and Conti were both elected to the Constituent Assembly as Republicans but rallied to Louis Napoleon as soon as he returned to France and were active bonapartist propagandists during the presidential election. A small group of members of the Legislative Assembly rallied to Louis Napoleon after 1850; they saw in him the only effective barrier against the rising tide of anarchy. They were especially active in their support of a revision of the Constitution which would have enabled Louis Napoleon to stand again in the presidential election of 1852. This group included Baroche, Boinvilliers, Rouher, Chadenet, Gasc, Chassaing-Goyon, Dariste, Quentin-Bauchart and Godelle. These were the men who must have been included on the list composed by Vieillard.³

A number of men, though favourably disposed towards the President, initially protested against the coup d'état. Stourm, Cuvier, Boulatignier and Boudet all signed the Conseil d'Etat protest on 2nd December whilst Quentin-Bauchart and Chassaing-Goyon joined many of their parliamentary colleagues in the protest signed at the Mairie of the tenth arrondissement.⁴ Others, like Rouher, who was later to be called "Vice-Emperor" by the opposition, maintained a hostile, if prudent, silence in the first hours following the coup d'état.⁵ Cornudet, Maître

¹ *Profils critiques et biographies des sénateurs, conseillers d'Etat et députés par un vieil écrivain*, Paris 1852, p. 119.

² A. J. Tudesq, *Les Grands Notables etc.*, op. cit., p. 1152. Other appointments in February and March 1848 included those of Carlier (chef de police municipale de Paris) and Petitot (sous-directeur de la comptabilité at the Ministry of War).

³ *Supra*, p. 182.

⁴ Pierre de la Gorce, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 20, and dossier Chassaing-Goyon.

⁵ A. Dansette, *Louis Napoléon à la conquête du pouvoir*, Paris 1961, p. 352.

des Requêtes in the now defunct Conseil, made clear his repugnance of the coup d'état to his close friend Montalembert.¹ The hostility or extreme reserve of men like Marchand, Langlais and Gasc is revealed in Rouher's notes on the composition of the Consultative Commission in the early days of December 1851, or in the Morny correspondence of the same period.² An early and hardworking supporter of the coup who was appointed Maître des Requêtes in January 1852, bitterly pointed out that a number of protestors were given posts as Conseillers.³

Members of the new Conseil were characterised by differing political backgrounds. Although they were united in accepting the new regime, their acceptance concealed differing degrees of enthusiasm and the motives involved. Their loyalty to the regime was inspired by a mixture of crude private interest and a gratitude to the President for having saved society from anarchy. But the loyalty was not totally uncritical. Many of them, particularly the ex-Orleanists,⁴ were imbued with the parliamentarians' traditional jealousy of the unchecked Executive and were temperamentally hostile to the authoritarian inclinations of the regime. In this very important sense, their political sentiments reinforced attitudes of mind acquired from their professional training and careers.

Members of the new Conseil were divided over a number of important issues. Pinard, who joined the Conseil later, noted that there were two schools within the Conseil: "la première, ayant pour elle la tradition et les exemples du passé, maintenait sur tous les points les droits de l'Etat, avec un penchant marqué à en exagérer l'étendue. Dans le doute, elle décidait pour lui croyant que là était la garantie et au fond la sagesse ... la seconde école, au contraire, obéissait à un autre esprit, dans la pensée qu'elle rendrait l'Etat plus respecté en limitant davantage son intervention."⁵ In fact, the situation was much more complex and confused. There was a division between the political liberals like Quentin-Bauchart and Boulatignier and the political conservatives like Parieu and Magne, although the latter were clearly predominant.

¹ A. Trannoy, "Notes et Lettres de Montalembert", in: *Revue Historique*, Vol. 196, 1946, pp. 428-429, and Cornudet, unpublished manuscript, op. cit., p. 83.

² Rouher papers, AN, 45 AP 4, and Morny papers, AN, 116 AP 1.

³ Letter Dabeaux – Minister of State, 31 January 1852, AN, F70 636: "Le deux décembre, alors que plusieurs de mes collègues plus heureux que moi protestaient contre les actes de cette mémorable journée ... j'étais sur la brèche à la préfecture de police, où je prêtais le concours le plus dévoué à mon ami M. de Maupas."

