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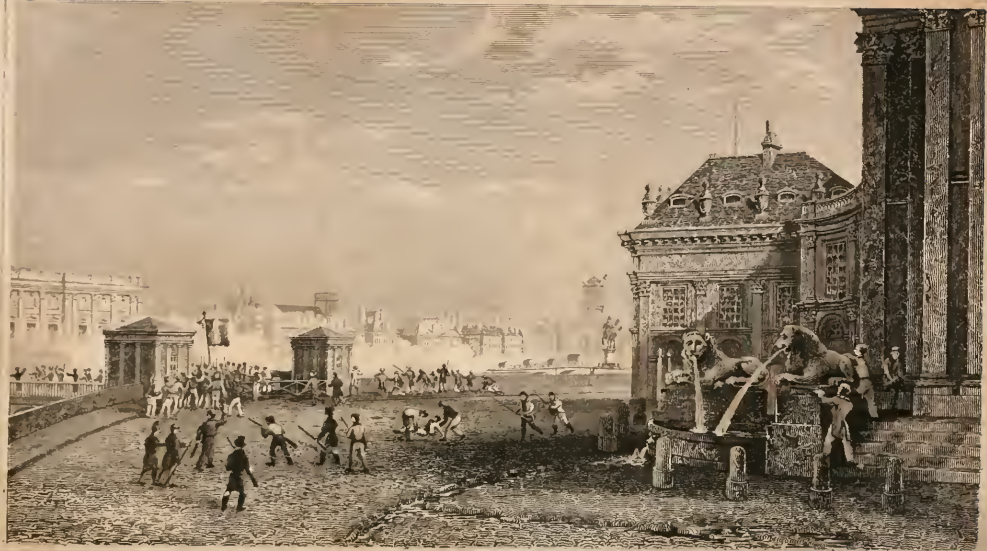
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PARIS,

AND

ITS HISTORICAL SCENES.

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IN TWO VOLUMES:

VOLUME II.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

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PARIS;  
AND ITS HISTORICAL SCENES.

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THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

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CHAPTER I.

OF the Historical Scenes of which Paris has been the theatre, none are so extraordinary, or calculated to awaken so deep an interest, as those by which that city has been illustrated in our own day. The last week of July, 1830—deservedly styled *La grande Semaine*—may probably vie, for the magnitude of the movements which formed its rapid drama, with any period of the same brevity in the annals of the modern world. For within this little space we have not only the mighty result of a throne overturned, and a nation revolutionized, but the beginning of that Revolution, as well as its consummation,—not merely the crash of the downfall following the last of many successive shocks (an incident sufficient of itself to make a memorable epoch), but the whole process of the assault as well as the catastrophe of the overthrow. The first morning of this week found that royalty with its splendour unshorn, which it was to behold, ere its close, trampled under the feet of the multitude; and that land undisturbed by any stir or sound of disobedience, which in a few hours was to ring with the tumult of a fierce and fast-spreading rebellion,

and, in a few more, with the shouts of the triumphant insurgents. It was truly, as we have just called it, a drama,—in the unity of time itself, as well as in those of place and action, perfect almost to the Aristotelian rule. The charter of the national liberties torn in pieces by the monarch—the gathering of the popular wrath—its bursting forth in tempest—the disappearance of the throne, and him who sat upon it, and the armed legions that guarded it, before that desolating blast—and, finally, the return of peace and order, amid the rejoicings of the people over their great and righteous victory;—here is a procession of magnificent events, such as has scarcely been crowded into the same brief space, even in the busiest fiction of the stage. Real history certainly affords scarcely such another example of the impetuous rush of political changes.

Before we proceed to lay before our readers the details of the short but sharp struggle by which this remarkable Revolution was accomplished, it will be convenient that we present a succinct account of the course of circumstances which preceded and led to the crisis we are about to describe.

The examples of England and of France seem to authorize us in receiving it almost as a proverb in politics, that Freedom and a Restoration cannot live together. All the natural feelings both of the sovereign and of the nation tend to engender jealousies adverse to their cordial union. Allow even that the real intentions of both parties are fair and moderate, their suspicions of each other must of necessity alienate and divide them. On both sides there is the haunting memory of what once was, continually holding up the picture of what may again be. The monarch sees in his people the same power, exhausted, or asleep, or in some way or other tran-



quillized, perhaps, for the moment, but in no respect essentially weakened or disarmed, which formerly rose against him or his race, triumphed over them, trampled on all their pretensions, and cast them forth to what was bitterly pronounced, and at the time not less firmly intended, to be an exile from which there should be no return. Is he to suppose that, having accomplished his return, in the face of this unforgotten, perhaps unabrogated edict of eternal exclusion, and after that victory which taught his subjects their strength, he will find all disaffection and hostility changed into loyalty and submission, all desire for the vindication of popular rights extinguished, all pride of national honour dead of the wound which the Restoration has inflicted?—The people, on the other hand, behold in him, if not the re-animated shape of the very tyranny which they had slain, at least the natural heir of its appetites and its claims, whose ambition and instinct must tend to bring back as speedily as possible the whole of that old system of which so much has already been re-established. They watch, therefore, and fear each other; no spirit of mutual attachment or confidence can grow up between them; on the contrary the feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness increases every day; every act and expression on the part of the one is construed in the worst sense by the other; till at last both probably begin to entertain in earnest the designs which had been imputed to them, and to look upon themselves as justified by the right of self-defence in treating each other as enemies with whom no terms are to be kept. Then commences again the old struggle—in all likelihood to end as it did before; and a separation, which this time is for ever, takes place between the ill-matched pair, who had ventured upon the unnatural experiment of renewing their union after having once been divorced.

