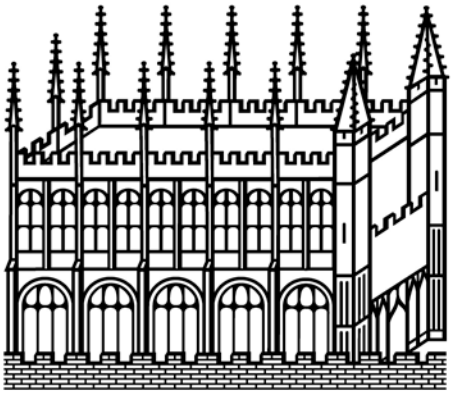

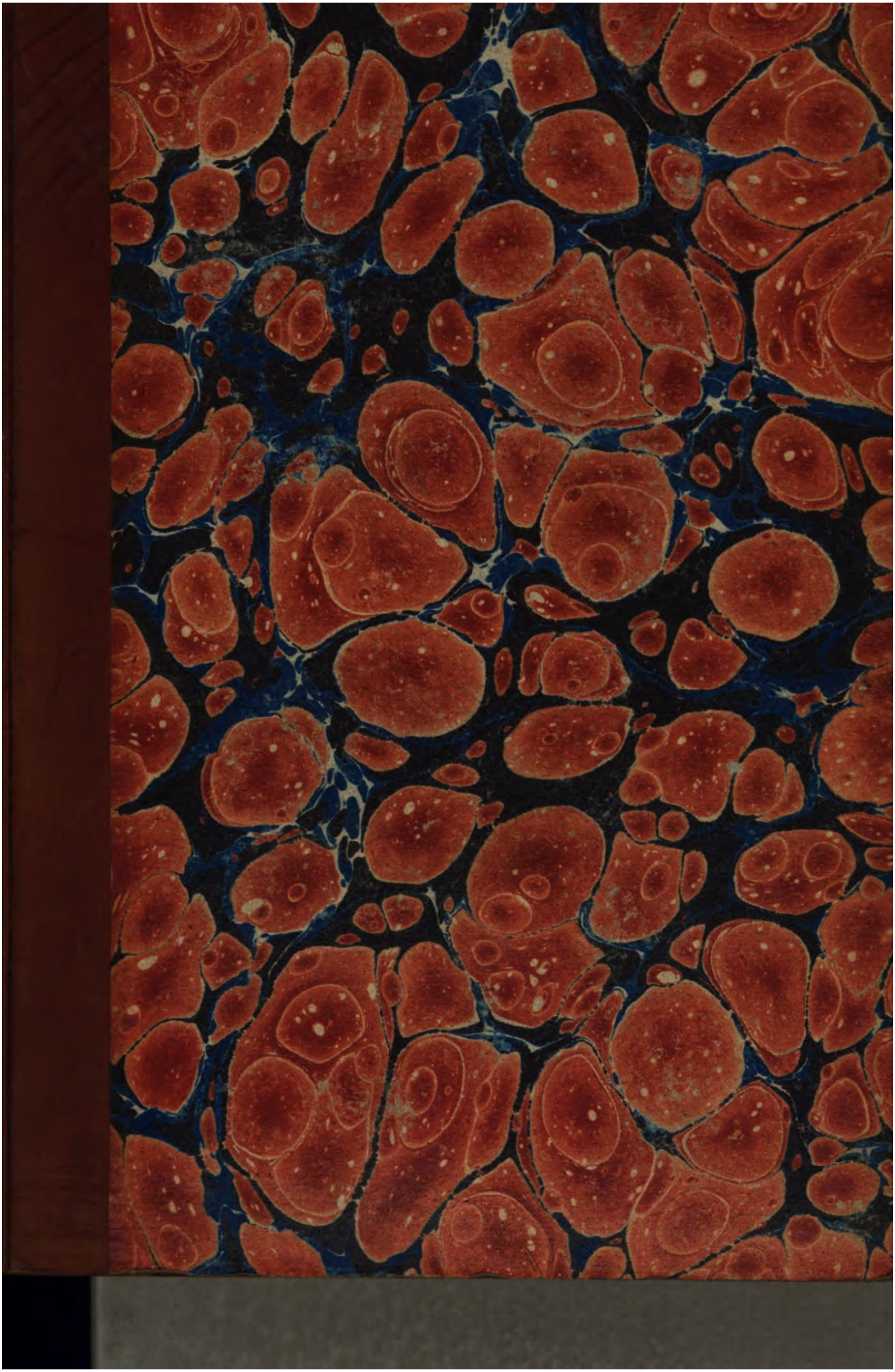

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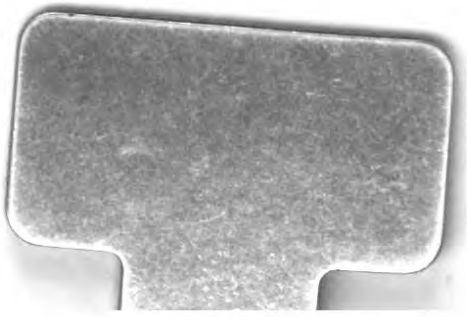


LAMARTINE.

THE

# FRENCH REVOLUTION:

## The History of Thirty Hours.

## FEBRUARY 1848.

BY

M. EMILE DE GIRARDIN.

EDITOR OF "LA PRESSE."

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

"Political Revolution as the means, and Social Revolution as the end."
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# THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848:

THE

# HISTORY OF THIRTY HOURS.

## PRELIMINARY FACTS.

### THE BANQUETS.—THE ADDRESS.

No political privileges—no possible association for demanding them —a chamber which did not represent the country—deputies who were working in parliament for the minister—a budget of sixteen hundred millions—a *deficit* in the finances—and a diplomacy whose express mission was to support absolute power against the nationality of the people—such were the most positive results of the revolution of July! Was it from governing for or against the principles of that revolution, that these miseries of ministerial policy had resulted? Was it not in consequence of the violation of the conditions it had imposed upon those who alone profited by it, that they had reached that moral disorder which threatened society at large?

These are the questions with which minds in France were long pre-occupied,—weighty problems, involving this new question: What will be the remedy for this long evil of eighteen years standing? And reason and experience answered,—Reform or Revolution!

A statesman of a neighbouring country said,—"I wish for reform, because I do not wish for revolution." The statesmen of the period which has just closed did not wish for reform, and they have had revolution! A revolution was the logical consequence of that fatal obstinacy which can only be explained by that spirit of giddiness and error—

"Forerunner of the fall of kings."

And yet they did not want forewarning. Many startling voices, multiplied by the thousand echoes of the press, were raised, which said to them, Beware! The measure of contempt and dissatisfaction is full. One drop more and the cup overflows. They did not heed these counsels. The drop fell. Woe to them!—it was a drop of blood which has stained their brow, and will not be washed away.

The session of 1847—that foul exhibition of baseness, shame, soil, and corruption, cynically crowned by the *satisfecit* of venality—had stirred up all minds; and that was a noble and fruitful idea which suggested the erection of a tribune of common rights of truth and of nationality by the side of that other tribune of the chamber, in which no liberal or generous word could be pronounced without exciting the clamours of indignation and anger.

Paris—as ever, the first when those generous determinations which save a country are in question—gave the signal for these demonstrations of reform. The banquet of Chateau Rouge was the starting point of that reaction of public honesty and conscience against the baseness of peace at any price, and the infamy of corruption to every scale. Prophetic words were there pronounced.

"The wounds which liberty has received may be healed. France has already experienced difficult and dangerous trials. She has triumphed over them. A single day of the victory of public opinion may overturn all the retrograde and tyrannical measures with which this country has been burdened. May we all rally round the glorious standard of liberty; may we drop all the personal and verbal dissensions which enfeeble us in the sight of the common enemy; and may France, under that glorious banner, do all that she failed to do in 1830! May our re-union become the signal for similar manifestations throughout France! May committees everywhere be organ-

ised, that the work of patriotism may be systematically arranged! To a party who, under pretext of preserving, has plunged the go vernment into anarchy and confusion, let us oppose the example of order, union, and discipline."

The country answered this appeal. Colmar, Strasbourg, Bar-le-Duc, Epinal, Coulommier, Rheims, Soissons, Saint-Quentin, Compiègne, Arras, Amiens, Avesnes, Béthune, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Rouen, Forges, Leckenbourg, Damville, Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, Meaux, Chartres, L'Ile en Jourdain, Montargis, Orléans, Melun, La Charité, Autun, Chateaudun, Limoges, Vitré Londéac, Rochechouart, Saintes, Périgueux, Condom Castres, Montpellier, Valence, Saint Marcellin, Pont-de-Beauvoisin, Romans, Vienne, Lyons, energetically proved that the political indifference of which M. Odilon Barrot complained at Chateau Rouge was not an irreparable evil. Honour to these generous cities, who were the first to feel the blush of shame at beholding the stagnant pool become a torrent, and threatening to overwhelm by its foul waves the principal wealth of a nation,—her honour, her conscience, and her faith in the future!

These manifestations were not all of the same character. Some merely took votes upon a reform in the elective law, as a means of consolidating the constitutional monarchy and the institutions of July. Others, more advanced in the stage of improvement, made known that they did not consider it sufficient to reform abuses, but to destroy radically that which they accused of being the cause, the origin, and the support of them.

Thus there were two parties in the movement of opposition ;—the one, who insisted upon the preservation of existing things as the primary condition, the *sine qua non* of all amelioration ; the other, who saw no possible amelioration upon the strict basis of the charter of 1830. La Gironde and La Montagne renewed their struggles.

In opposition to the charter, which it styled a plant of English growth, the banquet of Maçon celebrated, through M. F. Flocon, the declaration of the rights of man by the Convention ; and at Dijon the reformers were hailed by the title of " Lights of the Mountain."

"To the Democrats of Lille; to those hearty friends who have impressed upon their patriotic re-union the only seal which is suitable to great designs—the seal of democracy; to those who have separated the wheat from the tares! they have pointed out the path which all democrats ought to follow; they have given proofs of true civic courage.

"We will follow them closely in this radical path; our course is clear; and I earnestly hope that we may float in full sail through the deep waters of pure democracy!

"To the Democrats of Lille; to you also, our Paris friends, whom we have the happiness of numbering among our partisans; to you, publishers, poets, artists, philosophers, instructors of future generations; to you, 'Lights of the Mountain' which have already brought forth two immortal Revolutions, and which teem with a new and twin-birth, the offspring of time and events—*political revolution as the means, and social revolution as the end;* to all who pursue this humanizing result,"

M. Odilon Barrot and his friends answered these challenges with that unbending importance which distinguishes them. Those who attacked them, they said, were mountebanks of '93; and they replied, that it was well worthy the mountebank of 1815.

Those challenges, threats, and exclusions, which signalized the first campaign of the opposition beyond the legislative inclosure, were eagerly collected by the state journal. "Since they cannot agree," it said, "at the moment of attack, the reformers will be still more at variance when power in revenge takes the field in its turn." This division in the ranks of its enemies supplied every number of the Journal des Debats. Hear it in the month of November, 1847! Its joy in detailing these discords proves that its patrons expected a separation.

"Three banquets at once! when we had declared them at an end. A mountain banquet at Dijon, a fourièriste banquet at Montargis, an Odilon Barrot banquet at Compiègne. M. Duvergier de Hauranne may well be proud of his work; it increases and prospers rapidly. The mountain banquets already launch challenges and threats to the Girondin banquets on the left. They are mutually banished

from the dining-halls, while expecting more serious proscriptions. For having excluded M. Odilon Barrot from the banquet of Lille, M. Ledru Rollin has been excluded from the banquet of Amiens.

"In revenge, the mountaineers of Dijon have excluded simple opposition, for fear that a suspicious moderation should sully the great and pure terrorist manifestation. If the common enemy were not there to separate the combatants—the mountaineers of Dijon and Girondins of Compiègnes—M. Odilon Barrot, and M. Ledru Rollin would soon take the field with other arms than innocent words and absurd exclusions."

This raillery suited the rancour of Louis Philippe, and the ambition of Guizot. As for Louis Philippe, the affair of the banquets not only threatened his power, but his personal safety. They agreed to omit his name in all the toasts proposed by the orators at these sudden tribunals; and if by chance that name was uttered, a frigid silence threw a damp over the spirits of the guests, or the orchestra, to drown it, struck up the Marseillaise.

To give a new flight to his policy at the outset, Guizot had not failed to excite the susceptibility of age. Profoundly hypocritical, Louis Philippe had exerted all the strength of his nature to preserve that mask of moderation which deceived all eyes; but this energy failing with age, selfishness and egotism obtained the ascendancy: he had no longer strength to be a hypocrite.

Royalty, thrown off its balance by the shock of personality; and the minister, hoping to stand firm under the safeguard of that offended dignity, seized the occasion of the opening of the Session of 1848. It was decided at the Tuileries that the Reform Banquets should be attacked in the Royal speech, and the anger they had excited appeared in the following paragraph:—

"Gentlemen,—The more I advance in life, the more I consecrate with devotion all the activity and strength which God has given and still preserves to me, to the service of France, to the care of her interests, her dignity, and her happiness. In the midst of the agitation excited by hostile or blind passions, a conviction animates and supports me, that we possess, in a constitutional monarchy, in the union of the great powers of the state, the certain means of sur-

mounting all these obstacles, and of satisfying the moral and material interests of our dear country. Let us maintain, according to the charter, social order and all its conditions; let us protect faithfully, according to the charter, public freedom and all its developments. We will transmit entire, to future generations, the deposit which is entrusted to us, and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice under shelter of which they will live happy and free."

This bold defiance to the national movement met with no opposition in council, but in the domestic circle of the Tuileries a voice, which was said to have a weighty influence with the head of the family, was raised against this expression of royal discontent, and of ministerial audacity. Madame Adelaide, sister of the ex-king, with that clear-sightedness by which some women see at once the dangers which the blindness of passion conceals from the generality of men, endeavoured to stop Louis Philippe in the career to which he was driven by his own irritability and the obstinacy of his courtiers. She, who had decided him in taking the crown which was presented to him in July, together with a passport, with these words, "Depart or reign!" had a right to be heard with attention. A secret presentiment, or that strange light which sometimes animates the soul when, by its separation from matter, it is about to acquire a perception of the future, told her that he still had to choose between a crown and a passport for exile—a passport signed by Guizot and Duchatel, and which would be worthless, unless confirmed by the generosity of the people.