⁴ R. Rémond, op. cit., p. 93: "L'orléanisme fera, le cas échéant, bon marché de la dénomination du régime; il ne transigera jamais sur les libertés parlementaires ... l'attachement au parlementarisme est si vif qu'il est devenu pour l'orléanisme une manière d'être, un comportement."

⁵ P. E. Pinard, *Mon Journal*, Paris 1892, Vol. II, pp. 83-84.

There was also a split over economic attitudes. Most members, for example, accepted the domestic implications of economic liberalism with its non-interventionist style of governmental authority, but many rejected its free trade implications. Whilst Baroche, Rouher, and more especially, Michel Chevalier and Forcade la Roquette, were known to be champions of free trade, the majority were against lowering the barriers of protection. It was opposition from the Conseil, in May 1852, which led to the abandonment of one of Louis Napoleon's early projects for the reduction of tariffs.¹

The Conseil was also divided over religious issues. A small number like Chevalier and Barrot were non-believers who accepted the Church as a prop against anarchy, a safety valve against the radical excesses of the masses. But the great majority were practising Catholics. The Catholics were, however, divided. Amongst the small group of clericals, Magne and Parieu were the best known; both were later to make reputations as zealous defenders of ecclesiastical prerogatives. Other prominent clericals included Cornudet (who scandalised many of his colleagues by sending all his children to the Jesuit Collège de Vaugirard), Cardon de Sandrans and Ségur; all three were members of the Conseil Général of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. Bernard Lacaze, a notorious ultramontane was later, in 1865, to challenge Sainte-Beuve to a duel for having defended, in the Senate, the rights of "libre pensée".² Sainte-Beuve sagely declined the offer of this incensed clerical and thus spared Parisian society the undignified spectacle of an armed encounter between a septuagenarian and a sexagenarian. At the other extreme, was a small group of militant gallicans; liberals of the 1830 variety, they were sensitive to the prerogatives of the state, fundamentally anti-clerical and hostile to the encroachments of Rome. Particularly important in this group were the magistrates Bonjean and Delangle. More typical of the Conseil, however, was Baroche; a sincere and practising Catholic, sympathetic to the Church in certain domains (education, for example), he was opposed to the excessive clericalism and ultramontanism of some members of the hierarchy and certain sections of the press.

The anti-clericals of the Conseil could expect the support of the Protestants.³ The best known were Boudet who was a member of the Conseil Central des Eglises Reformées and Renouard de Bussière who

¹ J. Maurain, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

² Edouard de Goncourt et Henri Cléard, *Note in Correspondance inédite*, Paris 1965, p. 121.

³ Particularly useful in tracing the Protestants of the Conseil were the *Almanach-annuaire protestant, administratif, statistique et historique pour 1855*, BN, Lc25 241 and *Almanach protestant 1848-1870*, BN, Lc25 240.

was a notable member of the Protestant Consistoire of Paris. The other Protestants of the Conseil were Charles Robert, Bartholoni, Cuvier and Alfred Blanche. The only Jewish member of the Conseil was Vieyra-Molina. A small group of men were prominent freemasons;¹ these included two of the Protestants, Boudet and Blanche (who was shortly to become one of the members of the Conseil du Grand Orient) and nominal Catholics such as Martin de Chassiron (whose father-in-law, Prince Murat, was the head of the Grand Orient), Comte Dubois, Flandin and Boinvilliers.

The religious cleavage within the Conseil was manifested in a score of ways – over education, over the delicate question of the authorisation of legacies and gifts to religious congregations, over the authorisation for judicial proceedings to be commenced against priests involved in scandals, over the introduction of Roman liturgy in certain dioceses, over the publication of certain papal Bulls. On all these issues was engaged a prolonged battle between the ultramontanes and the gallicans.² But never was the debate more bitter than over the condemnation of certain pastoral letters which contained criticisms of the Emperor's policies. The point may be illustrated by a particular case.