The Restoration of the Bourbons was attended with circumstances peculiarly unfavourable to the success of the experiment. Of these the first was the means to which the returned monarch was indebted for the recovery of his kingdom,—the invasion of foreigners which carved out for him his road back to Paris. It was not the faithful portion of his subjects who after a long contest had eventually beaten down the rebels; this might have mortified the vanity of the defeated faction, but would have left no rankling wound in the heart of the nation. If he had even come at the head of those conquering armies, it would not have been so cruel a humiliation; the throne would at least have seemed to be more worthily occupied by one who had fought his way to it with his own good sword. But to come dragged as it were in their train was to appear as their mere protégé, their creature, their puppet, and to revolt not only all national but almost all noble feeling whatever. In the universal surprise and perturbation of the moment, but little of the feeling thus excited might show itself; and even many might manifest a reasonable thankfulness that the protracted and exhausting crisis of the Revolution appeared to be past, and that the arrangement which the course of events had brought about, if not a very glorious one, promised at least a season of repose to their wearied country. But the natural emotions which all repressed at first would not for that be the less ready to rise again, if an occasion should occur to call them up. They were obviously of a nature to live long, as well as to be very easily re-awakened; and, if they should be called into activity, to spread their contagion over the community with rapid and extensive diffusion.

The second unfortunate circumstance attending the restoration of the Bourbons lay in the form which was given to the treaty or settlement entered

into between the monarch and the people. The Charter subscribed by Louis XVIII., as is well known, did not take the shape of a compact, but bore, as its name imports, to be merely a grant proceeding from his Majesty's independent will and pleasure. It was doubtless deemed at the time, by the authors of the instrument, that they had in this way devised a very happy expedient for reconciling the rights of the crown with the liberties of the subject. But what rights, or supposed rights of the crown did they in fact preserve by this insulting and irritating formula? Only those which the whole substance of the document went to take, or to give, away, and to abolish for ever. If Louis XVIII. was an absolute king when he wrote the Charter, he had stripped himself and his successors in all time coming of that character as soon as he had sworn it. The vaunting preamble therefore recorded at most merely an historical fact—which, if a fact it was, must have stood sufficiently registered elsewhere, and needed not to be announced here. The expressions employed were not even of the nature of a protest, which always contemplates the exercise on some future occasion of the right, the present enforcement of which is relinquished. Here all power of ever resuming the right was abandoned, or the Charter had no meaning. On the other hand the insertion of the obnoxious words was calculated to produce any effect rather than that of establishing and rendering permanent the arrangement between the two parties. Indeed no nation could consider its freedom as placed on a sure foundation so long as the volume of its liberties was headed by this arrogant proclamation of the royal supremacy; and there can be no doubt that, even if the recent Revolution had not occurred, the rectification of the Charter would sooner or later have been demanded by

the popular voice, and made perhaps the occasion of a violent and perilous struggle before it was carried. "The defenders of the ministers," said M. Berenger, the Commissioner of the Chamber of Deputies, in his reply delivered before the Peers on the trial of Polignac and his colleagues, "the defenders of the Ministers remind us of the origin of the Charter. It was not, they tell us, a compact; it had its source in an antecedent and divine right; it was granted by the royal favour. Alas! Gentlemen, without suspecting it perhaps, they have in these few words explained to you the fundamental vice, the original cause, which in sixteen years after its introduction was to overturn a monarchy founded upon so feeble and doubtful a basis. Yes, it was one of the constant errors maintained by most of those who surrounded the throne, that the Charter of Louis XVIII. was not a contract, and consequently that the same power which had given it, could retract, modify, or suspend it; it was this error which rendered the nation distrustful of the government, and which made it constantly dread losing the securities which it had obtained\*."

But the third of the unfortunate circumstances attending the Bourbon Restoration operated much more disastrously upon the stability of the arrangements then made, than either or both of those which we have already mentioned. This was the attempt so soon after made by Bonaparte to regain the throne, —that one perhaps of all the great political enterprises on record, the mischiefs occasioned by which were accompanied with the least of counterbalancing good. Indeed we are not aware of anything but unmixed evil which flowed from it. To its great leader it produced nothing but a second and more terrible

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, iii. 207, edition published by Roret, Paris, 3 vols. 12mo.

discomfiture, and the loss of whatever his former fall had left to him. It cost Europe in general a large additional expenditure of blood and treasure, the effect of which was merely to restore affairs to the state in which they had stood at the time when they were thus rashly and uselessly disturbed. But France suffered the most from this unhappy expedition. Subjected to the humiliation of a second conquest, she obtained no better terms from her victors now than she had done before, but, on the contrary, had the boundaries which had at first been assigned to her curtailed, while the indemnity with the payment of which she was charged was of course largely augmented. Nor was this the whole amount of her loss even in honour. The conduct of many of her most distinguished public characters during those hundred days of Bonaparte's second rule—their adoption and desertion first of the one interest and then of the other as either rose and fell—their double oaths and double treasons—to say nothing of the versatility or utterly subdued spirit of the general population and of the army, which we are forced to infer from the brevity of the stand they made for a cause which they had embraced with so much seeming ardour—these recollections certainly do not throw the illustration of any superior moral splendour over this period of her history. But the worst effects of the shock inflicted upon her social system by this convulsion remain still to be stated.