The attack was spirited, the resistance obstinate. The strength o the princess, weakened by the epidemic disorder then prevalent at Paris, was exhausted in the struggle of prudence and talent against the rashness of spleen and anger: she never rose from the couch on which she had fallen in grief at finding the resolution of her brother unchangeable. She was less a victim to illness than to the obstinacy and blindness of that brother who would not be saved.

Yet this sudden death produced a great effect upon him. At Dreux, that St. Denis receptacle of deceased royalty, he appeared

with a dismayed countenance, and a posture of the most profound grief. He who had seen, apparently without a tear, the coffin of his son, the eldest of his race, descend slowly into that vault where there is a place which will not be occupied, wept during the whole ceremony. His stoicism was conquered. The man was found in the weeping brother, after he had had the strength of mind to act the king at the tomb of his son, without swerving from the cold decorum of etiquette.

A great change had then come over him? Had that spirit no longer the energy of which it had so much need? Oh, royalty is truly a state beyond all the elements of humanity, and a monstrous anomaly, which does not allow the heart to burst, save on condition of showing in each tear, a moral decay, a presage of a future fall.

As we resided in that part of the country where this sad ceremony was performed, the last which in France will receive the title of royal obsequies, we saw the carriage pass which took Louis Philippe to the scene of his illusions. Little did we expect that two months later, dethroned and fugitive, he would traverse the road in a mean cabriolet, seeking an asylum for his first night of exile. But we were struck with the mournful appearance of the cavalcade. He was thinking perhaps of the funerals he had conducted since his accession; or of the following fatal list of those whose destinies were entwined with his own:—

Casimir Périer died mad with anger and despair.

Lafitte, the rich banker, god-father of the revolution of 1830, died consumed by grief, and ruined.

Le Maréchal Mortier, victim of the machine of Fieschi.

M. Humann, minister of finance, terrified at the aspect of bankruptcy, died of apoplexy.

Pajol, the hero of Rambouillet, died of a fall from a staircase of the Tuileries.

Gisquet, seeing his political life extinct in the disgrace of a scandalous law-suit.

M. Villemain, surprised by mental alienation in the exercise of his ministerial functions.

M. Martin (du Nord), minister of justice and religion, died under the influence of the same malady.

The Duke d'Orleans broke his neck in attempting to jump from his carriage.

Cubières and Teste, ancient ministers and peers of France, dishonoured and degraded; the latter attempted suicide, and was committed to prison for several years.

The Duke de Praslin, peer of France, and knight of honour to the Duchess of Orleans, put an end to his life by poison, after having committed the most atrocious of crimes.

The Prince d'Eckmuhl, another peer of France, playmate of the Princes of Orleans, became insane.

Count Bresson, the negociator for the Spanish marriages, ambassador to Naples, and peer of France, cut his throat with a razor.

Finally, Count Mortier, diplomatist and peer of France, became raving mad.

The report of the derangement of the mental faculties of Louis Philippe was publicly circulated; it was said that he gave way to frequent paroxysms upon the most trivial occasions, and that his strength of will degenerated into an obstinacy which admitted neither of remonstrance nor contradiction. It was also said that his health was giving way, and the report of his death was frequently circulated in Paris.

It was under these auspices that the reply to the royal address was discussed. The minds of the opposition were extremely exasperated, for the commissions charged with executing the draught echoed, as usual, the words of royalty.

"Sire," it began, "in devoting yourself to the service of our country with a courage which nothing can abate—not even the wounds which you have received in your most cherished affections, in consecrating your life and that of your children to the care of our interests and of our dignity—you daily strengthen the edifice we have founded with you. Rely upon our support to help you to defend it. The agitations raised by hostile or blind passions will fall before public reason, enlightened by our free discussions, by the manifestation of all the legitimate opinions of a constitutional monarchy. The

union of the great powers of the state surmounts every obstacle, and satisfies all the moral and material interests of the country. By this union, Sire, we shall maintain social order and all its conditions; we shall protect public freedom and all its developments. Our charter of 1830, transmitted by us to future generations as an inviolable deposit, will assure to them the most precious inheritance which nations can receive—the alliance of order and liberty."

A fact more significant still than these words tended to corroborate this defiance of the opposition, and proved that the minister had decided to resist the public voice by deeds as well as words.

The electors of the 12th arrondissement of Paris had organized a banquet for the 29th of January. Though they were free to assemble in a private house, they were obliged to give notice of it to the commissioner of police in that quarter. They received for answer that M. the Commissioner of Police refused his assent to the meeting.

The reply of the commissioners of the banquet was unexpected.

"Concerning the order of M. the Prefect of the Police, the committee of the reform banquet of the 12th arrondissement have assembled, as in fact no permission was solicited, and M. the Prefect has confounded a simple declaration of place and day with a demand for permission, which could neither be asked for nor refused. Relying upon the laws of 1831 and 1834, which permit occasional meetings, the formal declarations of the government orator in the discussion of these laws, the recent decree of the Court of Repeal, and the constant practice of Government, the committee unanimously decide that the order of M. the Prefect is to be regarded as an act purely arbitrary, and of no effect.

For the Committee of the Banquet,
The executive officer, GOBERT.
ROINVILLE, Treasurer.
BOCQUET, Secretary."

The electors persisted in assembling, and M. Duchâtel, minister of the interior, summoned to the Chamber of Peers by M. D'Alton Shee, declared that this banquet, appearing likely to involve weighty

consequences, had been forbidden by his express orders, and not by the Prefect of Police. This simply meant that the projected meeting had in the eyes of the minister all the appearance of sedition.

It was easy to reply in a peremptory manner to the assertions of the minister of the interior. Several meetings had taken place with the object of nominating the members of the committee. In one of these preparatory meetings the question of principles had been proposed and carried in the sole sense of a manifestation of reform. In another meeting the members of the committee were elected.

In order to appreciate the spirit which directed these meetings and the value of the accusations of M. Duchâtel, it is sufficient to cite the names of these members,—names which ought to have been sufficient to have quieted the fears of M. Duchâtel. MM. Delettre, member of the general council; Barbet, chief of the battalion of the 12th legion, chief of the institution; d'Heurle, ditto; Cailloux, ditto; Collette, captain; Bailly, ditto; Veron, ditto; Gobert, ditto; Mary, ditto; Dronot, ditto; Roinville, ditto; Chazelet, ditto; Hennequin, ditto; Ravinet, ditto; Détaille, ditto; Méry, sub-lieutenant; Hellitasse, sergeant-major; Duménil, proprietor; Bocquet, &c., &c.

So much for the spirit of the preparatory assemblies; now let us judge of the spirit of the committee itself. The presidency of the banquet was offered to M. Boissel, deputy of the 12th arrondissement; the vice-presidency to M. Poupinel, lieutenant-colonel of the 12th legion.

From these facts it appears that it was a legion of the National Guard, represented by its chiefs, which provoked the distrust and anger of Government. We shall see presently the power of the ministerial act.

The reply of the officer of the 12th arrondissement, his resolution to follow out his plan in spite of the declaration of the minister Duchâtel, influenced the debate in the Chamber of Deputies, and rested on the political horizon like the cloud which precedes a storm. First it is a black spot, then it advances, drawing the vapours from the earth, charging itself with electricity, and storing

up the thunder-bolts destined to strike the roof of the palace, and terrify the proud. It was the last resource, the last weapon of opposition, and the majority soon obliged them to have recourse to it by repulsing all efforts at moderation, and all attempts to bring about a treaty. By the vote of the 14th of February, the majority became the implacable executors of extreme policy, and in consequence more than a hundred deputies of those who had just been declared blind and hostile, assembled to consider what part to take. What was to be done? and how ought they to reply to the unqualified act of the majority? Ought the opposition to appeal unanimously from the parliamentary to the electoral majority, and take the sense of the country upon the government? What did the opposition propose by convening sixty-six banquets at the four cardinal points of France? They wished to rouse the slumbering spirit of the people, and to destroy their real or apparent indifference.

Is it seriously believed that this partial dissolution, the convocation of a hundred and fifty electoral colleges, will not create a more efficacious agitation than that of the seventy banquets which commenced at Chateau-Rouge? This appears reasonable enough, but there are a great number of ambitious men among the opposition, who would reject all extreme measures capable of injuring the court. These temporizers are contented with proving the flagrant audacious violation of the rights of the minority, and of the most sacred principle of the constitution; they declare, besides, that the opposition should remain at its post, but that it should uphold the right of re-union by all legal and constitutional means. A commission was therefore chosen to communicate with the officer concerning the electors of Paris, to regulate the proceedings of the deputies at the banquet, which was prepared to protest against the pretensions of arbitrary power. The deputies also resolved that some of them should assist at the presentation of the address.

Concerning the question of the participation of the National Guard, it was said, that if matters were conducted in an orderly, constitutional manner, the deputies of the majority had no right whatever to claim the assistance of that body.

If, on the other hand, the projected banquet had to offer resistance to counter-revolutionary measures, the National Guard might certainly join the opposition like the other citizens.

It appears that the question was thus settled in a spontaneous meeting which took place at the house of one of the opposition deputies. Sixty officers of the National Guard were present to declare their opinion. "There is nothing to prevent us from joining you," they said, "as National Guards, without arms; as we have, since 1830, frequently assisted in this manner at funeral processions. If we join you it will be as vigilant guardians of order, not otherwise." The whole meeting agreed to these conditions, nobly expressed by M. R., captain of a company of chasseurs.

It was then decided that all the officers, subalterns, and National Guards at Paris, should be invited to join this manifestation. It was further resolved, that they should fall back at the first summons of the agents of government, after having protested by a committee of deputies.

At the least symptom of collision, they would entreat all the citizens to return to their homes, while the members of parliament would declare their grievances at the tribunal.

After these words, the meeting was closed. It was decided by the presiding officer, that the banquet should take place, not at Mont-Parnasse, as had been first proposed, but at Paris, in a large enclosure in the Champs Elysées, the property of General Thiars, deputy, where a spacious pavilion was speedily constructed.

In the mean time there was a great movement among the National Guards. Several chiefs assembled their officers; and addresses were prepared to the opposition deputies, to engage them to legal resistance. It was even said that the members of the Municipal Council went in a body to the Prefect, to warn him of the dangers which the rashness of Government might bring upon the population of the capital.

In short, a more general coalition, a stronger cohesion of opinion, was scarcely ever witnessed.

Government, in its turn, was not inactive. It was provided that the artillery of Vincennes should be in readiness from the hour of

ten on the day of the banquet. A supply of fifty cartridges per man had just been provided in the barracks of the Municipal Guard, and in that of the garrison. The Orleans railroad for the last fortnight had been bringing frames of cannon from Tours to Paris, for the detached forts: these had been conveyed through the exterior Boulevards. The forts of Montroguge and Aubervilliers were already provided; Bicêtre was nearly ready.

Troops approached Paris; and all the garrisons of the environs received such instructions, that—thanks to the railroads—60,000 or 80,000 men might be rapidly collected around the capital. As the new regiments arrived, the captains, dressed as citizens, were conducted to those parts of the capital which were to be occupied by their respective corps, in case of alarm.

A portion of the troops were each day stationed in the precincts. Ammunitions were sent to the barracks; it was even said, that wood and provisions were provided for five or six days.

Waggons loaded with bombs were also seen on the Boulevards "What is that?" said a child to his father. "That," replied the citizen, "is the law of 1794."

It was indeed the law of 1794, which was invoked by ministers to prevent reform meetings.

The banquet was to have taken place on Sunday, the 20th of February; it was, however, delayed till Tuesday. The cause of this was alleged to be new difficulties concerning the locality; but there was a fear on the part of the opposition, and they considered that the crowd would be less on a week day, and more easily managed. Thus, by an interval of two days, such a combination might be effected as to prevent them from coming to an open rupture.

This was expected in the chamber of deputies. Thirty-three conservative deputies, strengthened by seven colleagues, offered to M. Odilon Barrot the following combination, in order, as they said, to avoid a stormy crisis in the country.

Supposing the opposition had formally renounced the manifestation of the 22nd of February, the conservative deputies in their turn would have interrogated the ministry upon the question of the right of re-union, and upon the deplorable consequences of their provo-

cation; a vote would then have been proposed against the ministry, and the 189 deputies forming the parliamentary minority, increased by 40 fresh dissentients, would have overturned the cabinet. The deputies of the opposition replied to these first overtures. But this fine project was annihilated by a suspicion of self-interest; and the words, "It is too late," which were soon after reverberated in a more terrible manner, cut short these pacific stratagems.

The duel between power and opposition was now inevitable. Notwithstanding this appearance of defiance, and clash of weapons, it seemed that each party equally feared the measures they were forced to take,—the one, to defend the right without equivocation,—the other, to oppress without dissimulation.

Monday, the 21st of February, has arrived,—the eve of the great day! The opposition journals, Le Siècle and Le National, announce in their columns the following declarations:—

"Manifestation of Reform.—The general committee, charged with organising the banquet of the 12th arrondissement, announce that the object of the manifestation fixed for to-morrow (Tuesday) is the legal and pacific exercise of a constitutional right,—the right of political re-union, without which the representative government would be only a bye-word.

"As it may be naturally foreseen that this public protestation will attract a considerable concourse of citizens, and that the National Guards of Paris, faithful to their motto, 'liberty, public order,' will wish to accomplish this double duty,—will be desirous of defending liberty by joining the manifestation, of protecting order by their presence,—it seems advisable, in the expectation of a numerous meeting of National Guards and citizens, that measures should be taken for removing every cause of trouble and tumult.

"The committee consider that the manifestation should take place in a part of the capital where the size of the streets will permit the people to assemble without incumbrance.

"To this effect the deputies, the peers of France, and others, will assemble next Tuesday, at eleven o'clock, at the usual place of meeting of the opposition, the Place de la Madeleine.

"The subscribers to the banquet who form part of the National

Guard, are requested to assemble before the church of La Madeleine, and to form two parallel lines, between which the guests may be placed.