At the height of the Italian troubles, Mgr Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, a turbulent and troublesome legitimist, published an angry pastoral letter (22 February 1861) which was designed to answer the charges made in a pamphlet entitled *Rome, la France et l'Italie*. Written by La Guerronière, Conseiller d'Etat since 1854, the pamphlet was apparently inspired by the Emperor himself. In it, La Guerronière made a barely disguised attack on the temporal possessions of the Pope, arguing that, divested of its earthly goods, the Papacy would grow in moral stature. Bishop Pie in his pastoral letter defended the Pope, attacked Cavour, bitterly criticised the Italian policy of the Emperor and, final sacrilege, likened Louis-Napoleon to Pontius Pilate. On 28 February, it was announced in the *Moniteur* that the Minister of the Interior had decided to defer the pastoral letter to the Conseil d'Etat. The government did not ask the Conseil for permission to take Bishop Pie to a court of justice; it was content to ask the Conseil to declare the

¹ On the freemasons: documents pour servir à l'histoire de la franc-maçonnerie au XIXe siècle, Paris 1866, BN, 8° H 2665; L. Aimiabile et J. C. Colfauru, Grand Orient de France, Paris 1889, BN, 8° H 2552; Wentz, Opuscules Maçonniques, Paris 1864, BN, 8° H 2543 (particularly useful); E. Marbeau, "Le Grand Orient de France devant le Conseil d'Etat: Avril 1863", in: *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 15 March 1901, pp. 364 and 369.

² Most of these issues are discussed in J. Maurain, *La Politique Ecclésiastique du Second Empire*, Paris 1930, and A. Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France de 1789 à 1870*, Paris 1911.

existence of an abuse of authority (*abus du pouvoir*), which in itself carried no penal sanction. Suin, one of the leading anti-clericals of the Conseil, was chosen as rapporteur. Letters of support poured into the bishop's palace in Poitiers from all parts of France and from other European countries. Opinion in the capital was divided.

Rouland, Minister responsible for religious questions, in a letter which notified Pie of the government's intention of deferring his pastoral letter to the Conseil requested that the bishop present his defense in a *mémoire justificatif*. Far from moving onto the defensive, Bishop Pie attacked. He made clear his reservations about the competence of the Conseil d'Etat to judge the matter and claimed that the Minister of the Interior should be found guilty of an abuse of authority, and not he, for having had posted, on the door of every town hall and church in the Empire, a circular condemning the Bishop's acts whilst the matter was still "devant les tribunaux". He denied that he had likened the Emperor to Pontius Pilate; he was merely warning the Emperor of what could happen. The pastoral letter was a plea to the Emperor to save the temporal power of the Pope; it was, wrote the bishop, "un avertissement grave, solennel, énergique en même temps qu'une suprême parole d'espérance".

Anatole de Ségur, a friend of Mgr Pie, advised the bishop to entrust his defense to Cornudet. Cornudet accepted on condition that no publicity should be given to his own name. He himself found certain passages in the pastoral letter rather tactless though he nevertheless agreed to do his duty by accepting the defense; "c'est un devoir d'appuyer les défenseurs de l'Eglise auxquels de longues souffrances arrachent un cri de douleur, fut-il trop pénétrant." The matter was debated by the Conseil d'Etat on 27 March. Ségur sent a brief description of the meeting to the bishop. The debate was opened by Cornudet who defended the bishop, arguing that the bishop was provoked and that the provokers ought to be reproached. At this point, there was an angry outburst from La Guerronnière who, not unnaturally, felt himself to be under attack. Cornudet's defense was punctuated by the interventions of Rouland who addressed the Bishop's advocate with "quelques observations très vives et très amères". Cornudet replied with great dignity and, as expected, was given some support by Parieu. When the rapporteur concluded in favour of rejecting a condemnation on the grounds of indulgence, Parieu angrily pointed out that such a decision was not a question of indulgence but one of simple justice. He also pointed out that the rapport was the work of Suin himself and not that of the section "qui en dégageait sa solidarité". When the matter was put to the vote, Conti, Cornudet, Parieu and a small number of other Conseillers voted against the condemnation and

a few others abstained. A majority, however, backed the government; "évidemment, il y avait là bien des gens qui peuvent s'appliquer, eux aussi, le *nesciunt quid faciunt*, car j'en ai vu bravement voter contre vous, qu'allaient faire ou venaient de faire leur Pâques." By way of consolation, Ségur added "si les maîtres des requêtes et les auditeurs avaient pu voter, vous auriez eu trente voix pour vous." The *arrêt d'abus* was signed by the Emperor three days later, 30 March.¹