The temper in which Bonaparte's second abdication, in July 1815, left France was, among the wealthier classes at least, one of general indignation against the disturber of the commencing tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom, and of fierce and determined hostility to his abettors. Hence the ultra-royalist house of Deputies of that year—the *chambre*

*introuvable* as it has been named—which would have sacrificed more victims to secure the stability of the reigning family, than even the crown or its ministers would accept—which filled France with confiscations and executions—whose monarchical zeal was so extravagant and headlong, that the democratic element of the constitution had nowhere to take refuge except in the Chamber of Peers—and which at last compelled the monarch himself to interfere, in order to secure the ascendancy of more moderate principles by an ordinance for its dissolution. This was in September 1816. The effect of the new elections was, as had been intended, to return a more moderate and manageable chamber; but the conduct of that by which it had been preceded had introduced such exasperation into public feeling that all men now were violently either royalists or liberals, and for the government to pursue a middle course was become almost impracticable. From this time forward, accordingly, we find the party of the *centre*, as it used to be called, left without any ground on which it could maintain its footing between the two opponents who pressed it on both sides.

From the second abdication of Napoleon to the Revolution of 1830, a constant struggle was going forward between these two extreme parties, which exhibited itself in measures sometimes of a slightly liberal, and sometimes of a violently aristocratic character, as either faction obtained a temporary ascendancy in the Cabinet. Under the administration of M. Decazes, in 1819, sixty new suffrages are boldly introduced into the Chamber of Peers to neutralise a hostile majority,—and a legal freedom of the press is established. Under the administration of the Duke de Richelieu, in 1820, the censorship of the press is again set up, and the law of elections is re-modelled upon aristocratic principles. From the

period of the fall of the administration of M. Decazes, the ascendancy of the royalists went on steadily increasing. Their principles were represented by the Cabinet from 1821 to 1828, when the force of public opinion again compelled the formation of a cabinet of somewhat liberal sentiments. Seven years had made an important change in the electors of France, —a change which verified to the letter one of the most remarkable political prophecies that was ever built upon unerring calculation. M. Dupin, an eminent writer on Statistics, had shown that through the gradual but efficient removal of the adherents to the old *régime* by death, the majority of electors in the year 1827 would be young men, attached to principles of improvement;—and that from that time the ascendancy of the ultra-royalists would be on the wane. From that time, therefore, the people obtained a *legal* superiority in the state;—they had previously the physical power, and the power of opinion, but they were now to possess the legal power, even by the law of elections passed under the administration of the Duke de Richelieu. During the previous seven years, those who had looked only to acts and not to opinions, had seen the monarchy, as they thought, destroying all tendency to political improvement; but the inherent vigour of the national desire for liberal institutions was gathering strength, even through the very exertions of power which seemed to crush it. All that was most popular and influential in the productions of the press both indicated and impelled (for such is the double office of literature) this direction of the public mind. The Bourbons naturally, perhaps it may be thought almost necessarily, placed themselves in opposition to a current of thought and sentiment which was so little favourable either to their pretensions or their hopes. Their business seemed to be to preserve

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things as much as possible in the state in which they were, if not to endeavour to bring them back to what they had been. Hence the contest in which they involved themselves from the very first with the spirit of the nation they came to govern. The mighty power of the press was their natural and irreconcilable enemy; for that was necessarily in union with this spirit, being in fact at once its representative and one of its chief supports. No wonder therefore at the disposition which they constantly evinced to shackle and enthrall so formidable an opponent. But the relief or security which they obtained in this way was even for the moment of small amount;—and it was evidently purchased at the cost of exciting against them a fearful addition of general dislike and indignation. The censorship itself did little more than make its authors and all concerned in its management ridiculous. The blank columns which the popular journals displayed, after having been subjected to the official scissors, spoke as impressively to the understandings and the hearts of their readers as the most eloquent articles could have done. And if the newspapers were silenced, there were many other channels by which popular writers could find their way to the minds of their countrymen. The songs of De Béranger carried the aspirations of patriotism on the wings of poetry and music over all ranks of the community—through every street and into every saloon of Paris. Courier printed his scourging satires clandestinely—and though they were extensively dispersed, the press from which they proceeded could never be discovered. When his friends asked him how he managed the matter, he would say, laughing, “I write two or three pages, and throw them into the street; and they are printed.”

Thus was liberalism nourished and diffused in



spite of everything that was done for its extinction or discouragement. To this temper of the nation the restored family and their partisans offered in their whole demeanour and proceedings little else save defiance and insult. Every trace and memorial of the Revolution—that is, of the history of the country for the preceding quarter of a century—were to be erased. The King dated his first proclamations in the nineteenth year of his reign, and styled himself the successor of his nephew, who had never reigned at all. The national flag was proscribed on the first entry of the restored monarch: in 1814 the Polytechnic School, the favourite institution of Bonaparte, was shut up, although it was some months afterwards re-established on a new foundation. The same year the Swiss mercenaries were brought back to guard the royal person. The old noblesse and others who had fled before the storm of the Revolution, and who now returned like a flock of hungry and screaming birds of prey, seemed to consider themselves entitled to seize not only upon their former domains, but upon the government of the kingdom itself. So long as Louis XVIII. retained the power of directing the government, his prudence kept this crew of political and religious fanatics somewhat in check; but during the latter years of this reign, when the management of affairs had fallen chiefly into the hands of the successor to the throne, the influence which they exerted was powerful and eminently disastrous. In 1823 the ascendancy of the fanatical party was sufficiently signalized by the memorable expedition to Spain, avowedly to restore Ferdinand VII. to the despotic power which he had been forced to abandon by his own people, and which expedition but too well succeeded. From the accession of the late King in September 1824 the work of the counter-revolution