"The cavalcade will be headed by the superior officers of the National Guard, who will be present to join the manifestation.

"Immediately after the guests, a row of officers of the National Guard will be placed.

"Behind these, the National Guard in columns, according to the number of the legions.

"Between the third and fourth column, the young people of the schools, conducted by officers appointed by themselves.

"Then the other National Guards in the order appointed above.

"The cavalcade will start at half-past eleven, and proceed through the Place de la Concorde and the Champs Elysées, towards the place of the banquet.

"The committee, convinced that this manifestation will be the more efficacious if it is calm, and also more imposing if it avoids every pretext of conflict, entreat the citizens to utter no shouts, to carry no flags whatever; they also entreat the National Guard to present themselves unarmed. A legal and pacific protestation is intended, which should be rendered powerful by the firm and tranquil bearing of the citizens.

"The committee hope that every man upon this occasion will consider himself pledged to preserve order; they confide in the presence of the National Guards; they confide in the sentiments of the Parisian population, who wish for public peace as well as liberty: they only require a peaceable demonstration, suitable to an intelligent, enlightened nation, which feels the irresistible authority of its moral force, and which is assured of its lawful views prevailing by the calm and legal expression of opinion."

To this manifesto the ministry replied by ordering the law against tumults to be affixed immediately to the four corners of Paris, as well as that which applied the articles 254 and 258 of the penal code to the National Guards, acting as such without orders. At the same time news was spread that Maréchal Bugeaud was named governor of Paris. These reports violently agitated the Chamber, and at the end of the sitting, M. Odilon Barrot inter-

rogated the ministry upon the measures which he loudly declared ought to be adopted.

"Had the government renounced the project of making the reform manifestation an occasion for tribunals to pronounce upon the application of the law which was to oppose the right of re-union? and was brutal force alone to decide the question?"

M. Duchâtel, minister of the interior, replied that the government could have referred to tribunals the care of pronouncing between them and their adversaries before the manifesto published by the committee. But this manifesto, added the minister, violated all the laws upon which public order and tranquillity rest. It was, in short, the act of a government which was opposing the constitutional government.

M. Odilon Barrot, who, as we have seen, was a temporiser, began by declaring that he neither avowed nor disavowed this act, which had no other end in view than to surround the manifestation by every warrant of pu ic order.

The explanations of the honourable chief on the left were much less clear than those of M. Duchâtel; for it was well known, after the sitting, that the government strongly opposed what it called a thing contrary to law; while it may be questioned if M. Odilon Barrot, who neither avowed nor disavowed the manifesto, honoured the invitation of the reformers, and his own signature affixed to the answer made to these honourable citizens.

The following declarations, which were known in the evening, left no doubt concerning the designs of the opposition.

"A great and solemn manifestation was to take place to-day in favour of the rights of re-union, opposed by the government. Every measure was taken to insure order, and to prevent all trouble. The government was informed of these measures several days previously, and knew what would be the form of this protestation. It was aware that the deputies would proceed in a body to the banquet, accompanied by a great number of citizens, and National Guards without arms.

"It had declared an intention of offering no obstacle to this demonstration while order remained undisturbed, and of trying by a procès

verbal that which it considered as a contravention, and which the opposition regarded as the exercise of a right. Suddenly taking for a pretext, a publication, the sole end of which was to prevent the disorders which might arise from a large concourse of citizens, the government announced its resolution of forcibly preventing all assembling on the public way, and of forbidding the populace or the National Guards all participation in the projected assembly.

"In this state of affairs, the members of the opposition, personally protected by their quality of deputy, would not voluntarily expose the citizens to the consequences of a struggle, as fatal to order as to liberty: they think, therefore, they ought to abstain, and leave to government all the responsibility of its measures. They engage all good citizens to follow their example."

"In not repairing to the banquet, the opposition have accomplished a great act of moderation and humanity. A great act of firmness and justice remains to be accomplished.

"What is this great act of firmness and justice? The impeachment of the ministry!"

In reading this, we may compare the opposition to a soldier going to battle without arms, and replying to the bullets of the enemy by soap-bubbles and snow-balls.

This vain bravado only moderately satisfied the public, and the electoral committee of the 2nd arrondissement frankly declared their opinion. They considered it as a mere jest, and declared that there was only one way left to satisfy the public, viz., the dismissal of the opposition deputies.

It is, however, just to state, that eighteen deputies, among whom were MM. Dupont (l'Eure), Marie, Lherbette, Maurt-Ballanche, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Mathieu (Saone et Loire), Mathey de Châlons, Thiers, Duvergier de Hauranne, Lamartine, &c., insisted that the opposition should accomplish the legal act of resistance to arbitrary power, by repairing to the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. M. Lherbette and Lamartine expressed their opinions most strongly to that effect. Three peers of France, MM. de Boissy, d'Alton Shee, and d'Harcourt, were of the same opinion, and it is probable that a determination to that effect would have

been taken by those generous citizens, if they had not understood that the committee had adjourned the banquet, leaving to government the responsibility of provocation and violence.

Such was the disposition of the two camps on the evening of the 21st. The balance which suspended their fate leaned, then, to the side of government. It had in its scale the threatening spectre of those fortifications which surrounded Paris, and which could stifle its efforts by famine or fire; it had sixty thousand devoted bayonets, it had all the interests of its preservers, who would continue to defend it with the energy which the most timid beings employ in guarding their prey: while the opposition only possessed a disunited, fluctuating, uncertain body, and a voice without authority in the country. It is true, that a murmuring in the city announced that it began to witness struggles, or rather skirmishes, without dignity or aim. By the light of flambeaux, carried by children, we observed in the corner of the streets, dark figures reading with indignation the placards which forbade tumult, and reminded them, that they could not appear with the National uniform, unless by order of government. We heard threatening words, shouts of derision and rage, and we asked ourselves, whether that scale, now so light under the ridiculous demonstrations of the opposition, would be made to descend under the weight *of the people's anger.*

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## 22ND OF FEBRUARY.

### THE SKIRMISH.

EARLY in the morning, numerous groups of men of all classes, especially workmen, covered the public places, and moved along the streets following the same direction, the east of Paris.

The threshold of almost all the doors were crowded with women, or persons who, more sedentary without appearing less agitated,

seemed to wish, by remaining stationary, to associate themselves with the interest of distant events. At ten o'clock, the students of the schools of law and medicine assembled near the Pantheon. They formed into two files and advanced in this order to the number of 1500 or 1800, apparently obeying the orders of a young man of twenty, of colossal stature, placed at their head. Arrived at the quay, they met a body of about 2000 workmen, descending from the Faubourgs, they joined and mingled in the same ranks, without disturbing the order of their march.

Half-past eleven.—It is the time fixed for the general meeting at La Madeleine. Students and workmen, agitators and spectators, are there in multitudes. Innumerable masses cover the place, the streets Royale and Tronchet, the entrance of the Boulevards, and all the abutments. They sing the Marseillaise. They shout *Vive la Reforme!* *—*A bas Guizot!* † &c. The house of cafetier Durand was pointed out as the rendezvous previously fixed upon as a point of departure for the abortive manifestation, and as the accustomed centre of the conferences of the deputies. Then the clamours were universally directed against this house, and the opposing deputies were assailed with the same reprobations as the ministry. Then the masses separated. Whilst the greatest number chose the direction of the Chamber, some proceeded towards the dwelling of M. Barrot, to demand an account of his conduct. Others, more numerous, moved towards the Hotel of the Boulevard des Capucines, with shouts of *A bas Guizot!* Arrived before the office, they broke the windows and tried to force the door. On a sudden, the folding-doors were opened, and a strong detachment of municipal guards issued upon the Boulevards, and cleared the avenues in a moment.

The repulsed agitators then went to join the masses at the place de la Concorde, who were occupied in forcing the passage of the bridge Louis Quinze, which was defended by a double line of dragoons and cavalry. They succeeded in driving a heavy chariot, which broke the ranks of the troop; and the crowd invaded the bridge behind. Some of the people penetrated the palace of the Chamber; the rest were dispersed by the soldiers.

* "Reform for ever!" † "Down with Guizot!"

Noon.—At the Champs Elysées, three barricades were erected by the crowd on the principal causeway; and they at length besieged the municipal station of the grand Carré Marigny. The inmates were constrained by a shower of stones to withdraw into the interior of the corps de garde, which was protected by iron gratings recently erected round it. Throughout the afternoon, the Champs Elysées were the theatre of disorders less serious than turbulent. As soon as the troops appeared to still the tumults, they were greeted with vehement shouts of "Vive la ligne," and were approached with sympathy, instead of being shunned.

Half-past twelve.—The whole city is now become the scene of alarm and agitation. It is reported that serious engagements have taken place at the faubourg Saint Marceau; that ten wounded municipal officers have been conveyed to Val de Grace; that a captain has been killed. Barricades have been erected near the marché St. Honoré, and the rue de Rivoli. Two poor women were killed, or rather assassinated, in the first of these streets. During these tragic scenes, an innumerable crowd of spectators of all classes covered the Boulevards, and the principal adjacent streets.

Two o'clock.—The Chamber is sitting. In order to regain some of that popularity they have so justly lost, M. Barrot and his friends place upon the bench of the Chamber their motion of impeachment, as if nothing more was expected from them than that weak hostility, which was evidently predestined to impotence and sterility by the immoveable obstinacy of a corrupt majority. The only thing which could answer the expectations of the people would be an entire resignation of the whole mass of the opposition; but, after their errors and treasons, they could not rely upon a re-election. As if to stifle their remorse and alarm, the deputies affected to take a lively interest in a paltry discussion upon the privilege of banks. Not a word was heard concerning the circumstances of the day, save in whispered communications among those men whose names at that very moment occupied the attention of the crowd. M. Bugeaud, who left the palace for a moment to ascertain the nature of the external agitations, returned, rubbing his hands, and saying, "We shall have a day." M. Guizot, on the contrary, less easy in his mind, belied beforehand

that hardihood and official calmness of which he was to give so daring a proof the next day. "I can answer for the day," said he to his alarmed friends; "but I am not without anxiety for the night."

Four o'clock.—M. Thiers, upon leaving the Palais-Bourbon, went to the Champs Elysées to join the spectators. He was recognised, and soon surrounded by a mob of workmen and boys, who endeavoured to carry him about in triumph. M. Thiers, whose sagacity was not deceived by this popular outbreak, struggled violently, and at last succeeded in escaping from the hands of the mob, and by a precipitate flight, withdrew from the intended homage. Five hundred of these children pursued him with hootings, exciting the laughter and applause of thousands of spectators. The unfortunate hero reached the hôtel Pontalba, the gates of which fortunately opened to allow him to enter, and closed immediately behind him.

Whilst the old minister of the 1st of March was thus defending himself against equivocal popularity, the military authorities were engaged in defending the present minister from more serious dangers; and the hôtel of M. Guizot was surrounded by four hundred of the infantry, reinforced by a hundred cavaliers, and a numerous company of the Municipal Guard were posted in the court and gardens.

Five o'clock.—A call was now heard throughout the streets to assemble the National Guard. In consequence of their having so often participated in the reform manifestations, and of their generous spirit of independence, the Government had long distrusted this admirable body, whose pledges in favour of order were clear enough to have engaged the most blind government to listen to their cries of liberty. It was in consequence of this mistrust, that, in the arrangements made at the Tuileries, it was resolved to do without the citizen militia. Fatal error!—the consequences of which the ministers had no idea; for if they at length determined to repair it, they were only compelled by the intelligence of M. Berger, deputy and mayor of the 2nd arrondissement, who did not fear to follow his patriotic inspiration in defiance of superior orders.

This sudden call was answered with eagerness. The citizen soldiers immediately followed the standard. Some of the insurgents,

without perceiving the nature of the generous hearts which beat under those uniforms, treated them as enemies; stopped the first whom they met, and robbed them of their weapons. The greater part of them, however, reached their quarters without hinderance; and an imposing force was soon collected, eager to assist in the re-establishment of order, and not less eager to manifest thei readiness to impose lawful conditions upon the Government.

The 12th legion stationed themselves upon la place du Panthéon, where they found a numerous assembly, who at first began to hiss; but the 12th legion replied by cries of "Vive la Reforme," which the crowd repeated, adding "Vive la Garde National!" "Vive la Ligne!" The officers of the 5th also joined those of the National Guard.

Six o'clock.—The gates of the Tuileries were now suddenly closed against the public. La place du Carousal was occupied by the 5th regiment of light infantry, a squadron of dragoons, one of chasseurs, and a demie-batterie of artillery. The common thoroughfare was forbidden.

The tumult became more serious in the Champs Elysées, where they erected a vast pile of garden seats; it was set on fire, and it appeared at a distance as if the whole city was in flames. Some children broke the reverbères, burned the omnibus benches, &c. without any opposition from the municipal officers or the sergeants de ville. These agents of Parisian police were completely invisible during the day. No part of the well-known uniform could be distinguished, and it might be thought they had quite disappeared, if certain equivocal figures had not been observed among the groups, whose watchful looks betrayed their calling.

Foot and horse patrols paraded all the thoroughfares in the heart of the city. Assemblies were formed near l'Ecole Polytechnique. The Marseillaise and the Chant des Girondins were sung by a great number of students as a signal to come out, as in 1830, but the most rigid precautions were taken by the authorities. The students of l'Ecole Polytechnique, whose clothes and swords had been taken away, and who were vigilantly guarded, could only reply by the same songs.

Three Municipal Guards, severely wounded, were taken to the barracks of rue de Tournon, whilst a man of the people, wounded by a bayonet, was conveyed to l'Ecole de Medicine. Gunsmiths' shops were forced upon the quai de la Mégisserie and in rue Montmartre. The shafts of a heavy carriage were driven against the door of Le Page, after the manner of the ancient battering rams. But the troops, depressed by the part which discipline imposed upon them, preserved everywhere the same moderation in the exercise of their dismal duty. In several places sentiments of fraternity were betrayed by the shaking of hands between the people and the soldiers.

Seven o'clock.—The corps de garde Marigny is burned at the Champs Elysées; the Municipals took refuge in a neighbouring station, which was soon surrounded by fagots, cut from the adjacent trees, in order to eject them from that asylum. The unfortunate refugees were happily extricated from their perilous situation.