The Conseil d'Etat was not a homogeneous body; the differences of social background, career structures and political sentiments naturally gave rise to differences of opinion over a variety of important questions. Moreover, the important cleavages within the Conseil – the statist against the anti-statist, the political liberal against the political conservative, the supporters of protectionism against the protagonists of free trade, the clericals against the anti-clericals – were cross-cutting or non-coinciding. To quote but one example: the religious cleavage did not coincide with the liberal-conservative cleavage. There were liberal gallicans (Delangle) and conservative gallicans (Denjoy), liberal ultramontanes (Cardon de Sandrans) and conservative ultramontanes (Séгур), liberal Protestants (Blanche) and conservative Protestants (Renouard de Bussière). Nor did either the religious or political cleavage coincide with the cleavage over free trade. The existence of cross-cutting cleavages in the new Conseil placed a premium upon, and greatly facilitated, compromise within the Conseil. The constantly shifting alliances within the Conseil prevented it from becoming sharply divided into two or three warring factions, thus lowering the temperature of debate. The courteous nature of relations in the Conseil which was much commented upon at the time was a natural consequence of this situation.

The Conseil d'Etat established in January 1852 was a talented and prestigious elite. The talent was reflected in their future careers; nine Conseillers were later Ministers during the Empire and thirty two were Senators. The Maîtres des Requêtes were to supply the Empire with two Ministers, three Senators, twenty nine Conseillers d'Etat, three prefects, one deputy and one Conseiller at the Cour des Comptes. The prestige of the Conseil was both reflected in, and enhanced by, the honours bestowed upon its members by the government; this may be seen in the promotions in the Order of the Legion of Honour. During

¹ On this case, cf. dossier in AN, F19 6092; J. Maurain, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 499-501, 515-520; A. Debidour, *op. cit.* pp. 569-570; M. Baunard, *Histoire du cardinal Pie*, Paris 1893, Vol. II, pp. 111-136; G. Vauthier, *Mgr. Pie, évêque de Poitiers, et le gouvernement de Napoléon III, Révolution de 1848, 1923*, pp. 288-302.

the period January 1852 to June 1857, fifty six of the ninety-one conseillers and maîtres des requêtes were promoted:

Grand' Croix	2
Grand-Officier	7
Commandeur	12
Officier	13
Chevalier	22

During the same period, only seventeen of the two hundred and fifty-three members of the Corps législatif were promoted (nine Officiers and eight Chevaliers).¹

The prestige of the Corps was also reflected in the salaries paid to its members (in francs):

	1852	1849 (decree of 6 January)
Président de Section	35,000	15,000
Conseiller	25,000	12,000
Maître des Requêtes 1st	10,000	
Maître des Requêtes 2nd	6,000	6,000
Auditeur 1st	2,000	
Auditeur 2nd	—	2,000
Secretary General	15,000	12,000

Conseillers d'Etat were the highest paid officials in Paris. A university professor of many years experience could expect to earn 4,000 francs to 5,000 francs whilst a primary school teacher with five years experience had a salary of 700 francs a year. Even a Conseiller at the Cour de Cassation, the most prestigious post in the magistrature, earned only 15,000 francs a year in 1853 (the salary was raised from 12,000 francs in that year). Prefects, who earned between 20,000 francs and 40,000 francs, depending on their class of prefecture, had far greater expenses.²

The government did not have a completely free hand in the formation of the Conseil d'Etat; its freedom of choice was limited by two basic factors. On the one hand, it had to guarantee a certain continuity with the old Conseil and to include technically competent men, and on the other, it needed to use membership of the new body as a source of patronage; the doubtful could be lured, the faithful recompensed. It succeeded in attracting a highly talented elite and proceeded to enhance the Conseil's prestige by extending its constitutional powers and honouring its members. In many respects, however, the new body was far from satisfactory from the government's point of view. It is true that a certain political docility could be expected of its

¹ For details of the Corps législatif, Pierre de la Gorse, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 26.