may be said to have been perseveringly and uninter-  
ruptedly plied. The restoration of the church espe-  
cially to its ancient splendour and supremacy was  
now sought to be accomplished with greater zeal and  
pertinacity than ever, in the face of all the habits  
and feelings of the nation. The clergy, and above  
all the jesuits, were every where encouraged and  
supported by the civil power in their most pernicious  
pretensions. Even the course of justice was in  
various instances suffered to be impeded and stop-  
ped by their interference. The cases of the priests  
Contrefalto and Mingrat—both of whom, after con-  
viction of the most atrocious crimes, were sheltered  
from the vengeance of the law by the influence of  
their caste—excited in particular the strongest pub-  
lic indignation and outcry\*. Add to this that the  
superintendence of the entire educational system of  
the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy—one of  
their number, the Abbé Frayssinous, Bishop of  
Hermopolis, holding under Villèle the ministry of  
public instruction. Of the immense power thus  
entrusted to them, the ecclesiastical order are ac-  
cused of having made the most bigotted and tor-  
menting use; and there can be no doubt that they  
did not hesitate to show themselves unfriendly to any  
diffusion of knowledge among the people except  
upon the most exclusive principles; and in many  
instances exercised the most arbitrary power in sus-  
pending the regular course of popular instruction.

\* For an interesting account of the case of Mingrat—who, after having been clearly proved guilty of one of the most barbarous and horrible murders recorded in the annals of crime, fled to the Sardinian territory, from which all the prayers and remonstrances of the relations of his victim, although urged for years, could not prevail upon the government to claim him, although common deserters were constantly demanded by and given up to the French government—see the *Causes Criminelles celebres du XIX. Siècle*, tom. ii. pp. 291—390.

Still the tendency of the public mind to improvement was more strongly impelled instead of being repressed by these weak courses; the government grew more and more to be an object of universal contempt and hatred; and when at last the cabinet of Polignac thought to put an end to the contest in which they were sure to be *legally* beaten, by venturing upon the dangerous experiment of a real counter-revolution, the physical power of the nation rose up on every side, and swept that government away by one decisive blow.

It was on the 8th of August, 1829, that this monarch called to his counsels the men who were destined, before another year should have run, to precipitate him from his throne. On the following morning the *Moniteur* announced the dissolution of the administration of M. de Martignac and the substitution in its place of a new cabinet, at the head of which stood the names of Prince Julés de Polignac and the Count de Labourdonnaye,—the two men, perhaps, who of all others were regarded by the country as the most bigotted admirers of whatever the Revolution had abolished, and, by consequence, the most determined enemies of whatever was favourable to the popular liberties in the existing order of things. Polignac was nominated to the Presidency of the Council, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Labourdonnaye to the Home Office, or, what in France is called the Ministry of the Interior. The other members appointed to the new cabinet were M. de Courvoisier, Keeper of the Seals, and Minister of Justice; M. de Chabrol-Crousol, of Finance; M. de Montbel, of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction; M. de Bourmont, of War; and Admiral de Rigny, of Marine. De Rigny having declined to accept office, the portfolio intended for him was soon after given to M. d'Haussez.

Although these, however, were Polignac's original colleagues, few of them remained with him to the termination of his short period of power. In little more than three months it was deemed expedient, in order somewhat to mitigate the incessant clamour of hostility by which the anti-national cabinet had been assailed from the hour of its formation, that Labourdonnaye, one of its two most obnoxious members, should retire. By an ordinance of the 17th of November, accordingly, M. de Montbel was removed to the Ministry of the Interior; and the Count Guernon de Ranville was called in to fill his place. About six months afterwards, namely, on the 20th of May, 1830, the ministry was again remodelled by the resignation of Chabrol and Courvoisier, the transference of Montbel to the department of Finance, and the appointment of the Count de Peyronnet to the portfolio of the Interior, M. de Chantelauze to that of Justice, and the Baron Capelle to that of Public Works, a new place created on this occasion. This was the last reconstruction of an administration which it had been found so singularly difficult to maintain; and which, both on this account and from its alleged unsuitableness to the country and the age, it had become customary to characterize by the title of *Le Ministère Impossible*.

While such were the shiftings among the inferior members of Prince Polignac's cabinet,—he himself, in fact, after a space of little more than nine months, of all the individuals of whom it had been originally composed, alone retaining his original position—the following may be noted as the principal movements of the other parts of the political machine. A stormy session of the legislative bodies had just terminated, when the new premier was first called to power, and for some months it remained doubtful whether the Chambers were to be again assembled or

to be dissolved. At length, on the 7th of January, 1830, an ordinance appeared, convoking them for the 2d of March. They met, accordingly, on that day; and were not long in showing the minister to what a formidable degree they reflected the popular feeling. An address, hostile to the existing cabinet and its presumed policy—for, as yet, it had really been guilty of no overt act—being moved in the Chamber of Deputies, was carried by a majority of 221 against 181. On this, the King prorogued the houses to the 1st of September; and on the 17th of May issued an ordinance, declaring the Chamber of Deputies dissolved, and appointing the 23d of June and the 3d of July for the election of the members of a new chamber, to assemble on the 3d of August. The elections, having been postponed in certain departments, were not all finished till the 19th of July; but it had been sufficiently apparent, for some time before this, what would be the general bearing of the returns. When the list of the deputies was completed, it was found to contain above two hundred members of the majority by whom the address had been carried in the former chamber; while, by new accessions, the opposition was now augmented to above 280 in all. We may conclude our chronicle of dates by noticing, as one of the events not unconnected with our subject, that on the 9th of July news arrived in Paris of the success of the great expedition against Algiers, on which the government had bestowed so much cost, and which they had counted upon rendering so available in gathering around them the popular favour. The glories, however, of their conquest over barbarism in Africa failed in helping them to obtain a victory over civilization and freedom in France.