Eight o'clock.—Ten thousand men are assembled in the Carrousel. Louis Philippe passed them on foot, with two of his sons. The aides-de-camp endeavoured to excite the cry of "Vive le Roi."

Ten o'clock.—The silence of night is continually disturbed by the beat of the drum, the shouts of the crowd, and the movement of the troops. Musketry is heard in the direction of the Batignolles. In this peaceable quarter the people have taken a novel method of procuring arms. They go to the closed shops, threatening violence if the citizen does not instantly give his gun to the National Guard. Thus, in less than an hour, thirty or forty insurgents attack the Porte de l'Octroi, exchange shots with the patrols on the exterior Boulevard, and pass the night in the timber-yard of a wood-merchant.

Midnight.—The movement of the troops continues, but the tempest appears calmed. At this advanced hour silence has succeeded to tumult and agitation. Rest, noble people! the hour of trial approaches, and all your energy will be needed against the crimes you are to punish. There is no rest for that power which rashly braves your heroic fury. Profiting by your repose, it has incarcerated more than two hundred of your comrades, prisoners of this stormy

day. New measures of oppression are contrived for the morrow; fresh reinforcements for its innumerable army are levied for twenty leagues round. Rest, therefore, rest; as men you repose,—you will wake as heroes!

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## 23RD OF FEBRUARY.

### THE BARRICADES.—THE WILFUL MURDER.

THIS day belied the famous expression of Pétion—"It is going to rain, we have nothing to fear from the people to-day." Thick clouds covered the sky; a cold wind accompanied with heavy squalls prevailed. A circumstance less unfavourable to the undisciplined bands of the people, than to the regular and organised troops of power.

The troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather during the night and morning. The people, on the contrary, refreshed by sleep, and sheltered from the weather, proceeded immediately to the scene of action. Sixty workmen suddenly appeared in the quarter Poissonière; preceded by a drum, and conducted by a man with a long beard, waving a small tri-coloured flag. They first tried to erect a barricade at the entrance of rue des Pronveries; but the approach of a detachment of infantry forced them to renounce their design. The troops, with a view to disperse them, followed them to the market, where these soldiers were surrounded by the women, who offered them, gratuitously, provisions of every kind, exclaiming,—"Friends! spare our husbands, our brothers, our children!"

The little insurgent troop succeeded in rallying at the point Saint Eustache. It passed the station behind the church without attempting to attack it, crossed rue Montmartre, rue Neuve, Saint Eustache, and stopped at the end of rue Poissonnière.

They marched without shouts or singing, accompanied by a swarm of children and spectators. Ten of them were armed with guns and bayonets. The others brandished sticks or bars of iron. All the shops were closed as they approached.

When they were assembled in rue Poissonnière, they stopped the carriages, took up the pavements, and began to form barricades. The first was erected in rue Poissonnière with a carriage and a water-cart. A second barricade was made across rue de Clèry, with two hackney coaches, the horses of which were restored to the coachmen. A third barred rue Saint Eustache. A fourth was commenced in rue du Petit-Carreau, a little below rue Thévenot. These operations were executed, without any interruption, before a crowd of spectators. They occupied more than three quarters of an hour.

Towards half-past eight, a detachment of Municipal Guards on foot forced a way through rue de Clèry, and drove out the workmen, who took refuge near rue Poissonnière. Not a gun had been levelled against the soldiers, but they fired upon the people. Three persons, two of whom were women, fell victims to the basest assassination.

At the same time other attempts were made at different points in the quarter. In rue Bourbon-Villeneuve a barricade was formed with carriages. The streets contiguous to rue Montorgueil were barricaded with hackney-coaches, carts, and vans. Another barricade was formed with an enormous dung-cart, which was removed by the Municipal Guards, who met with no serious resistance, but who, nevertheless, fired several shots.

At this moment, considerable forces arrived, and occupied these different points. A detachment of troupes de ligne, commanded by a general officer, were stationed below the rue Poissonnière. Cries of "Vive le Général!" "Vive la Ligne!" secretly paralyzed the feeling of discipline in these truly French hearts.

At the same time the maréchal Bugeaud, invested with the general command of the troops, followed by two aides-de-camp, traversed the line of the Boulevards, bowing on the right and left, without anybody thinking of returning his salute.

Upon place du Caire, some Municipal Guards, pursued by young people, armed only with sticks, suddenly fired. A woman, struck on

the head with a bullet, was killed on the spot; other passengers were wounded. At the same moment, the Municipal Guards were put to flight by a small body of the National Guards, by the command of their officer, who, not being able to retain his indignation at the spectacle he had witnessed, generously exclaimed, "To arms!"

Nine o'clock.—The National Guards were called in all the streets. From this moment it was understood that a solemn manifestation of that body would next take place.

A great number of National Guards of the 4th legion assembled at rue du Chevalier-du-Guet. They stopped to sign a petition for a change of ministry. This petition was covered with signatures in half an hour.

The other legions exhibited the same spirit. The 3d legion, collected on place des Petits-Pères, was surrounded by an immense crowd. Cries of "Vive la Reforme!" were uttered at once by all. A squadron of dragoons hastened to disperse this assembly. The citizens, roughly assailed, implored the assistance of the National Guard, who ordered the dragoons to turn back. These, after a vain attempt to charge, retreated by rue des Bons-Enfans. An attempt was then made by the Municipal Guards, who were also compelled to retreat before the firm and resolute attitude of the citizen soldiers.

Similar occurrences took place everywhere.

The 2nd legion patrolled rue de la Paix, shouting "Vive la Reforme!" in which they were joined by the surrounding crowd. A detachment of cuirassiers arrived. The captain ordered them to disperse the crowd which followed the National Guards. The commanding officer seemed to hesitate a moment; at length he refused. Immediately the National Guards and citizens joined the cuirassiers, and shook hands with them.

In the mean time, the heroism of the people was everywhere manifested. A barricade had been formed in rue Saint-Martin. A company of soldiers attempted to take it by assault. A youth of fifteen jumped over it, and, wrapping a flag round him, threw himself on his knees, and said, with a firm voice,—"This is your standard; fire, if you have courage!" The example of this intrepid boy was immediately followed by the citizens: they leaped over the barricade

with one accord,—placed themselves before the guns, exclaiming, "Fire, if you dare, upon unarmed citizens." The soldiers refused to fire; and cries of "Vive la Ligne!" resounded on all sides.

A young man had been arrested in an assembly on the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, and was conveyed to the station in rue Saint-Barbe, opposite the Gymnase. His comrades collected in a crowd before the station, demanding his liberation. The soldiers threatened to fire. "It little matters to us," they replied; "do your duty—we will do ours." In spite of the bayonets, they scaled the front of the station, entered by a window, liberated the prisoner, disarmed the soldiers, fired their guns in the air, and returned them, exclaiming, "Vive la Ligne!" among the acclamations of the crowd, excited by this act of valour and generosity.

The people energetically demanded the liberation of those who had been made prisoners the day before, and who were now in the hands of power.

Eleven o'clock.—Two or three hundred National Guards were assembled at pont Saint Michel. A numerous group of students appear, exclaiming, "Vive la Garde National!" About twenty of those individuals who are employed by the police for these exploits, rushed in the midst of these youths, assailed them with sticks, and endeavoured to seize them; but were prevented by the National Guard. An officer, indignant at the brutality of one of these policemen, drew his sabre upon him, but they held his arm, and the constable escaped with precipitation.

In the quarter Saint Denis, the agitation had been increasing since the morning. The shops were closed. The workmen were at the doors, the inhabitants at the windows. They saw the body of a young workman, who had been killed by the Municipal Guard, half an hour before, carried past on a board. A bloody mark upon his breast indicated the place where he had been struck. He was one of the victims of the barricade at Pétit Carreau. Twenty men accompanied this sad procession.

Two barricades were erected between the gate Saint Denis and rue Meslay. The firing soon commenced in this quarter; but the barricades were more numerous and better defended towards

rue Aumaire, rue Transnonain, rue Phalippaux, rue Benbourg. There were several also in other streets bordering upon rue Saint Martin, rue du Temple, and rue Saint Avoie.

Noon.—The avenues leading to the Chamber of Deputies had been occupied since the morning by troops who defended the passage over the bridge de la Concorde.

Up to this hour the crowd had been less numerous at that side, but it increased considerably towards the time of sitting. Reserves of infantry and cavalry were also stationed in the Champs Elysées. It was evidently the design of government to keep a free passage along the quay and rue de Rivoli, to the Halles, through rue Saint Honore; at the same time to ensure the line of the Boulevards in maintaining communication with the Halles, by rue Saint Denis. Place Vendôme and place des Victoires were also strongly invested.

The entrance du Carrousel was always strictly forbidden to the citizens.

We have already seen that the most active part of the struggle devolved upon the Municipal Guard, but the troops of the line had their share.

A detachment of the line, commanded by a general, received orders to attack a barricade which was erected at the corner of rue Saint Francis. At the moment the general ordered them to fire, an officer vainly attempted to lower the barrels of the guns with his sword. They fired, and killed several victims. The troop retired into rue de l'Oiseille; when a hundred National Guards, accompanied by a crowd of people, entered rue de Poitou, exclaiming, "Vive la Reforme!" The troop, expecting an attack, fired in that direction, and wounded three of the National Guard; one mortally. This catastrophe terminated the struggle in that quarter.

Several of the strongest and most skilfully constructed of the barricades were in possession of several hundred youths, between rue du Temple, and rue Saint Martin; rue Transnonain was the centre of this nucleus of resistance. The barricades were situated, rue Jean Robert, rue du Cimetière, Saint Nicholas, rue Montmorency, the corner of rues Grenier, Saint Lazare, and Michel le Comte; rue Montmorency, rue Chapon, rue des Gravilliers.

Three o'clock.—Four or five hundred of the 4th legion, conducted by twenty-five of their officers, proceeded to the dwelling of M. Crémieux, accompanied by an immense crowd of people. They crossed the streets in threes, perfectly calm, conversing upon the events of the day. Upon arriving at the house of the honourable deputy, they found that he had gone to the Chamber. They then proceeded thither in the same order, everywhere experiencing the sympathies of those whom they met.

A detachment of the 10th legion, composed of the friends of M. Lemercier,* suddenly obstructed their passage over the bridge de la Concorde. They then commissioned M. Haguette to take a petition in their name to M. Crémieux at the chamber for electoral reform and change of ministry.

There was, however, a report within the Palais Bourbon of the approach of a body of reform National Guards. The deputies feared an invasion of the hall, and pale with terror refused admission to the petitioners. Then M. Crémieux, accompanied by some friends quitted the Chamber, and went to meet the National Guard. He was greeted on the pont de la Concorde with reiterated shouts of "Vive la Reforme!" and after having earnestly entreated this crowd to do all in their power to re-establish public order, he pledged himself to be the faithful organ of their complaints.

These brave citizens yielded a unanimous assent to his advice, and, followed by the same concourse of people, the same sympathy, the same acclamations, they returned to report to their comrades the good advice they had received, and the fresh hopes they experienced.

At the same time that M. Crémieux placed before the deputies the petition which had been entrusted to his patriotism, M. Bugeaud might be seen distributing a reinforcement of sentinels among all the avenues of the parliament.

Four o'clock.—While this was passing in the Chamber, the struggle

* M. Lemercier, colonel of the 10th legion, appearing in the morning at the mairie of his arrondissement, before the assembled National Guard, had rashly endeavoured to excite the cry of "Vive le Roi!" A few voices echoed his, but the majority of the legion drowned them by the cry of "Vive la Reforme!" and the Conservative colonel was thus obliged to renounce his design.

continued between the citizens and soldiers. They disputed the ground inch by inch. Barricades were erected, destroyed, and re-erected; blood was shed; each moment brought added sorrow to the country. Suddenly, in the midst of the public emotion, agitation, and strife, a report is rapidly spread through the Boulevards from the chamber to the Bastille; it is soon known throughout the city. Passions are appeased, and the ravages of the sword and fire cease. Cries of war are succeeded by words of peace; the hand which, a moment before, was raised against the breast of an enemy, now seizes the hand of a brother. The barricades, those magic ramparts of popular liberty, are spontaneously abandoned by defender and assailant. They *were* the mortal field of two conflicting armies, they *are* the theatre of mutual embraces. On one side, the soldier, with a brightened countenance and joyful heart, hears the order to depart; the first which he has that day heard without heart-felt anguish. On the other, the workman, the popular hero, abandons the same place with transports of joy, to which he gives vent in triumphant songs.

What is the news which produces this wonderful effect?

"M. Guizot has resigned. The king has changed his ministry!"

It was the name of one single man which excited these masses to death and strife;—it was a change of names which restored them to tranquillity and life. In the name of Guizot was comprehended contempt of the people's rights, oppression of the country, ruin of its fortune, abasement of its glory—things to which a French heart cannot submit without groaning,—deplore, without protesting,—nor prove, without vengeance.

To do justice, however, to the sagacity of the people, this welcome news was suspected by many; but the desire of peace prevailed, and the precious news was received without inquiry. Although it is false to say that the people are blind in their impulses, it is true that their generous souls always yield to the necessity of believing what is good.

Let us now explain the facts upon which the numerous propagators of the interesting news relied.

Profiting by the agitation caused by the proceedings of the citizens

of the 4th legion, the honourable M. Vavin mounted the tribunal, to interrogate the ministry upon the injurious distrust it had evinced towards the National Guard, by neglecting to convoke it for the suppression of troubles at the outset, and by not having afterwards effectively ratified its tardy convocation. The reply of the minister betrayed all the haughty disdain of his character :—

"I believe that it would be neither consistent, nor suitable to public interest, to enter at this moment into any debate concerning the questions proposed by the honourable voter. The King has just called M. le Comte Molé"—(prolonged cries of "bravo" on the left and in the tribunals)—"This interruption will cause no alteration in what I have to say: the King has just called M. le Comte Molé to form a new cabinet. As long as the existing cabinet is charged with the administration, it will maintain or re-establish public order, and enforce the laws according to its conscience."