² For a discussion of salaries and expenses, Girard et al., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

members and there is a great deal of truth in Pierre de la Gorce's contention that "vieillis dans le monde officiel et un peu sceptiques, ils avaient froidement calculé les chances propices ou contraires du nouveau régime; l'ayant jugé solide et bon à servir, ils s'y étaient rattachés."¹ But there were many possible points of conflict between the Conseil and Louis Napoleon. Clearly private interest dictated a prudent acceptance of the new regime, but it could not wipe out a lifetime of opinions, habits and prejudices. It could not, for example, rid the Conseil of that questioning legalism and querulous parliamentarianism nor that inbred suspicion of the unchecked Executive which was so widespread in the new Conseil. "Sois conseiller d'Etat, sois gouvernemental, mais dépouille ta vieille défroque pourrie d'avocat", wrote the authoritarian Minister of War, Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, to his half-brother.² But Forcade la Roquette, like many of his new colleagues, had been contaminated by constant contact with the "defenders of dangerous freedoms". Admittedly, the hostility of the Conseil to the more arbitrary aspects of the Empire generally remained latent but occasionally it was given expression. It may be illustrated by the Conseil's attitude to the Loi de Sûreté Générale – the highly repressive law which was enacted after the Orsini Attentat in 1858. The attitude of the Conseil from the very outset was hostile. The first Bill presented by the government had to be withdrawn because of the obstinate and intensely felt opposition of the Conseil. Even the second Bill which met some of their principal objections was subject to many amendments. In the debate in the general assembly of the Conseil (28 January 1858), opposition to the Bill was led by Michel Chevalier who expressed the repugnance felt by the majority of his colleagues. Although the government conceded further modifications, the Conseil very nearly rejected the whole Bill; it was voted by 31 votes to 27. The votes of the Ministers and the conseillers hors sections tipped the scales in favour of the government; amongst the conseillers en service ordinaire there was a big majority against. The Conseil later adopted two important amendments proposed by the parliamentary commission which examined the Bill.³

¹ Pierre de la Gorce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 20.

² Quatrelles-L'Epine, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 195.

³ On the attitude of the Conseil d'Etat to the Loi de Sûreté Générale, cf. Quentin-Bauchart, *op. cit.*, Vol II, pp. 204-205; Nassau Senior, *Conversations with M. Thiers*, M. Guizot and other distinguished persons during the Second Empire, London 1878, Vol. II, pp. 162, and 188; *Projet de loi sur les mesures de Sûreté Générale 1858*, Bibliothèque Thiers, Papiers Baroche Ms. 1112; *Un ancien membre du Conseil d'Etat, Le Conseil d'Etat sous le Second Empire et la Troisième République*, Paris 1880, p. 12; *Projet de loi sur les mesures de Sûreté Générale*, AN, C 1058 dossier 173.

Members of the Conseil were also generally united in their suspicions of the vague state socialism of Louis Napoleon and later successfully boycotted such schemes as insurance for agricultural workers.¹ They were also extremely sensitive to the sacred rights of private property. This became apparent in their persistent, if not always successful, opposition to the property expropriations which enabled Haussmann (and the Emperor) to rebuild Paris.² It was apparent, too, in their opposition to the confiscation of the Orleans family goods. For in May 1852, barely three months after the formation of the Conseil, they had to judge whether the confiscation could be contested in the ordinary courts of law. A number of conseillers rejected the government's thesis that, as a political matter, the question of confiscation was not within the competence of the courts. The matter was discussed in the *assemblée du Conseil délibérant au contentieux* (composed of 6 members of the section du contentieux and a total of ten other conseillers chosen by the Emperor from the other five sections). Despite considerable pressure, the government's case was adopted by only one vote – the casting vote of the chairman, Baroche. The opposition shown by the Conseil cost four men (Maillard, Giraud, Cornudet and Reverchon) their posts.³

One of the important consequences of the conflict over the Orleans family goods was the limiting of the independence of the new body. The President, furious at the opposition of the Conseil, insisted that members of the Conseil were government officials, not magistrates, and as such were obliged to submit to his will. For the future Emperor, the Conseil d'Etat was an instrument of the Executive; its members could offer advice but their main function was to implement Government decisions. They were chosen to be "un instrument complet et docile dans la main du Président".⁴ But the President's conception of the role of the Conseil was not shared by many of its members. Whilst they accepted that they had no right to continually veto government projects, they nevertheless wanted the Conseil to act, on occasions, as a moderating force, a brake if necessary, on the government. In short, they envisaged for the Conseil a quasi-parliamentary role – a role which many of the ex-parliamentarians readily assumed. There was, in truth, a fundamental difference in the points of view of Louis Napoleon and those of his Conseil, although only rarely was this difference manifested. Nevertheless, it was possibly an awareness of

¹ F. Beslay, *Notice sur Léon Cornudet*, Paris 1876, p. 7.