The reader is now, so far as is necessary for understanding what follows, in possession of the state

of things towards the end of July, 1830. All the preparations for a decisive struggle between the throne and the country had been made; the forces of the King and of the people stood, at it were, drawn up in array against each other;—the Ministry representing the former, the Chambers the latter. It is true that, in the natural course of constitutional government, there was in this position of circumstances nothing to occasion a convulsion in the state. The will of the people, expressed through their representatives, would have been irresistible; and would have borne down all opposition before it, as a river washes away the ordinary impediments that obstruct its current. But every thing in the condition of France gave reason to apprehend that the constitution would not be suffered thus easily to work itself free, by its native energies, from the weight that pressed upon it. The King and his ministers were not likely to retire quietly, as it became them to do, before the tide of the national sentiment; but rather to endeavour to maintain their position in despite of that force, by turning it aside or arresting it. This accordingly was the insane project which they actually attempted.

Their plan for this purpose appears to have been arranged about the middle of July, or as soon as it became clear what turn the elections had taken. Several of the ministers stated on their trial that the famous ordinances were prepared some time between the 10th and 15th of that month. M. de Peyronnet, in answer to a question put to him by the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, asserted that, to the best of his recollection, only two councils had been held for their discussion\*; and M. de Montbel, in a pamphlet which he has since published, informs us, that they

\* *Proces des Ex-Ministres*, vol. i. p. 144. We quote from the edition in 3 vols. 12mo. published by Roret, Paris, 1831.



were presented to the King in a council held on the 21st, together with the Report which was published along with them, explanatory of the grounds on which they were conceived to be justified\*. They were signed at the next council,—that, namely, held on Sunday the 25th, the day before their promulgation.

The council, although the members all eventually acquiesced in the opinion of the majority, was not in the first instance unanimous on the subject of these extraordinary measures. Who was the original deviser of the scheme must be left to conjecture; but it can hardly be doubted that the King himself, if he did not actually suggest it, was strenuous in urging its adoption. When Peyronnet was asked by the commission of the Chamber of Peers, whether or not reproaches, of a nature to work upon a false sentiment of honour, had not been addressed to those who hesitated to affix their signatures, he first endeavoured to evade the obvious import of the question by denying that *any one of the ministers*, either by word or in writing, attempted so to influence his colleagues; and then, when desired to say if any thing of the kind had come from a higher quarter than even the head of the administration, his cautious answer was merely that he could not admit such a supposition, much less reply to it †. We find De Ranville afterwards stating before the same commission that, although one discussion on the subject of the ordinances took place in the presence of Charles, they had been previously discussed at another council, from which he was absent ‡; but it does not follow from this, that his majesty might not have been a party to their first concoction. It appears that De Ranville and De Peyronnet at first opposed the plan, in the whole or in part, as

\* Protestation contre la Procédure devant les Pairs, p. 8; Paris, 1831.

† Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 172.

‡ Id. p. 190.

deeming it either unconstitutional or impolitic \*; but they were at last won over by the importunity of their colleagues, or perhaps of their royal master. M. de Montbel, also, in his pamphlet informs us that the proposed new election law did not quite satisfy his ideas, and that he at first gave it his opposition; but that latterly he deemed it his duty to yield to the majority of the council †. It was De Peyronnet who, according to his own confession, drew up the ordinance for the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies ‡. The 'Report to the King' is avowed by M. de Chantelauze to have been his production §. It was prepared subsequently to the adoption of the ordinances, being intended to serve merely as their defence and justification with the public.

It is now time that we should lay before the reader the substance of these extraordinary enactments. They were six in number. The first annihilated the liberty of the press, declaring that no journal or writing, periodical or semi-periodical, established or to be established, or any volume consisting of less than twenty sheets of letter-press, should thenceforth appear, either at Paris or in the departments, without the royal permission expressly granted both to the writers and to the printer. The authorization was to be renewed every three months, and might be revoked at pleasure. All works published in contravention of this decree were to be immediately seized; and the presses and types that had been employed in printing them placed in a public depôt, or rendered unserviceable. The second ordinance dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, although it had not yet met; or, in other words, annulled the recent elections. The third abrogated the existing law of election itself; reducing

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. pp. 138, 139. 145. 187. 190, 191.

† Protestation, p. 7.

‡ Procès, i. 136.

§ Id. p. 140.



the number of the members from 430 to 258, sweeping off three-fourths of the former constituency, abolishing the ballot, and, by a variety of other innovations, well nigh extinguishing in the representative system at once all popular influence and all the securities of freedom. The fourth ordinance appointed the 6th and 18th \* of September for the meeting of the two classes of Electoral Colleges, and convoked the Chamber, to be elected upon the new system, for the 28th of the same month. The remaining two ordinances nominated to the dignity of councillors of state a number of the most obnoxious adherents of the old Villèle administration; one and all of them being men whose only recommendation to this mark of royal favour seemed to be the large share they had secured to themselves of the hatred of their fellow-citizens.

It is impossible to conceive a more audacious or comprehensive attack upon the liberties of the nation than was thus announced. The press beaten to the ground—the representation torn up by the roots—the usual channels for the expression of opinion destroyed,—no power was any longer left in the country but the naked despotism of the throne. The authors of the project went as far as it was either possible or necessary for them to go in the first instance, supposing their object to have been to establish a purely arbitrary government. With the press silenced, and the legislature reduced to a mere instrument of taxation, any farther encroachment upon the rights of the subject was a task to be accomplished as soon as desired, without difficulty. And yet this demolition of the entire foundations of the constitution was professed to be effected under the authority of the Charter. Nothing, perhaps, in the whole affair better demonstrates the true

\* A misprint for the 13th, which was corrected in the *Moniteur* of the following day.