It is evident that there was a wide distance between this language and a formal resignation. Every one knew that the composition of the Chamber was at variance with the organisation of a ministry of which M. Molé was to be the head. But the liberalism of the opposition blindly received the apparent satisfaction which this insignificant triumph offered. We have already observed, that motives of another nature influenced the credulity of the people, and thus this hypocritical incident transformed in a moment the appearance of the day.

We shall not attempt to describe the aspect of the evening from this moment. Suffice it to say, that no festival day had ever thronged the streets with so many elegant and well-dressed spectators. The present generation had never witnessed a more brilliant spectacle than that of the spontaneous illumination, which seemed destined to prolong the light of heaven, to celebrate the happiness of such a day.

Nothing appears more wonderful than the joyous attitudes of the crowd after the tumultuous emotions of the day; nothing more remarkable, more grand, than the aspect of this people moving about by thousands on the pavement of the Boulevards, forgetful of their battles after victory,—that people, who, dressed in the noble livery

of labour, or the touching rags of misery, have but one word of order, "la reforme;" one sole sentiment, "la liberté."

Ten o'clock.—One of those popular columns, specially composed of the workmen of the faubourgs, arrived at the boulevard de l'Opéra. They were distinguished by an appearance of discipline and order in their movements. They were preceded by six or eight young workmen, bearing torches and tri-coloured flags. A single officer of the citizen legions, in costume, marched in their rear, sword in hand. He directed them; and every word he uttered they observed with respect. Behind him was a rank of the National Guards, mingled with men carrying unloaded guns, or useless blades, followed by a large file of citizens, artisans, children of the people,—all confounded in the same sentiment of concord, patriotism, and liberty. All joined in chorus in our great popular hymns.

When they reached the top of rue Lepelletier, they halted, by the command of their officer, before a house, the front of which was illuminated with brilliant transparencies. This was the office of the *National*, a journal which is the ardent defender of democracy. They immediately struck up the Marseillaise under the windows. M. Marrast appeared, and addressed the people from the balcony. Then the singing recommenced, mingled with reiterated shouts of "Vive la Reforme!"

The report of this imposing manifestation spread rapidly. Two companies of grenadiers of the National Guard were seen to arrive at la place de la Bourse, for the purpose of preventing disorder, and of clearing the passage of rue Lepelletier. So far from offering the least resistance to these brave representatives of public order, the crowd made way for them, saluting them as they passed with friendly acclamations. In a moment the street was cleared, and the column, in the same order, and with perfect tranquillity, marched in the direction of rue de la Paix. At this point, they increased their number by the addition of another column, who were returning from an expedition against the minister Hébert, inventor of *la complicité morale*, whom they had just obliged to illuminate his hôtel, as if to celebrate his own fall.

Strengthened by this reinforcement, the powerful column con-

tinued to descend the boulevard, with a view merely of elevating their voices a little when they reached the Hôtel of Foreign Affairs, the residence of M. Guizot. But they had scarcely reached the boulevard des Capucines, when they encountered an impenetrable barrier of armed soldiers. These were two companies of the 64th *de ligne*, arranged in battle array the whole breadth of the boulevard. The column, nevertheless, continued its route, until the first rank came in contact with the front of the infantry. The officer who directed them then commanded them to halt, while he advanced towards the commander of the soldiers to obtain a passage, promising at the same time the maintenance of good order, and answering for the pacific intentions of his followers. The commander refused. The citizen officer repeated his petition. The crowd drew near to listen, and to join their entreaties to that of their officer. The commander of the troop then ordered his soldiers to lower their bayonets,—a command which could not be obeyed without breaking their line of battle. A breach was thus made, into which some children maliciously tried to enter. The commander then considered his position lost, and his safety threatened; he retired behind the throng, and, without any previous warning, gave orders to fire.

Two hundred muskets were then fired upon this defense, inoffensive, and unarmed crowd. It was a frightful spectacle to see these thousands of citizens falling in confusion, overthrown by terror, grief, or death.

When the prolonged noise of this atrocious discharge had ceased, when the infernal work of this horrible butchery appeared to be finished, thousands rose as from the tomb, and fled with swiftness from that fate which had spared them for fresh blows. They would not have fled if they had been armed! Had they fled in the morning from the firing at the barricades? Numerous victims remained: some already stiff in the stern embrace of death, others uttering lamentable cries for pity and succour. Fifty-two were raised! the greater part deprived of life! It is impossible to describe the public stupor, the expressions of grief, rage, and despair, which succeeded this barbarous episode.

The unfortunate victims of this base assassination were imme-

diately conveyed away by their fellow-citizens, who survived to avenge them. The cart which contained them was lighted with torches, surrounded by their brave comrades, whose tears were stifled by indignation, and who exclaimed with fury, "Des armes! des armes!" while exhibiting the bleeding forms of those men, erewhile singing and gay, now inanimate and still warm with the fire of the balls; and the torches casting their light by turns upon the victims and their conductors, added to the tumultuous emotions which this funeral procession excited. The cavalcade traversed the whole city to convey to the most remote parts the testimony of the foulest of crimes. The incredible recital, like an electric shock, spread from street to street, and excited the just indignation of the whole populace.

It was no longer Guizot alone, it was that cruel and perjured power which aimed at stifling the voice of that people of whom it was the offspring. "What we have made, we are free to unmake," was heard on all sides, and the night from the 23rd to the 24th of February, which commenced in peace, was employed in preparations for war; not the dilatory unarmed war of the preceding days, but real war—war to the death.

The National Guards passed the night in cleaning their arms, making powder, and preparing balls; trees fell under the stroke of the workmen; the pavements were torn up, carriages and coaches were overturned, and gigantic barricades were erected in all the populous quarters. But the people being without arms, provided themselves by pulling down the church gates, by sharpening iron, and preparing clubs. Partners of their vengeance, as well as of their misery, the women brought their humble pewter dishes to convert into balls. So far from wishing to detain their protectors, they stimulated them, promising to throw their furniture, and even the roofs of their houses upon the troops, in case they succeeded in destroying the barricades; they passed the remainder of the night in preparing liniments and bandages to dress the wounds which the people might receive.

## 24TH OF FEBRUARY.

### THE BATTLE.—THE ABDICATION.—THE DOWNFALL.

IN commencing the detail of this immortal day, our spirit is troubled at the thought of that rapid succession of events, of which one alone would be sufficient to employ the day of a whole nation.

The enraged people hailed with enthusiasm the dawn of this great day. Leaving the care of providing the necessary materials of war to their old men, women, and children, the avengers of liberty scattered themselves over the city.

The innumerable barricades, the result of the efforts of the night, were covered by degrees with citizens, combatants, heroes. Let that impious power which directs its battalions against us come, and where it will, we shall be found in readiness to meet it. The struggle is between slavery and the freedom of our country. Death has no terrors for us at this price. Guided by such sentiments, the human soul arrives rapidly at the sublime, and the deeds resulting from its flight are no longer earthly.

In the quarter St. Martin, a battalion of la ligne, passing before the insurgent patriots, made ready to fire. A workman immediately went to the officer, and said,—"See, commander, our barricade is not finished, and we are not in a state of defence, but meet us again in an hour." The officer looked at him, smiled, and filed off his troop. He did not return.

In the rue Mauconseil, a barricade was attacked by a military detachment. From time to time, a young man appeared above the retrenchment, entirely uncovered, loaded his gun, took aim with the greatest coolness, and struck a soldier at each blow. The detachment fired upon him, but not a ball reached him. He repeated this manœuvre ten times. The officer in command at last ordered his soldiers not to fire. The young man then retired, and appeared no more. Let them talk of ancient chivalry!

A sentiment of a still more exalted character was elsewhere exhibited. At the taking of a station by the people, some men,

excited by combat, wished to take revenge on the unfortunate soldiers they had subdued. But the excitement of the conquerors soon gave place to sentiments of concord:—

"My brother has been killed!" said one, "I must have my revenge!" "Whom can you kill," replied another, "who is not your brother?" This sublime sentiment destroyed all idea of vengeance.

The general conflict on all sides, and the universal declaration of the National Guard for the cause of the people, inspired the government with anticipations of the most fatal result. As a climax to its anxiety, the report was spread of partial desertions among the troops. The eyes of royalty were at length opened to the perilous position of affairs.

M. Thiers was called to form an administration. M. Barrot and M. Malleville were proposed as his colleagues; it was hoped that by this coalition the stanchest members of the opposition would be satisfied, and that the menaced throne would be firmly defended. But this tardy concession only alarmed the servants of power, and rekindled the exaltation of the masses, by exposing all the fears and infirmity of government.

The interior of the Tuileries presented a disordered, sinister aspect. The officers, aides-de-camp, and servants of the palace, with countenances contracted by the violence of their efforts to conceal their anxiety; the councillors modifying their advice according to their dread of compromising their situation with the prince, or their responsibility towards the people; the courtiers watching with anxiety when the hand of fortune's dial should point to the hour of the downfall of that royalty still dearer to their interests than to their hearts; the numerous family of the throne increasing by its multiplicity the images of error, anxiety, and fear; all spoke strongly of the formidable position of affairs. Hours like this are sufficient to expiate crimes, and woe to that existence of which they only commence the chastisement.

M. Crémieux, a citizen with a soul as generous as it is ardent in the cause of liberty, presented himself before the king, inspired with a desire of stopping the flow of popular blood.

"You are lost, sire," said he, "unless you take the *last* measures which remain to you. Announce reform to France, give the presidency of the council to M. Barrot; name a popular officer, Lamoricière, for example, to the general command of the army in Paris."

"But, sir, do you not know that M. Thiers replaces M. Guizot?"

"Sire, yesterday M. Thiers would have sufficed; now it is too late!"

The king sent for Lamoricière, who declined accepting the command of the forces, alleging that he was not sufficiently acquainted with military tactics. He would willingly take the command of the National Guard. As he was a denizen of Paris, he anticipated an advantageous result in favour of order and peace.

Whilst these conferences were taking place for the maintenance of royal power, a violent scene occurred in another apartment between the Duc de Nemours and some officers, concerning the employment of extreme military measures to dispute the palm of victory with the people. The prince, infuriated, demanded the utmost rigour.

"The cannon must be fired upon this mob!"

Amiable opinion, in which the majority of the family coincided. Was there not a note from the Duc de Montpensier, found after the battle, among the papers of the minister of war, ordering the transport and establishment of seventy pieces of cannon in Paris!

And that woman, so often extolled as an angel of gentleness and charity, Marie Amélie, did she not publicly reproach her husband with the unskilful tardiness of his resistance?

The troops assembled at the Carrousel increased hourly. In order to rekindle their enthusiasm, and prevent their desertion, four successive reviews took place that morning, first, by General Bugeaud, then by the young princes on foot, by M. Lamoricière, and lastly, by the king himself, on horseback, accompanied by the state major-general and his whole household.

At this last parade loud acclamations were urged by a part of the troops. The cry of "Vive le Roi!" saluted the pale and anxious prince, but it was no longer a homage, it was an adieu to royalty.

Attempts were multiplied to induce the people to lay down their arms. The first of these took place on the Boulevards from the rue Montmartre to the first barricade of rue Saint Denis by MM. Odilon Barrot, Horace Vernet, Lamoricière, and an officer of state, major of the National Guard. MM. Odilon Barrot and Lamoricière, at first on foot, and then mounted on horses supplied by the National Guard, used all the eloquence in their power to calm the columns of insurgents, declaring that Louis Philippe had given carte blanche to the opposition to compose a popular ministry. Each time that these gentlemen stopped to harangue the people, they were interrupted by a certain number of citizens, who reminded the people (if they could have forgotten it) that the promises of Louis Philippe were not to be trusted. MM. Odilon Barrot and Lamoricière doubtless remember the incessant cry which pursued them: "Pas de trève——"*— "Citoyens, gardez-vous des endormeurs et des blag . . . . !"†

The second attempt was made at rue Richelieu, before the Théâtre Français by the same Lamoricière and a stout gentleman on horseback, a citizen with one eye, bearing a small branch of palm in his hand; this was said to be General Saint Yon, the old minister of war. They were accompanied by the same officer who had attended M. Odilon Barrot on the Boulevards. These gentlemen were stopped short, and sent back, without having produced any other effect than that of irritating the insurgents, who were preceded by a woman bearing a flag.

The third attempt took place at rue de Rohan by General Gourgand, and an officer d'ordonnance. The general informed the people that Louis Philippe had just abdicated in favour of the Count of Paris, and added that all strife was now unnecessary, and exhorted them all to return to their homes.

At the same moment a column of two hundred workmen and National Guards appeared on the Carrousel, and marched through two lines of cavalry, who left a passage free for them to l'Etat Major. The men who commanded it entered for the purpose of discussing the severe conditions of the people with the superior chiefs of the military force. Five minutes after, MM. Thiers and Dufaure,

* "No truce!" † "Citizens, beware of wheedlers and ——!"

accompanied by the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, were seen issuing from the Tuileries for the purpose of interfering in the capitulation; but they were too late. Dissatisfied with the propositions of l'etat major, the insurgents had not waited for the arrival of the deputation from the palace, and when M. Thiers and the princes reached the place of interview, they had already regained the theatre of strife.

A stunning noise of musketry, which was immediately heard without, announced that popular patience had henceforth given place to popular justice.

The last act of the great drama was indeed about to commence. A dense mass of citizens were collected on the pavement of the Palais-Royal, opposite the station Château d'Eu. When they learned the purely negative issue of the interviews at the Carrousel, the popular tumult was redoubled. Some shots were fired, as if to manifest the sanguine emotion of the people. The corps de garde replied to this discharge, and a brisk firing mutually took place. How many brave citizens fell whose admirable courage was worthy of a better fate? But the country will not now be ungrateful to their memory.

The National Guard was already actively fighting on behalf of the people. We only speak of those citizen-soldiers who had succeeded in obtaining powder and shot, two things which had been obstinately refused them.

For two hours the conflict had continued with all the zeal of a siege and an assault. Here were boys already bleeding, who seemed to invite fresh wounds; there the National Guards, who kept their post bravely, and fired without flinching from the shower of balls that rained upon them.

The station of the Palais-Royal had been invaded, and the soldiers nobly joined the people. Irreparable evils were the result of this long struggle; the greater part caused by the rashness of courage, and even by humanity.