² J. M. and Brian Chapman, *The Life and Times of Baron Haussmann*, London 1957, pp. 144-149, and J. Maurain, Baroche, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

³ Article in the 1969 *Etudes et Documents du Conseil d'Etat*, *op. cit.*

⁴ Charles Pouthas, *Histoire Politique du Second Empire*, Paris 1956, p. 65.

this difference which led the government to curtail the powers of the Conseil, and to ensure that its members were kept under the ever-vigilant eye of Baroche their vice-president.¹

The relationship between Louis-Napoleon and his Conseil d'Etat was extremely ambiguous. For the most part, the Conseil was prepared to submit to the will of the future Emperor. It was a submission based on considerations of temperament, indifference or pure self-interest. On a number of occasions when the conseillers decided openly to oppose the government, they were persuaded or bullied back into submission.² Indeed, the Conseil could be accommodating to the point of foolishness. During the discussion in the section de guerre of the 1855 Bill on the army estimates, General Niel who was known to be a friend of the Emperor opposed a particular proposal. The section presumed he was expressing the will of the Emperor and voted unanimously against. When it was later made clear that the Emperor backed the proposal, the same section voted unanimously for.³ Did they lack courage or even honesty? The problem cannot be seen in such terms. Careerism obviously played some part but it is probably fairer to say that they submitted because, in the final analysis, they were *fonctionnaires* and, as such, it was their duty to do so. But the inability openly to oppose (except on rare occasions such as the Loi de Sûreté Générale) did not prevent the Conseil from occasionally playing the desired role of moderator of the Executive. It simply meant that the tactics of opposition changed. Some of the Emperor's ideas were either pushed aside by the weight of the Conseil's legal objections or quietly buried in some over-worked section. There were occasions when the quiet obstructionism of the Conseil proved a difficult obstacle to surmount.⁴ It is paradoxical that Louis Napoleon in his efforts to strengthen the Executive should choose a body of men many of whose basic ideas were hostile to an over-strong Executive. With one of its institutions riddled with parliamentarianism, it is scarcely surprising that the authoritarian regime should reach its early demise.

¹ On the position of Baroche, cf. for example, J. Maurain, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134; Discours de Persigny, Sénat, 14 February 1866, and M. de Maupas, *Mémoires sur le Second Empire*, Paris 1884, Vol. II, p. 95.

² For examples of this bullying, Marcel Blanchard, "Le Journal de Michel Chevalier", in: *Revue Historique*, Vol. 171, pp. 120-121, and E. Reverchon, *Les décrets du 22 janvier 1852*, Paris 1872, p. 58.

³ *Journal du maréchal de Castellane*, Paris 1897, Vol. V, p. 73.

⁴ A. Darimon, *Les irréconciliables sous l'Empire 1867-1869*, Paris 1888, p. 391.

APPENDIX

I

Biographical information on the *Conseillers d'Etat* or those who became *Conseillers* was relatively easy to find in the standard biographies of the time. For the *Maîtres des Requêtes* and *auditeurs* who were deputies either before or after their stay in the *Conseil*, basic details could be found in the *Dictionnaire des parlementaires* of Robert et Cougny. Finding biographical data on those *Maîtres des Requêtes* and *auditeurs* who played no part in public life outside the *Conseil* was extremely difficult and often necessitated an extensive search in the Archives de la Seine or the departmental archives.

This article is based essentially on the following sources:

1) *A large number of biographical dictionaries: particularly useful were:*

- J. Balteau et al., *Dictionnaire de Biographie française* (A-Duv);
 E. Goepp et Manoury d'Ectot, *Les Marins*, Paris 1877, 2 vols;
 T. Lamathière, *Panthéon de la Légion d'Honneur*, Paris 1911, 22 vols;
 H. Lauzac, *Galérie Historique et critique du 19^e siècle*, Paris 1856-1862, 6 vols;
 Robert, Bourlonton et Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, Paris 1889-1890, 5 vols;
 L. Tisseron, *Le Sénat de l'Empire français*, Paris 1860-1861, 2 vols;
Le Tribunal et la Cour de Cassation; Notices sur le personnel, Paris 1879;
 G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains*, Paris 1865-1893, 1 vol., 6 editions.