spirit of Prince Polignac's cabinet, or sets in a stronger light the incompetency of that individual and his associates to stand at the head of a free state, than this extraordinary misconception. It convicts them of the grossest ignorance of the very first principles of constitutional government, as well as of a want of all sympathy with popular rights. The Charter, in the thoughts of these men, was nothing more than a loan of certain privileges granted by the sovereign to his subjects during pleasure. However much some parts of the phraseology of that document might seem to countenance such an interpretation of its meaning, it was a singularly wild mistake to imagine that the nation would quietly submit to be stripped of its liberties upon any such pretence. So entirely blind, however, were the contrivers of these insane ordinances to the temper of the country over whose affairs they presided, and to what would inevitably be the effects of the experiment they were about to hazard, that, as we shall see immediately, they actually made no preparations whatever for meeting the opposition their measures were so certain to provoke, but sent forth their abrogation of the most fundamental and cherished of the national rights with apparently as little suspicion of thereby occasioning any inflammation in the public mind, as if they had been announcing only a levee or a review. They did not count even upon a riot, when risking a revolution.

M. Arago, the distinguished member of the Academy of Sciences, in his examination on the trial of Polignac and his colleagues, related one or two anecdotes which he had heard some time before the publication of the ordinances from his friend Marshal Marmont, curiously illustrative of the views that had been wont to occupy the mind of Charles. One evening, it seems, his majesty, after his usual game at cards, took occasion to remark to the persons

around him, that he did not think the events of his reign would occupy any very distinguished place in history. He quoted two circumstances of his life, however, which he conceived would be remarked by posterity: the one was, the resistance which he had offered in 1789 to the pretensions of the *tiers état*; the other was his nomination of the ministry of the 8th of August\*. These reflections on the comparatively few memorable events of his long career would appear to have roused in the monarch considerable impatience still to signalize himself in some way or other before he died. The expedition against Algiers, which was soon after fitted out, was perhaps in part the fruit of this ambition. But the opponent of the democracy of 1789, and the framer of the cabinet of the 8th of August, had already, it is probable, set his heart upon putting the final seal to his historic reputation by some crowning achievement more strictly in accordance with his previous exploits. Marmont told M. Arago that on another day, when the journals had been discussing the probability of some *coup d'état* being attempted, the King (or, as the Marshal chose to designate him on this occasion, an important personage) asked him what, in his opinion, would be the conduct of the army, in case of the employment of force against those who should, on any pretence, refuse to pay the taxes. Marmont's reply, according to his own account, was, that in the first instance the soldiers would obey; but that, in no long time after mixing with the peasantry, they would perceive that their own interests were the same with theirs, and their military principles would be corrupted,—*l'armée serait démoralisée*†. From the period of this conversation, it is added, the apprehensions of the Marshal that some violent course would be adopted by the court seemed to be extremely vivid.

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, ii. 181.

† Id. 182.

According to another witness, M. de Richebourg, rumours of an approaching *coup d'état* were current at the Exchange some days before the publication of the ordinances. They seem to have been principally occasioned by the extensive operations in the funds, with a view to a fall, of M. Ouvrard, the broker, who was understood to be in communication with Polignac. De Richebourg, however, on mentioning the matter to M. de Montbel, was assured by that minister that there was no truth in the suspicion to which it had given rise, and that in fact the premier had not so much as seen Ouvrard for more than two months. It used to be remarked, too, it seems, about this time, that those persons who were supposed to be connected with Peyronnet speculated for a rise, while those who were considered to be in the confidence of M. d'Haussez acted upon the opposite principle\*. This circumstance seems to have led most people to conclude that the reports which had got into circulation respecting the intentions of the ministry were unfounded.

A few individuals, however, it would appear, had obtained accurate intelligence of the measures which were in preparation, notwithstanding the profound secrecy in which their authors attempted to veil their proceedings. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, it has been said, being in Paris at the time, and having learned what was intended, went to Prince Polignac a few days before the ordinances appeared, and earnestly remonstrated with him on the subject†. We are not aware, however, that this story rests on any good authority. The Baron de Lamoignon Langon, also, in his work entitled '*Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris*,' assures us that he was himself made aware by

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 307, 308.

† Hone's Full Annals of the French Revolution of 1830, p. 7.

a friend of what was to take place\*. But the most distinct evidence we have of the ministerial project having transpired some time before its public announcement, is that given by M. Mauguin, the member of the Chamber of Deputies, on his examination before the Commission of the Peers. Having remained in Paris, M. Mauguin tells us, till the 19th, in order to give his vote at the election of members for that city, he was about to set off to the country on the same day, on account of the state of his health, having already ordered his horses, and intending not to return till some days after the opening of the Chambers. On mentioning the journey he meant to take, however, to his friend M. Vassal, that gentleman replied, that he ought not to leave town, inasmuch as a *coup d'état* was in preparation; "and then," continues M. Mauguin, "he stated to me the very plan which has since been unfolded by the ordinances, assuring me that he had his intelligence from a friend well acquainted with the course of affairs. This friend had named the 25th or 26th as the day fixed for the publication of the ordinances." "In spite of this advice," the honourable deputy goes on to say, "I persisted in my resolution of setting out: I returned to my house, and about half-past eleven, the horses being already put to the carriage, I was about to take my seat in it, when two persons, on whose information I could depend, called, and requested me not to leave town, assuring me of the perfect truth of the news I had heard respecting the intended *coup d'état*. The details which they gave me determined me to remain, and the horses were taken off †."

The apprehensions of the public in general, however, had rather become more tranquil during the two

\* Une Semaine, &c. p. 60, et seq.

† Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 270, 271.

or three days immediately preceding the publication of the ordinances. One circumstance which seemed to afford an assurance that the ministry really intended to meet the Chambers was that of the issue, as usual, of the letters of summons to the different members, which took place on Saturday the 24th. The forwarding of these letters—which was afterwards explained to have been a mere routine procedure of the subordinate offices of government, with which none of the members of the cabinet had anything to do\*—had the fortunate effect of bringing up to town a considerable number of deputies, whose presence was found extremely serviceable to the popular cause on the commencement of the resistance. By the time the insurrection had assumed a formidable appearance, most of the members of the Lower Chamber, thus invited, were either in the capital, or on their way towards it.

Such, then, was the state of things in Paris on Sunday the 25th. A few individuals had obtained certain information of the ministerial project; but among the great majority of the public, the suspicions that had recently been entertained of the adoption of violent or illegal courses by the government had nearly died away. It was believed that the ministers, notwithstanding their unpopularity, had made up their minds to face the Chambers, and to stake their official existence on the reception they should meet with there. Their policy, it was conceived, would probably be to endeavour to stand out the gale of public odium by refraining for a time from any measures of an aggressive character, in the belief that its strength would soon spend itself, and leave them free to pursue a bolder course. The assurances of the *Moniteur*, even so late as Saturday morning,

\* See Procès, i. 137, Examination of Meyronnet before Commission of Chamber of Deputies.

all tended to confirm the expectations that there would be no deviation from the ordinary course of parliamentary government.

The language of the official journal, however, was only a cover for the conspiracy that was hatching. On Sunday, as already mentioned, the fatal ordinances were signed by the King and his ministers. It was at the late hour of eleven o'clock that night that M. Sauvo, the principal editor of the *Moniteur*, and the person who had presided over that organ of the successive governments of France from its first appearance in the early days of the old Revolution, received from Chantelauze and Montbel, at the house of the former, the manuscript of the six royal edicts, and the Report, for insertion in his publication of the following morning. The order requiring his attendance had been sent to him at five in the afternoon. Chantelauze, having put the papers into his hand, merely desired him to give an acknowledgment of having received them. M. de Montbel, however, perceiving his agitation as he glanced over their contents, remarked to him that he seemed to be rather alarmed by what he had read. "I replied," says M. Sauvo, giving an account of the interview to the Commission of the Peers, "that it would have been extraordinary had I experienced less emotion than I did. To this M. de Montbel merely said '*Eh bien!*' I replied, 'Sir, I have but one word to say; God save the King! God save France!' M. de Montbel and M. de Chantelauze answered together, 'We hope he will.' As I retired, it appeared to me that they were desirous I should still add something to what I had already said; and I addressed them in these words; 'Gentlemen, I am fifty-seven years of age, I have witnessed all the days of the Revolution, and I withdraw with a deep appre-



hension of new troubles’\*.” The documents appear to have been put about the same time into the hands of M. de Villebois, the director of the royal printing-office, for insertion in the *Bulletin des Lois*†. Laurisset, the printer of the *Moniteur*, states that he received the manuscript from M. Sauvo about half-past twelve‡. These appear to have been the first persons to whom the ministers distinctly intimated their secret. The Viscount de Foucauld, one of the colonels of the gendarmerie, who was afterwards actively employed in the military operations which ensued, was at St. Cloud in the course of the same day, but heard nothing of the ordinances. In the evening also he visited M. de Peyronnet, who did not say a word to him on the subject§. Even Mangin, the Prefect of Police, would appear at this time to have received only a very vague hint of the extraordinary enactments over the execution of some of which he was in his official capacity to preside. According to his own account, he never heard of them until he saw them next day in the *Moniteur*||. M. de Peyronnet, however, asserts that, when the Prefect visited him at ten o’clock on Sunday night¶, although he did not give this officer a particular account of the contents of the ordinances, he let him understand the fact of their existence.

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 204.

† Montbel, Protestation, p. 9.

‡ Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 205. § Id. i. 334.

|| Id. ii. 138. ¶ Id. ii. 131.



## CHAPTER II.

BEFORE proceeding to detail the extraordinary events of which the French capital was now to become the theatre, it may not be amiss to submit to the reader a few remarks in illustration of what may be considered to have been the true grounds on which the people on this occasion arrayed themselves in arms against their government.

Some writers have attempted, rather however by mere assertion or insinuation than by formally arguing the question, to hold up this contest as an aggression on the part of the people, not justified by the circumstances of the case. It appears to us, we confess, that it would not be easy to imagine an occasion on which a nation would have a clearer right, or, we should rather say, would be placed under a stronger obligation, to rise and defend itself against its government by force of arms, than the right which was given, and the obligation so to act, which was imposed upon France, by the publication of the royal ordinances of the 25th of July. It is to be observed, indeed, with regard to this right of resistance, that, as is true of every other right, whether of nations or of individuals, the propriety of exercising it upon any particular occasion is to be determined by the consideration of the prudence of doing so. And most of all is this character of the attempt in a prudential point of view to be regarded as important in the case of any national movement; since here the interests that hang on the event are always so immense—the happiness which it may de-

stroy, or the misery which it may create, are diffused over so wide a field—that to adventure upon the momentous enterprize in the face of a manifest probability of failure, would be in reality to incur the guilt of a great crime. But, admitting thus fully both the expediency and the moral obligation of being guided in the assertion even of the most undoubted rights by a considerate reference to the chances of the issue, we would remark, on the other hand, that impatience or precipitancy is not the only culpable course into which in such a case a nation may fall. It may be at least as criminal in certain circumstances to shrink from resistance to an oppressive government, as it would be in other circumstances to plunge into a rash and hopeless insurrection. The result of the recent struggle in France has sufficiently proved that the leaders of the popular cause did not miscalculate their strength. They are exonerated therefore from the charge of having engaged recklessly or with insufficient means in an effort the failure of which, to say nothing of the blood of many citizens shed in vain, would have only inflicted a deeper wound than any they had yet received upon those national liberties which it was sought to defend and to avenge. Their victory has vindicated their prudence. This point therefore being settled, the question as to how far they were justified in acting as they did will remain to be determined simply upon the consideration of the *right* they had so to act.