Nothing was done against the soldiers of the station, who, from despair or obedience to merciless orders, kept up a well-sustained charge. At this time the royal carriages were brought to the place

of the Palais-Royal. An immense bonfire was soon kindled, and the people watching the flames seemed to perceive the last splendours of royalty evaporate in smoke.

Several brave men rushed to the side of the Café de la Régence, and, retrenched behind the royal vehicles, recommenced firing. They still constantly attacked the corps du garde, which they had several times considered to be evacuated. At length the National Guards scaled it by means of huge stones, and overturned carriages which they had conveyed behind the barricades. The first who was seen at the head of his company was the citizen Jouanne, captain of the 3rd legion.

Citizen Etienne Arago, gun in hand, rushed to his assistance, and helped him to descend into the lists. Captain Jouanne was soon followed by all his brave company, and they opened the way to the followers of Captain Lesseré, who soon received a glorious wound.

After the loss of some of their comrades, the station belonged to the champions of liberty.

While the insurrection thus redoubled its efforts in its advance towards the Tuileries, a touching scene was enacted on the place de la Concorde.

A dismal procession had just passed through the postern of Pont-Tournant. It was the funeral of royalty!

On foot, dressed in black, the princesses were seen each carrying their children in their arms.* Behind them an old man without any mark of royalty,† except his dejected countenance and drooping figure, those marks of fallen dynasty. The queen accompanied him dressed in black, and with her arm under his appeared to support him. Two ladies of honour followed, with a few other persons, among whom were the Honourable M. Crémieux and M. de Neuilly, the only officer of ordinance faithful to the end.

The procession stopped at the extremity of the quay. An ebb of

* Each of the princesses carried a bundle tied up in a muslin handkerchief; a few clothes, doubtless, the sole remains of so many treasures.

† At the moment of quitting the palace, Marie Amélie assisted Louis Philippe in changing the state uniform, in which he had just made his last review, for the dress of a citizen.

the crowd, which encumbered the place, disarranged the little troop which was proceeding in the direction of the Chamber of Deputies.

The king, pressed on all sides, abruptly quitted the arm of the queen, waved his hat, and muttered a few words; but the tumult and commotion increased. The horses of the soldiers reared, and thus added to the danger.

An officer of the 2nd Cuirassiers, thinking the royal personages in danger, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, spare the king!"

To which a stentorian voice replied,—

"Do you take us for assassins? Let him go." "Yes, yes; let him go, let him go!" became the general cry. The people had been too brave during the conflict to be ungenerous after victory.

The queen, however, seriously alarmed, seized the arm of Louis Philippe, and they retired to a little distance, where they found two little black carriages, each drawn by a single horse. There were two little children in the first,* Louis Philippe sat on the left, the queen on the right, the children stood up, looking out of the window with attentive curiosity. The coachman drove with speed, and the carriage was already surrounded and followed by all the cavalry present, the National Guards, Cuirassiers, and Dragoons, when the second carriage started with the princesses.† A lady of honour who could not find a place in the narrow vehicle jumped up behind.

The escort was numerous, they proceeded along the river side in the direction of St. Cloud.

Exalted by their victory at the Palais Royal, the people were eager to crown the triumphs of the day.

A cry is heard,—"Aux Tuileries! Marchons aux Tuileries!" and, notwithstanding the imposing forces which were stationed at that point,—in spite of the 3,000 infantry, the six pieces of cannon in battery, the two squadrons of dragoons, the Municipal Guards, who

* This carriage belonged to M. de Graves; the other belonged to a deputy.

† In the haste of departure, the Princess de Montpensier had been forgotten. Informed at the last moment, the young princess ran, laughing, and said that her own country had accustomed her to a similar exploit, and that twice already she had only been saved by hiding in a sack!

filled the court of the palace,—the people went through rue de Chartres to place du Carrousel.

To their astonishment, they found the gates already opened, and the place completely evacuated. A lieutenant of the 5th legion, Albert Roche, went straight to the Duc de Nemours, who was posted before the pavillon de l'Horloge with his generals, and said to him,—"Sir, six legions of the National Guards are about to sack the Tuileries; the citizens who are now attacking Chateau d'Eu are disposed to join them;—the conflict will be terrible; and the blood which flows will fall upon your head, for they are brothers who slaughter each other."

The duke knew by these words that all was over. He gave orders to withdraw the troops.

The artillery was then removed through the gate Pont Royale, while l'état major and the Duc de Nemours fled through the pavillon de l'Horloge, making their horses descend the staircase. The whole cavalry and infantry followed in disorder. A moment after, the people ran to take peaceable possession of the palace of departed royalty.

But all the interest of this solemn hour does not rest there. Some scenes of the drama are going on in the interior streets, where the remnant of the National Guards, entrenched in their barracks, and ignorant of what is passing elsewhere, oppose useless efforts against all that population which surrounds them. Another scene is enacted at the Palais Bourbon, around the tribunal, where the wreck of that parliamentary opposition is debating; who feel darkness descend upon them in proportion as the sun of great, of solemn liberty arises.

We should leave the picture of this memorable week incomplete, if we neglected to depict that sitting which is without parallel in the memory of our generation.

It is noon.

The President slowly takes the chair. All present are struck with the alarm visible in his features.

He looks to the right and left, as if he were expecting something extraordinary. A chair is brought, which is placed, with two other seats, at the foot of the tribunals. Several deputies enter, and take

their places. At the same time, M. Dupin rapidly mounts the steps of the tribunal.

M. Dupin.—" Gentlemen, the manifestations which have taken place in the capital for the last two days have caused the abdication of the king. He has declared, at the same time, that he delegates his power to S. A. R. M. the Count of Paris, under the regency of the Duchess of Orleans.—(Acclamations in the centre, murmurs at the extremity and in a part of the left.)

" These acclamations are not the only ones which this proclamation has produced. I demand that they be reported at the procès-verbal, with the act of abdication in favour of the Count of Paris." —(In the centre, Vive le Roi ! Vive le Roi !)

Scarcely had M. Dupin finished his speech, when a woman made her appearance, dressed in black, and accompanied by two children and some ladies: it was the Duchess of Orleans, with her sons; followed by a great number of the National Guards. A strong opposition was manifested on the left. The princess curtsied, and seated herself between her two sons. A great agitation appeared in the assembly.

M. Sanzet.—" After the proposition of M. Dupin, in consequence of the abdication of the king, and the unanimous acclamations which have followed his words——"

Eager and blustering protestations were heard on the left—" No, no; nothing is done. You can do nothing. The people are to decide: they are masters."

M. Marie appeared at the tribunal. The centre refused to hear him. M. de Lamartine spoke in the midst of uproar.

The President, whose voice was drowned in thundering vociferations, announced that the sitting was postponed.

In an instant, all the deputies quitted their benches, and rushed into the semicircle.

Some officers of the National Guards surrounded the princess, who seemed abandoned to the mercy of the crowd. On the right, an actual struggle took place between the National Guards and the deputies.

After having remained for an instant abandoned to all the move-

ments of this parliamentary tempest, the princess penetrated to the centre, and endeavoured to gain an outlet which appeared on that side. This, however, was closed, and she sat down with her children on the last upper-bench of the left centre.

The Duc de Nemours joined her with difficulty, and sat beside her. They were surrounded by National Guards.

The sitting was suspended in the midst of inexpressible tumults. Firing was heard without. At last the noise abated a little. "M. Marie has not quitted the tribunal," was heard on all sides. "Speak, speak!"

M. Marie.—"Gentlemen, in the present situation of Paris, it is important to constitute a government which may have authority over the Parisian population.—(Yes, yes!)

"Since this morning, events have become terribly complicated; and it is impossible to know to what extent disorder may be carried.—(That is true! that is true!)

"Under these circumstances, we propose proclaiming a regency. —(Yes, yes! in the centre; No, no! on the left.) Remember that you have restored an existing law.—(Yes, yes!) It is not now proposed to make a new law.—(No, no!) That is for the people. It is necessary to institute a Provisional Government.—(Yes, yes! Vive la Liberté.) When this government is established, it will consider what is necessary to be done. I have no doubt but that its authority will soon be recognised in Paris.—(Denials in the centre; approbation at the sides.) It is necessary to institute the government immediately.—(Yes, yes! on the left; increased tumult without.)

M. Crémieux.—"It is impossible for this state of things to continue, consistently with public interest.—(No! no! the Provisional Government.) The Provisional Government is all that is immediately necessary.—(Yes! yes!) In 1830 we were too hasty, and you see where we are in 1848.—(Applause.) We wish now to proceed regularly, legally. A Provisional Government will not only re-establish order, but it will secure the population; it will enlighten the people, confirm their rights, so well promised and so ill sustained in 1830.—(Applause.) The people are what they have always

been. I have conducted the royal family to the carriages which are to convey them to a distance.—(A pleasant journey to them! loud laughter.) Since we are about to undergo a new revolution, let us spare our sons the care of making another!"

M. de Genonde appeared at the tribunal. Silence was established with difficulty.

M. de Genonde.—"Gentlemen, I protest against a regency made without the consent of the nation. It is a usurpation of the people's rights. In France, a regency has never been proclaimed, except by the nation.—(Noise in the centre.) The Chamber can no more name a Provisional Government than a regency; here you can only recognise the rights of the people; for that, everybody is competent, and it is a duty which devolves upon each of you. If you do not do it, it rests with the people, who are now asserting the equality of political rights, to name a Provisional Government, whose duty will be to appeal to the nation.—(Clamours on all sides.)

"Do not, gentlemen, renew the error of 1830, when a government was named at the Hôtel de Ville without consulting France; for I declare to you, you would plunge that government in the same misfortunes which have overthrown those who have justly fallen, and you would devote to certain ruin those who are before you, and whom you pretend to serve."—(Violent clamours in the centre; increased tumult.)

M. Odilon Barrot.—"In the name of the political liberty of my country, of the necessity of order, of our unity and concord, under circumstances so difficult, I call upon my country to rally round her representatives of the revolution of July. The more greatness and generosity there is in restoring purity and innocence, the more my country will devote herself to it with courage. As for me, I shall be happy in consecrating my existence, all the faculties I possess, to the triumph of this cause, which is that of the true liberty of my country."—(Bravos in the centre.)

M. de la Rochejaquelin, demanded the word:—

M. Odilon Barrot.—"Is it pretended to debate the question we have settled by the revolution of July?—(Very good! very good!) Gentlemen, the circumstances, I grant, are difficult, but there are those sentiments of magnanimity, good sense, and generosity, that

I am persuaded that an appeal will be sufficient to rally the population of Paris round that standard.—(Yes, yes!—long interruption.)

"I give my voice for asserting the interests of the country and of true liberty, I could not enter into any other responsibility."

M. de la Rochejaquelin.—"Nobody respects or feels more profoundly than myself the grandeur of certain positions. This is not my first trial.

"In reply to the honourable M. Odilon Barrot, I wish to state that I have no intention of coming here to raise contradictory pretensions; but I think that M. Odilon Barrot has not served as he would have wished those interests for which he mounted this tribunal, in what he has advanced.—(Clamour.)

"Gentlemen, it is all very well for those who hitherto have always served kings now to speak of the country and the people. Nominated without the concurrence of the people, you are now nothing here."

These words, expressive of their real situation, raised an extraordinary tumult. The orator was called to order.

M. de la Rochejaquelin.—"When I said that you were nothing, I did not expect to raise a storm. I say, gentlemen, that you must convoke the nation, and then ——"

At this moment a crowd of armed men—National Guards, workmen, and students—arrived at the hall, and penetrated to the semicircle. Several carried flags. A general tumult ensued. The greater part of the members on the centre benches retreated to the upper ones. Cries of "We want the demolition of monarchy!" were reiterated by those who were at the head of the crowd.

The President declared the sitting suspended.

M. Chevallier, the old editor of *La Bibliothèque Historique*, and a stranger in the Chamber, then mounted the tribunal.—(Cries and general confusion.)

"Gentlemen," said this orator, "trust to the moderation of my words.—(Clamour; you have no right to speak.) I am about to propose the only expedient which can extricate you from your embarrassment. There is but one thing which remains to be done. Listen to me! Beware of proclaiming the Count of Paris; but I answer for the safety of the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of

Paris if they have courage to venture on the Boulevards, in the midst of the people and the National Guard."—(Cries of Vive la Republique! interrupted this harangue.)

The looks of all were directed towards the summit of the amphitheatre, where the duchess and her sons had been sitting. At the moment of the invasion of the hall by the multitude, the princess, the princes, and their attendants went out by the door opposite the tribunal.

They were followed by a part of the crowd. The princess was surrounded by the people. She was frightened, and uttered a cry; but a suppliant woman has nothing to fear in France. They made way for her. Her children were separated from her. Mingled in the stormy crowd, were they overthrown and stifled by the common press? A young workman had perceived the danger of these innocent victims. He opened an adjoining casement, and put the poor children in the garden of the presidency; then closing the window, he barricaded it with his body against the crowd who pressed against it, excited more by curiosity than violence.

The princess found her children, whom she had lost for a moment,—a fearful eternity for a mother!—and put in possession of her most precious riches, she sought a temporary asylum at the house of a lady in her service, intending afterwards to take refuge for the night at l'Hôtel des Invalides.

At the same time the Duke de Nemours was struggling, not against danger (that no longer existed), but against his own fear. Surrounded like his sister-in-law by people more tumultuous than angry, he lost all presence of mind, surrendered himself to the sheltering friends who still accompanied him; and allowed them to take off his regimentals, which they changed for the dress of a citizen to facilitate his flight.

The tumult and agitation within the chamber had now reached its height, the centre was empty, the deputies gone.

A citizen in military costume, M. Dumoulin, commander of the Hôtel de Ville, July 1830, mounted the tribunal, and placed the shaft of a tricoloured flag upon the marble.

"Gentlemen," exclaimed M. Dumoulin, "the people have this

day reconquered their liberty and independence, as they did in 1830. You know that the throne has just been broken at the Tuileries, and thrown out of the window——"

MM. Crémieux, Ledru Rollin, and De Lamartine appeared at the same time at the tribunal.