2) *On the family backgrounds:*

- Aubert de la Chenaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 3 ed., Paris 1863-1876, 19 vols;
 Chaix d'Est Ange, *Dictionnaires des familles françaises et notables, à la fin du 19^e siècle* (A-Gau), Evreux 1903-1929, 20 vols;
 A. Delavenne, *Recueil Généalogique de la bourgeoisie ancienne*, Paris 1954, 2 vols;
 Vicomte A. Révérend, *Armorial du Premier Empire etc.*, Paris 1894-1897;
 Vicomte A. Révérend, *Les familles titrées et anoblies au XIX siècle ... Monarchie de Juillet, II Empire et III République, 1830-1908*, Paris 1909;
 Vicomte A. Révérend, *Les familles titrées et anoblies au XIX siècle ... la Restauration 1814-1830*, Paris 1901-1906;

H. de Woelmont, *Notices Généalogiques*, Paris 1923-1930, 8 vols;
 H. de Woelmont, *La Noblesse Française Subsistante*, Paris 1928-1931,
 3 vols.

3) *A number of individual biographies in the Bibliothèque Nationale:*

Allard, *Souvenirs*, 2 vols, Ln27 25990;
 Arrighi de Padoue, by Hug, Ln27 208;
 Barrot F., by C. de Royer, Ln27 35237;
 Bauchart, by son, 8° Ln27 37851;
 Blanche, by Aucoc, 8° Piece Ln27 41657;
 Boinvilliers, by Rousse, Ln27 38343;
 Boulatignier, by Aucoc, 8° Piece 43328;
 Cardon de Sandrans, by Vernis, Ln27 42757; by de Romeuf, Ln27
 42828;
 Chadenet (anon.), Ln27 45470;
 Cornudet, by Beslay, Ln27 29367;
 Denjoy, by Boilay, Gr. in 8°, Ln27 5784;
 Giraud, by Caro, 4° Piece Ln 27 32918; by Esmein et Rozière, Ln27
 34720; by Cabassol, 8° Ln27 61360; by Glasson, Ln27 39842;
 Goupil (notice nécrologique), Ln27 30303;
 Grétérin (notice nécrologique), 4° Ln27 9122;
 Lacaze (article, *Revue des Hautes-Pyrénées*, 1913), 8° Lc¹⁰ 487;
 L'Hôpital, by Dubois de Jancigny, 8° Ln27 41833;
 Magne, by Durieux, 8° Ln27 63393;
 Maillard, by Reverchon, 8° Ln27 13190;
 Reverchon, by Richou, 8° Ln27 44702;
 Robert, by Trombert, 4° Ln27 64684;
 Suin (anon.), Ln27 30673;
 Vuitry, by Aucoc, 4° Piece Ln27 35967; by Cucheval-Clarigny, Ln27
 37181.

4) *Bibliothèque of the Conseil d'Etat:*

All the archives of the Conseil d'Etat were burnt at the time of the destruction of the Conseil by the Communards. The Library does have, however, a small collection of biographical works (42(I)–42(V)) and a very useful collection of well catalogued cards, giving details of the careers of the members of the Conseil. These cards were recently discovered in the cellars of the Conseil and were kindly put at my disposal.

5) *Archives de la Seine:*

I consulted a large number of birth certificates of men who were born in Paris and a collection of "lettres de faire-part", which gave useful

information on the families. I also consulted a large number of electoral lists (series VD4 and DM) which indicate the place and date of birth; they were particularly useful in tracing some of the younger members of the Conseil.

6) *Archives Nationales*:

BB30 725-729, Conseil d'Etat: personnel (pièces diverses) 1814-1844; BB30 733-736, Conseil d'Etat: personnel: divers 1833-1851 (736 particularly useful);

BB30 737, Conseil d'Etat: organisation, fonctionnement, personnel, divers 1852-1869;

BB30 738-742, Conseil d'Etat: dossiers personnels (rather disappointing, occasionally useful for July Monarchy members);

F1b I 230 1-21, some useful information on men who were members of Conseils Généraux;

F70 353-359, dossiers d'anciens fonctionnaires des ministères d'Etat et de la Maison de l'Empereur;

F70 635-636, Conseil d'Etat: divers 1852-1869 (little of real interest); Série C, Procès-verbaux des séances des collèges électoraux etc. (for the ex-deputies, there is a copy of their birth certificate and, in the case of the deputies of the July Monarchy, an indication of the property tax paid).

A number of personal dossiers which are listed below:

7) *Archives de la Marine*:

A number of dossiers listed below.