M. Ledru Rollin.—"In the name of the people, every where in arms, although masters of Paris—(Yes, yes!) I protest against the kind of government which has been proposed at this tribunal.—(Very good! very good! Bravos in the crowd.)—This is no new thing to me, for in 1842 I alone raised my voice in the discussion of the law of regency, and declared that it could not be done without an appeal to the country.—(That is true, very good!)

"They have just spoken of the glorious revolution of 1789. Let us take care that those who thus speak of it understand its true spirit, and above all respect its constitution.

"In 1791 it was declared in the text of the constitution, that the constituent assembly—mark it well—the constituent assembly with the special powers had no right to make a law of regency, and that an appeal to the country was necessary for that purpose.

"Gentlemen, for two days we have been fighting for the right. Well! if you resist, and if you pretend that a Government, by acclamation, can immediately replace a power which the anger of the people have destroyed, we will fight still in the name of the constitution of'91, which hovers over the country; which hovers over our history, and which declares that an appeal to the nation is necessary to name a regency.

"No regency is possible as they have tried to impose it, and that in a manner which I consider unprecedented and usurping.

"What! in a sudden manner, without any deliberation, to break the law which you yourselves have made, in spite of our efforts in 1842! You would not do it. It is an expedient which could not take root in the country.

"In the name of the right, which even in revolutions we ought to respect—for there is no strength save in the right—I protest on the part of the people against your new usurpation!—(Bravo, bravo! Vive Ledru Rollin!)

"I demand then a Provisional Government—(yes, yes!)—not nominated by the Chamber—(no, no!)—but by the people; a Provisional Government and an immediate appeal to a Convention, which regulates the rights of the people."—(Bravo, bravo!)

M. de Lamartine, who remained at the tribunal, advanced to speak. Several voices exclaimed,—"Vive Lamartine," with bursts of applause.

M. de Lamartine.—"Gentlemen, I feel as deeply as any among you the double sentiment which has agitated every heart in this place at beholding one of the most affecting spectacles which human annals can present, that of an illustrious princess with her innocent son leaving a deserted palace to cast herself into the midst of the representatives of the people.—(Very good, very good! Listen, listen! You have not been heard, say it again.)

"But, gentlemen, if I share that emotion, inspired by the greatest of earthly calamities, I have not less deeply felt respect for that glorious people who have struggled for three days to rectify the errors of a perfidious Government, and to re-establish upon a firm basis the empire of order and liberty.—(Applause.)

"But, gentlemen, I have no share in that delusion which has blinded this tribunal; I do not imagine that a spontaneous acclamation, the result of impulse and public feeling, can constitute a firm and solid claim, and a Government over thirty-five millions of men.

"I know that what one acclamation proclaims another may overturn, and that whatever Government it may suit the wisdom and interests of the country to adopt in the present crisis, it is urgent upon every class of the population—upon those who have shed their blood in this conflict—to cement a popular, solid, unmoveable Government!"

These noble and generous sentiments excited universal applause.

A man in the crowd, who was standing in the semicircle, put his sword into the scabbard, saying, "Bravo! bravo!"

M. de Lamartine.—"For the sake of public peace; for the sake of the blood which is shed; for the sake of the people, eager after the glorious consummation of the last three days,—I demand the establishment of a Provisional Government—(Bravo, bravo!)—a govern-

ment which conjectures nothing, either of our claims, our sympathies, or our sentiments, concerning the definitive government which it may please the country to adopt when it has been consulted.—(That will do! that will do!) I demand, then, a Provisional Government.—(Yes, yes! Let us prepare the list immediately.)

"The first important measure of this Provisional Government, in my opinion, ought to be the establishment of public peace among the citizens; secondly, to prepare forthwith necessary measures for the convocation of the entire body of the National Guard—(Yes, yes!)—the entire country,—all who as men bear the right of citizens."—(Prolonged applause.)

A violent clamour was now heard at the outlets of one of the public tribunals. Some of the populace, mingled with National Guards, thundered at the doors with the butt-end of their guns, which soon gave way under repeated blows. They entered, exclaiming, "Down with the Chamber! No deputies!" One of these men presented the barrel of his gun towards the tribunal. Loud cries resounded of, "Do not fire; M. de Lamartine is speaking." The man withdrew his weapon, upon the earnest entreaties of his comrades.

The President violently rung his bell, to obtain silence. The noise and tumult were tremendous.

M. Sanzet then quitted the chair, and broke up the sitting.

The assembly of deputies therefore ceased; but the people, armed with guns and sabres, remained in the hall, with the National Guards, and some of the deputies on the left.

After a tumult of several minutes, M. Dupont (de l'Eure) took the chair. He was surrounded by a great number of strangers.

M. de Lamartine still remained at the tribunal.

Numerous voices—"The names! the names of the members of the Provisional Government!"

M. de Lamartine attempted in vain to subdue the clamour.

A voice.—"Dupont de l'Eure! Dupont de l'Eure!"

Other voices.—"He is in the chair. Silence! Hear him! Yes, yes!"

M. de Lamartine, in the midst of noise—"I am going to read the names."

Numerous voices.—" Silence ! silence ! "

M. de Lamartine.—" Gentlemen, I am going to read the names.—(Continued noise.) MM. Arago, Carnot—" (Increased tumult.)

A member.—" Gentlemen, M. Dupont de l'Eure is presiding."

Numerous voices.—" The Provisional Government ? "

A member.—" M. Dupont de l'Eure is going to name the Provisional Government."—(Prolonged bravos on all the benches.)

M. Marion, deputy, to M. de Lamartine—" Do not leave the tribunal."

A voice.—" Listen to the nomination."

A man, armed with a gun.—" We only ask a moment's silence ; we only wish to hear the names of those who are to compose the Government."

Another.—" The safety of all depends on silence. I implore it for the sake of hearing M. Dupont de l'Eure."

A voice.—" M. Dupont de l'Eure, above all ! "

Another.—" Vive la republique ! "

Many persons pressed round M. de Lamartine, and entreated him to wait for the establishment of order to speak. One of them exclaimed, " Silence !—in the name of the people, let M. de Lamartine speak."

M. de Lamartine.—" A moment's silence, gentlemen."—(Silence was instantly restored.)

" Gentlemen, the proposition which has been made, which I am here to support, and which you have confirmed by your acclamations at this tribunal, is accomplished. A Provisional Government is about to be nominated.—(Bravo ! bravo ! Vive Lamartine !) Now, gentlemen—"

Numerous voices.—" Name them ! name them ! "

M. de Lamartine.—" They are going to be named."

Here M. de Lamartine, having waited some moments for the restoration of quiet, retired to the back of the tribunal. M. Dumoulin mounted the tribunal, and endeavoured to make himself heard ; but his words were drowned in continual uproar.

M. Dupont de l'Eure.—" It is proposed to form the Provisional Government.—(Yes, yes ! Silence !) Here are the names—(Silence !)

Arago, Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux—" (Noise and agitation.)

M. Lamartine.—" Silence, gentlemen! If you wish the members of the Provisional Government to accept the office you have confided to them, it is at least necessary to make the proclamation."

A voice.—" It must be understood, that the people will have no royalty. La republique!"

Several voices.—" Let us deliberate immediately."

A voice.—" Let us be seated."

Another.—" A moment's silence, or we shall settle nothing."

Another.—" We demand the proclamation of a republic."

M. Dupont (de l'Eure) proposed the following names, which were repeated aloud by reporters: " M. Lamartine—(Yes, yes!); M. Ledru Rollin—(Yes, yes!); M. Arago—(Yes, yes!); M. Dupont (de l'Eure) —(Yes, yes!)—"

A voice.—" M. Bureaux de Pusy!"

M. Bureaux de Pusy made a gesture of refusal.

M. Dupont (de l'Eure).—" M. Marie.—(Yes, yes!—No!)"

Some voices.—" Georges Lafayette.—(Yes!—No, no!)"

Numerous voices.—" La republique! La republique!"

A voice.—" The members of the Provisional Government must exclaim 'Vive la republique!' before being named and accepted."

A voice.—" I demand the deposition of all the absent deputies."

A voice among the people.—" The Provisional Government must be conducted to l'Hôtel de Ville. We wish for a wise moderate government, no blood: but we will have a republic."

M. Bocage.—" To l'Hôtel de Ville, Lamartine at the head!"

M. de Lamartine left the chamber, accompanied by a great number of citizens. After his departure, the tumult continued in that portion of the crowd who were scattered over the benches, in the semicircle, and in the passages.

M. Ledru Rollin.—" Citizens, you are aware that you are doing n important act in naming a Provisional Government."

Different voices.—" We will not have it—Yes! yes! It must be!"

M. Ledru Rollin.—" Under the existing circumstances, the

citizens ought to keep silence and pay attention to the men who wish to constitute their representatives. Listen therefore to me! We are about to transact serious business. A Provisional Government cannot be named in a frivolous manner. Will you permit me to read the names which appear proclaimed by the majority?—(Silence! Listen! listen!)

"As I read the names, call out Yes or No, according to your opinion.—(Very good! Listen!) And in order to act in an official manner, the reporters of the *Moniteur* will please to note down the names as I pronounce them, because we cannot present to France names which have not been approved by you.—(Speak! speak!)

"Dupont de l'Eure.—(Yes, yes!) Arago.—(Yes, yes!) Lamartine.—(Yes, yes!) Ledru Rollin.—(Yes, yes!) Garnier Pagés. (Yes, yes! No!) Marie.—(Yes, yes! No!) Crémieux.—(Yes, yes!)—"

A voice in the crowd.—"Crémieux, but not Garnier Pagés.—(Yes, yes! No.) He is good for nothing!"

Other voices.—"Silence, order!"

M. Ledru Rollin.—"Allow me to add a word, gentlemen,

"The Provisional Government which has just been named has most important duties to fulfil. They are obliged to break up the sitting to take necessary measures to stop the effusion of blood, in order that the rights of the people may be established."

Numerous shouts.—"A l'Hôtel de Ville!"

A pupil of l'Ecole Polytechnique.—"You see that some of the members of your Provisional Government are against a republic! We shall be deceived as we were in 1830."

Several voices.—"Vive la republique!"

Others.—"Vivent la republique et M. Ledru Rollin! A l'Hôtel de Ville! à l'Hôtel de Ville!"

M. Ledru Rollin retired, followed by several citizens.

The crowd began to diminish.

A youth, who appeared to be a student, endeavoured without success to make himself heard at the tribunal.

A citizen mounted the tribunal brandishing a weapon. They exclaimed, "Vive la republique! A l' Hôtel de Ville!"

A youth at the tribunal.—"No more civil list!"

Another.—"No more royalty!"

Attention was suddenly called to the great picture placed behind the president's chair, which represents Louis Philippe taking the oath for the charter, and cries of "it must be demolished," were immediately heard.

Some men who were mounted on the bench attempted to stab it with their sabres.

A workman, armed with a double barrelled gun, exclaimed, "I am going to fire at Louis Philippe!" At the same moment two shots were fired.

Another rushed immediately to the tribunal, saying:—

"Pay respect to public records! why should you destroy? why should you fire at these pictures? We have shown that the people are not to be ill-used, let us now show that they know how to honour their victory by respecting these monuments!"

These words, pronounced with energy and true eloquence, were received with applause.

They pressed round the brave workman, and asked his name. He called himself Thèodore Six, working upholsterer.

The hall was soon completely cleared.

The reign of monopoly and of ratified charters has ended with that of the perjured prince: the reign of the people begins.

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## AFTER THE VICTORY.

### THE EXILE.—L'HOTEL DE VILLE.—THE REPUBLIC.

Let us leave for a moment the chosen of the people, to enter on that path where they have just been placed by a legitimate popularity, and where they are to be supported by their ardent patriotism, and their lofty talent, while we observe for the last time that

fugitive royalty, now deprived of that power which has been restored to the people.

In the preceding chapter we left the dethroned sovereign on his way to St. Cloud.

Having arrived at this residence, he left the carriage and entered the château, followed by his escort.

Before proceeding to his private apartments, he called for writing materials. M. Montalivet, on the part of the king, then earnestly entreated the officers not to depart, but to wait to take leave of his highness. He added that in consequence of his hurried departure, his majesty had neglected to provide for the expenses of his journey. A collection was instantly made to the amount of two hundred francs, which M. Montalivet hastened to carry to the king, saying that his majesty would come to thank them in person. At the end of three quarters of an hour, however, M. Montalivet returned alone, saying:—

"Gentlemen, the king is gone. Let us return to Paris."

By this stratagem of the suspicious old man, several leagues were soon placed between him and those who might compromise his safety, by revealing his route.

On his arrival at Versailles, there being no post horses, those belonging to the cavalry were harnessed. The mayor and prefect hastened to the king and found him in a state of physical prostration which it is impossible to describe. He constantly repeated these words which revealed all his remorse:—

"Comme Charles dix! Comme Charles dix!"*

* Everybody has remarked the singular succession of coincidences offered by the parallel of the two last reigns. Charles X. yielded after a three days' struggle—like Louis Philippe; by the defection of his troops—like Louis Philippe; a Tuesday, a Wednesday, a Thursday—like Louis Philippe; a few weeks after the capture of the chief of l'Algerie—like Louis Philippe; at the age of seventy-four years and three months—like Louis Philippe; offering to the people his daughter-in-law, aged thirty, and his grandson, aged ten—like Louis Philippe; urging a regency, which is rejected—like Louis Philippe; using in one day all the ministerial combinations, but too late—like Louis Philippe; departing from Paris to St. Cloud, from St. Cloud to Trianon, taking *la route des etangs*—like Louis Philippe; separated by a tragical death from his son, the hope of his race—like Louis Philippe! He might well exclaim, "Comme Charles dix."

Having started afresh, the carriage rapidly reached Houdan; being refused post horses, he was obliged to proceed with his own as far as Dreux, where he alighted precisely at eleven o'clock.

In about an hour the Duke de Montpensier arrived, announcing the hopeless downfall of the whole family.

All were in consternation at the news.

The next day, Friday, the 25th, at nine o'clock in the morning, they all hastily quitted the town. In order to conceal their departure, the footman exchanged his livery for a riding coat.

The sous-préfet attended the carriage to the outskirts of the town, and seated himself beside the footman.

While changing horses at Saint André, some gens d'arme having asked who were in the carriage, the sous-préfet immediately descended, answered them in a whisper, and they immediately withdrew.

The ex-king had scarcely crossed the forest of Anet, when the workmen of a neighbouring paper-mill approached for the purpose of stopping him.

We forgot to state, that before quitting Dreux, Louis Philippe levied another contribution for the expenses of his journey.

Worthy prince! it would have cost him too much to have refrained from extorting from his old subjects.*

The country, doubtless, will soon know on what solitary rock the fugitive has rested his discrowned head, or rather France will soon forget that a prince exiled by her after seventeen years of power, can exist overwhelmed with remorse and bitter reminiscences. The present which opens upon her is grand enough to destroy the memory of the fatal past. The masses are already indifferent to the rumours of the forced emigration of the exiled family. We shall

* The people of France, generally indulgent to the crimes from which they have suffered most, have less mercy for the whims and vices of their enemies. The parsimonious spirit of the deposed prince will long be proverbial among us; and everybody in Paris has remarked the singular destiny of a man who fled with an empty purse—obliged to beg on his road, when he left at the Tuileries a treasure of nine millions, and riches equivalent to fifteen times that capital. It is true that he left the civil list thirty-four millions in debt!

therefore hasten to return to the facts which surround us, and which well deserve to fix our interest.

Let us now rejoin on the road to l'Hôtel de Ville the honourable proxies of the people, the seven deputies nominated by acclamation to found a Provisional Government.

The nearer they penetrated to the heart of the city, the more animated were the applauses and sympathies which greeted them on their passage. A crowd, at each step more numerous, surrounded them with cries of "Vive la Liberté." The further they advanced, the more the air seemed impregnated with patriotism; for these quarters had been the scene of the most intrepid bursts of popular warfare. Here the struggles of the citizen against arbitrary power and despotism had been more severe, the barricades more numerous and better defended, and the blood of the people had flowed in thicker drops for the freedom of the country.

And what enthusiasm hailed the arrival of the seven commissioners at the municipal palace! Their solemn entry into this sumptuous consular residence was the commencement of national sovereignty, the accession of the people to power.

Before being informed of their approach, and still ignorant of the transactions at the Palais Bourbon, some ardent citizens, devoting themselves spontaneously to the urgent necessities of public affairs, had already taken upon themselves the organization of a government. A Provisional Committee had been formed of MM. Arago, Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Lamennais, Flocon, Marrast, Bastide Recurt, and Albert, a workman of the people. This was an almost exclusive union of the most intrepid champions of the democratic press. The right of regulating the popular triumph seemed naturally to belong to those who had so long prepared it. A proclamation of this committee had already been printed and circulated through the town; but when, upon being informed of the transactions of the Chamber, they saw those arrive who had just exchanged their writ of overturned monopoly for one of popular election, no one could think of disputing with them the honour of proclaiming the cessation of strife, and the glory of administering the victory.

Immediately entering into a deliberation, the duration of which

was to exceed the limits of the day, they commenced by adding a certain number of the citizens who had preceded them in the provisional exercise of the Government.

The names of the citizens Louis Blanc, Marrast, Flocon, and Albert were inscribed on the list formed by the people in the seat of Parliament, and public applause ratified the well-inspired choice.

The Provisional Government then took into consideration that which was most important—the distribution of the ministry.

M. Dupont de l'Eure was named President of the Council.
M. Lamartine, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice.
M. Ledru-Rollin, the Interior.
M. Michel Goudchaux, Finance.
M. François Arago, Marine.
M. le General Bedeau, War.
M. Carnot, Public Instruction.
M. Bethmont, Commerce.
M. Marie, Public Works.
M. Cavaignac, Governor of l'Algérie.
M. Garnier Pagés, Maire de Paris.
MM. Guinard et Recurt, adjoints au Maire.
M. Flotard, Secretary-General.

The people hailed with enthusiasm this talented assessment of public services.

Other nominations followed, furnishing additional satisfaction to the citizens, who were anxious for the re-establishment of peace and order, while they insured powerful warrants for the conquest of liberty. The municipal administration of the different arrondissements of Paris was entrusted to MM. Perrée, Pagnerre, Soyer, and Buchez. M. de Courtais received the command of the National Guards, M. le general Bedeau was placed at the head of the 1st division, M. Et. Arago was charged with the direction of the post-office. MM. A. Portalis and Corne were nominated attorneys-general at La Cour d'Appel de Paris, while M. Emm. Arago departed for Lyons, M. Sarrut for Blois, MM. Delécluse and Thouret for Lille,

M. Trélat for Clermont-Ferrand, MM. Aumont and Marie for Caen, &c. as commissioners of the Provisional Government.

At the same time, all those phalanxes of magistracy—Salveton, Didelot, Nouguier, Boncly, Peyramont—were overturned, decimated, erased from the official annals.

M. Dupin himself, the crafty companion of the deposed prince, the spy of the conquered dynasty, soon saw himself despoiled of his title of Attorney-general, in spite of his eagerness to obliterate the memory of his last words for the regency, by being among the first to proclaim the happy accession of the new revolutionary power.

If great examples of justice were accomplished, great injustice was at the same time repaired. M. Ad. Marrast, the persecuted avocat-journaliste, was nominated Attorney-general of a southern cour-d'appel. M. Caussidière was designed for the central direction of police. M. Auguste Luchet, the proscribed writer, was named Governor-general of the Château de Fontainebleau. M. Barbés, the condemned of Luxembourg, was called to return to that palace which had witnessed his unjust misfortune.

The Provisional Government was also ardently occupied with all the measures most useful to the confirmation of peace, the protection of property, and the re-establishment of tranquillity.

The most important act was the proclamation of the republic, under condition of the national ratification, to the first assemblies of a neighbouring convention. This important determination was received with eager bursts of enthusiasm, on la place de Grève, in the midst of the entire population of Paris.

At the moment when the proclamation which announced it was publicly read at l'Hôtel de Ville, a citizen, who had heard all from one of the windows of the palace, delirious with joy at the consummation of that which his heart had long anticipated, suddenly precipitated himself upon la Grève, exclaiming,—"Now I have lived long enough."

The Provisional Government then took the following resolutions:—

"Adoption of three colours, arranged as they were during the republic,—the flag bearing these words: 'Republique Française.'

"Preservation of Coq Gaulois.

"Justice henceforth administered in the name of the sovereign people.

"The Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

"The Chamber of Peers forbidden to assemble.

"Promise of convocation of a National Assembly, as soon as the Government shall have taken measures of order and police, necessary for the vote of all the citizens.

"The existence of the workman warranted by work.

"The unity of the army and of the people declared.

"Twenty-four battalions of the moveable National Guard immediately recruited in Paris.

"Arrest and punishment of all deserters.

"Immediate liberation of political prisoners.

"Arraignment of the late ministers, M. Guizot and his colleagues, by la cour-d'appel de Paris.

"Seizure of the fortresses of Vincennes and Mont-Valerien.

"The functionaries of civil, judicial, military, and administrative order absolved from their oath.

"The effects pledged at Mont de Piété, for any sum under ten francs, restored to the depositors.

"The million which falls due from the civil list, remitted to the wounded workmen.

"Nomination of a permanent Government, entitled,—'Commission of Government for labourers,' with an express and special mission to enquire into their condition."

All these determinations, existing testimonies of the zeal, the talent, and the patriotism of the Provisional Government, were received each day with marks of sympathy.

But whatever encouragement the honourable members of the Provisional Government might receive from the conscience of a glorious inauguration,—however great their courage and their talent,—whatever moral support they might meet with from the unanimous suffrages of their fellow-citizens, their task would be difficult, nay, impracticable, without the admirable concurrence which the excellent spirit of the whole people lent to their efforts for the public welfare.

In fact, we may safely assert, that no period in history has furnished a like example. As the violent storms of March, which overcast the sky and seem to spread desolation over the face of nature, are dispersed by the rays of the sun, leaving only traces of renewed verdure, and the rich promise of harvest; so this glorious revolution, instead of ravaging our political soil, has fertilized it. It is on the side of power only that we meet with that perfidy, violence, and baseness, which sully even holy and legitimate arms. On the other side, we see acts of generosity, devotion, and patriotism: all the impulses of the heart?

Are proofs wanting? We have many times celebrated the heroic intrepidity of the people—we are now about to exhibit proofs of their honesty and disinterestedness.

On the 24th, after the capture of the Tuileries, the people freely circulated through the palace, in the midst of all the riches accumulated by the most opulent family in the universe. Was their cupidity excited? No! but their vengeance was not yet satisfied.

A portion of their legitimate fury remaining, they devastated this sumptuous edifice to complete a too just chastisement. All that rich furniture—all the elegant accompaniments of the leisure of courts, even to the gilded throne, too long the seat of craftiness and perjury—all disappeared, crushed under the hands of the people, or consumed in the furnace kindled by their rage. But they did not profit by this liberty of destruction; their right of conquest was alone exercised, they left this regal palace empty-handed, to find in their poor dwellings, pain, misery, and famine.

Let us follow that officer of the 4th legion to that part of the chateau appropriated to the plate.

Fourteen dishes of massive silver are put into the hands of these brave citizens, and after a short interval, these riches of the perjured king are deposited at the mairie des Petits Péres. The ornaments of the royal family, composed of innumerable diamonds, were soon after disposed of in the same manner.

Shall we speak of some regretted exceptions? We willingly admit

them, as they serve only to lend a more brilliant lustre to the general rule.

In rue Jeannisson, at the corner of rue St. Honoré, an armed man was taken stealing a silver cup. All his brave comrades immediately said to him, "You are not on our side, we disown you; on your knees immediately, this is how we treat robbers!" And he fell pierced by five balls.

But one of the most admirable features of our glorious revolution is, that, having achieved the name of liberty, she has shown herself not only tolerant but reverential towards the persons and objects sacred to religious worship.

Among the thousand facts we might recite upon the subject, we will assign the first place to that which occurred in the 12th arrondissement, which was said to be animated with the most vivid sentiments of anarchy, and whose banquet, forbidden by Government, became the cause of the great events which took place.

A vicar of St. Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, charged by an inconsolable family to celebrate a service for their son, Charles Bande, a young student of St. Louis, who was mortally wounded in the defence of a barricade, went in the morning to the station of la mairie to request a detachment to honour the funeral of an heroic child who had died for his country.

The whole station immediately rose to salute the priest, offering, for want of the civic guard, sixty armed artisans.

When the hour of the funeral arrived, sixty workmen, with a serious deportment, presented themselves at the church, where places had been reserved for them in the choir. They preserved during the ceremony the respectful attitude with which they entered; then the vicar, preceded by the cross, placed himself at their head to conduct the body to the cemetery. A mourning coach followed; these good artizans having perceived it, entreated the priest to enter it. "No, my friends," he said, "you are on foot, I will go like you."

"Oh! we are accustomed to fatigue, but you have need of your legs to visit the sick and afflicted."

Then they opened the door, and half by violence, half by persuasion, they made the priest get in, among repeated shouts of "Vive 'Eglise!"

We only add one example: it is a fact which was related to us by the woman herself. Braving by devotion the agitation of the tumult, she was on the point of entering the church Saint Sulpice, when some armed men found her by chance at the principal gate of the temple.

"Enter, enter, my good lady," they exclaimed, "and pray for France!"

Yes, all these noble sentiments animate the people of France. In their hearts great virtues are the produce of great events. Ripe for liberty, they can suit their sentiments as well as their courage to social necessity.

They fought yesterday to overthrow an enemy to public liberty; to-day, for the love of that liberty incompatible with the disorder of the State, they lay down their arms, and resume without murmuring their laborious existence.

What can be more surprising from the evening of the 24th, the echoes of which will long agitate the most distant parts of the world, all Paris was calm.

The citizens, watchful for the public safety, occupied all the stations; passed the night at the foot of all the barricades, the lower sides of which had been levelled, to admit of a free circulation.

Who goes there? responded peaceably from street to street, from causeway to causeway.

These sentinels *en blouse*, standing in a firm and collected attitude, offered one of those spectacles never to be forgotten, and gave a magnificent assurance of what this great nation is capable.

The Tuileries and the Palais-Royal were occupied by the people, organized as National Guards. Upon the terasse des Feuillants, from the palace to place de la Concorde, fifty paces asunder, the bayonets of the sentinels were seen to glitter.

In all the places where the lamps had been broken, the citizens

repaired the inconvenience of obscurity by an illumination, to facilitate the action of public watchfulness.

It was necessary to give an hour to resentment.

That hour neither left regret nor shame in the minds of the people.

No culpable act was committed. Theft, a very rare occurrence, was punished on the spot with a terrible chastisement.

The people were inexorable.

A malefactor, taken in the act of theft by a student of l'Ecole Polytechnique, whom he attempted to stab with a knife, was instantly shot at the foot of a post.

The fears which were excited concerning some of the royal residences have been now dispelled. Le parc de Monceaux, where a breach had been effected, and where some trees had at first been demolished, has nothing more to fear. Some combatants who were going to set it on fire, immediately retired upon the simple observation, that "l'Hôpital Beaujou was adjoining the parc, and would run a risk of taking fire."

Now this simple inscription, "Propriété Nationale," placed upon all the palaces and all the properties of the crown, constitutes a sufficient safeguard.

The Tuileries received a new destination. This palace will be that of the soldiers of toil; of all those who retire disabled, or worn from the manufactures, the mines, or the workshops. This vote of the Provisional Government will be submitted to the ratification of the country.

Such is Paris at this moment, six days after a revolution which in three hours has changed the social and political aspect of the country.

Admirable spectacle, which raises our pride of the sons of France.

History and poetry will draw from the subject the noblest inspirations, the grandest lessons. The first meditates and waits in silence; but the second has no need of waiting. The heart prompts. To work, then, poets, painters, musicians, artists of all kinds—celebrate the triumph of liberty accomplished by the people.

The Government encourages this kindling spirit, let us rally round it. Let us think of that reply of Lamartine to those citizens who asked,—

"What are you doing?"

"We are moving the world!" And let us remain united and calm while the world moves.

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