8) *Archives de la Guerre at Vincennes*:

A number of dossiers listed below.

9) *Archives Départementales of a number of departments* (copies of birth certificates sent by a number of Archivists).

10) *Archives de la Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur*:

A small number of dossiers listed below.

II

MEMBERS OF THE CONSEIL D'ETAT, 25, 26 JANUARY 1852
(WITH INDICATION OF DOSSIERS CONSULTED)

Conseillers

Allard (Guerre, GD 1351/2)
Barbaroux (AN, BB6 II 16)

Conseillers hors sections

Brénier de Renaudière
Darricau (Guerre, GD 50488/2
série)

Barrot F.	Daumas (Guerre, GD 1292/2)
Bauchart	Grétérin
Boinvilliers (AN, BB6 II 47)	Heurtier
Bonjean (AN, BB30 419)	Mestro (Marine, 1755)
Boudet	Niel (Guerre, M Fce 59/2)
Boulatignier (AN, papiers Tranchant 4 A 55)	Petitot
Boulay de la Meurthe J.	Royer (AN, BB6 II 381)
Carlier (AN, F1b I 157(7))	Sibert-Cornillon (AN, BB6 II 394)
Charlemagne (AN, F1b I 157(17) and BB6 II 83)	Thayer
Chevalier	
Conti (AN, BB6 II 97)	<i>Secretary-General</i>
Cornudet	
Cuvier	Boilay
Dariste	
Delangle (AN, BB6 II 116)	
Denjoy (AN, F1b I 158(15))	
Flandin (AN, BB6 II 159)	
Fremy (AN, F1b I 160(14))	
Giraud (AN, F17 22886)	
Godelle	
Herman (AN, F1b I 268(1) and 162(5))	
Janvier	
Lacaze	
Leblanc (Marine, 1421)	
Lefebvre	
Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud	
Magne (AN, F1b I 167(1))	
Maillard (AN, F1b I 167(2))	
Marchand	
Parieu	
Rouher	
Stourm	
Suin	
Thorigny (AN, BB6 II 408)	
Vaisse (AN, F1b I 176(1))	
Villemain (Guerre, personnel civil 43474/2 série)	
Vuillefroy	
Vuitry	

Maîtres des Requêtes 1st Class

Arrighi de Padoue (AN, F1b I 153(17))
 Blanche (AN, F1b I 156(26))
 Brehier (AN, F1b I 156(39))
 Camus du Martroy (AN, F1b I 157 (3))
 Chadenet (AN, F1b I 157(13))
 Chassigne-Goyon (AN, F1b I 157(18))
 Chassériau (Marine, 1029/461)
 Dabeaux (AN, F1b I 158(1))
 Forcade la Roquette

Maîtres des Requêtes 2nd Class

Argout
 Aubernon
 Bataille
 Batailler du Berthier
 Bernon
 Daverne
 Dubois (AN, F80 211)
 François
 Gavini (AN, F 1b I 161 (7))

Gasc
 Gaslonde (AN, F17 20800)
 Gomel
 Lestiboudois (AN, F17 21171)
 Loyer (AN, F1b I 166(13))
 Maigne
 Montaud (dossier Légion d'Honneur)
 Pascalis (dossier Légion d'Honneur)
 Renouard de Bussière
 Reverchon
 Thierry

Auditeurs 1st Class

Belbeuf
 Bordet
 Bosredon du Pont
 Cardon de Sandrans
 Casabianca
 Chamblain (AN, F1b I 157(14))
 Faré (dossier Légion d'Honneur)
 Fouquier
 Hudault
 Huvé de Garel
 Le Hon
 Le Marié
 Leviez
 L'Hôpital (dossier Légion d'Honneur)
 Marbeau
 Mesnard
 Mouton-Duvernet
 Robert

Goupil
 Jahan
 Lavenay
 Louyer-Villermay
 Martin de Chassiron
 Maupas
 Pagès
 Portalis
 Redon de Beaupréau
 Richaud
 Ségur (AN, F1b I 173(12))

Auditeurs 2nd Class

Aucoc
 Bartholoni
 Boinvilliers (fils)
 Cottin
 Des Michels
 Dufau
 Guernon-Ranville
 Le Chanteur
 Lefebvre-Pontalis
 Le Roy
 Pandin de Narcillac
 Pons-Renepont
 Vieyra-Molina