If the government of a country be essentially despotic, nothing but considerations of prudence ought at any time to restrain the people for a moment from attempting its overthrow. Under an essentially despotic government civilization can never steadily advance—it must go backward. There may be seasons when the evils of tyranny may be mitigated by the

temper of the individual tyrant;—but the people, having no security, are called upon to deliver themselves from a power equally destructive to virtue and happiness. If a government be not essentially despotic—if its institutions are fundamentally free, however corrupt or defective,—the people are not called upon, and indeed are not justified, in seeking to cure those defects, by other remedies than must ultimately be found in the uncontrollable force of public opinion. This moral power may be suppressed or diverted, but it can never be destroyed. It gathers legal strength day by day—it presses on every side with increasing energy on those who fancy that perfectly free and secure institutions can be denied with safety—it ultimately forces those who resist the course of improvement into compliance with the prevailing spirit, or it compels their resistance to break out into some desperate curtailment of the public liberty, which places the government within the category of a despotism. It is in this great distinction between the legalized power of the governors and of the governed, in a country of generally free institutions, as compared with the mere brute power of the people and their rulers under a tyranny, that not only the stability but the main practical benefit of a free constitution consists. It is this, which in a state of things where opinions of all sorts have, or may have, the freest opportunities of expression, renders the chance of convulsion nevertheless much smaller than where the weight of a military despotism keeps all lips shut except those of its own friends and flatterers. The liberty which reigns in a free country stands and can only stand on this foundation. So inflammatory an element would otherwise be continually in danger of blowing up the whole fabric of the government. But it is felt, and not the less strongly by the mass who do

not reflect than by the few who do, that, let mere opinion vapour as it may, there is a certain point beyond which it would not be right to go in action ;— and this feeling generally diffused makes that toleration perfectly safe which would otherwise be fraught with the highest peril.

The people, therefore, however much dissatisfied at any time with particular acts of the government, are not to consider themselves as entitled to step beyond the line of action marked out for them by the law, so long as the government shall in like manner confine itself to the exercise of its legal rights. In this way is erected between the two parties a partition—imaginary indeed as the lines which geographers and astronomers speak of as drawn around the globe or on the convexity of the heavens—but found to be not less useful in preventing political confusion than those are in maintaining order and precision among the statements and speculations of science. On its own side of this wall of separation either party may carry the expression of its opposition to the other as far as it pleases ; so long as the dividing barricade is held sacred there can at least be no actual conflict—no resort to the *ultima ratio* of physical force—no such disorder as can really unsettle the framework of the constitution. A contest there is—and, it may be, a very obstinate and eager one ; but it is one waged by discussion, by persuasion, in extreme cases perhaps by appeals to men's passions and their fears, as well as to their reason, and by the energetic application of every form and expedient of law,—not by banded armies and opposing swords. Excitement and agitation there may be for a time, which will, so long as they last, disturb in some degree the ordinary movements of the social system ; but there is little of those horrors of bloodshed and confusion,

which, but for such a common understanding as we have supposed, could scarcely be averted in the case of any wide difference between the two parties, and from the consequences of which, if once introduced, generations might pass away before the country could entirely make its escape.

In this manner do affairs proceed while both parties keep, as we may express it, *within* the constitution. Whatever disputes arise are adjusted, as it were, by gradual pressure, instead of by a succession of shocks. The interest that must give way yields, instead of being wrenched from its position; and the effect produced is the relief and ease occasioned by the removal of a burthen, instead of the exhaustion and often long remaining pain left by the rude tearing off even of an excrescence or a deformity. But either party may choose to go out of the constitution. It is only the will to do so that is required. The lines of demarcation and enclosure, within which both have hitherto restrained their movements, are in themselves nothing more than fictions, which derive their whole existence and power of control from the voluntary assent and reverence of which they have been the objects. Remove these feelings, and what is the consequence? Both parties are now on new and open ground—emancipated from all the stipulations and customary observances that had heretofore shackled them, and left free to fight out their battle after any fashion they may incline to. They have come out from the entrenchments and other fortifications of the constitution; and nothing can longer detain them from rushing into the confusion of a general fray, and delivering themselves over to all the miseries and all the chances of war.

The French government, by the ordinances of July 1830, were themselves Revolutionists. They went out of the legal restraints of a limited monarchy into the illegal force of a positive des-

potism;—they brought down, therefore, upon their own heads the resistance which every nation is called upon to make to a power which acknowledges no authority but its own will. The ministers themselves may be regarded as admitting their abandonment of a constitutional ground, when they say, as we find them doing, that their only object in the adoption of those measures was to enable them to *re-enter* into the regular course of government prescribed by the Charter. A re-entry into any path implies that there has been a deviation from it. It is true that it has been attempted to maintain the legality of the ordinances by a certain interpretation of one of the clauses of the Charter; but it is sufficient to say, on this head, that, if the interpretation in question is to be deemed correct, the Charter was a mockery, the government a mere despotism, and the people entitled and bound by reason of its being so to take up arms for its overthrow. So that the case still remains, in so far as the justification of the insurrection is concerned, the same as ever. We may more fairly assume, however, that the Charter authorized no such exercise of the royal authority as was exhibited on this occasion. If so, the King and his ministers, in proceeding as they did, must be looked upon as having done neither more nor less than fairly challenged the people to meet them, for the settlement of the controversy they had been waging together, not within the arena and under the protecting forms of the constitution, but beyond its bounds—in other words on a field where physical force alone should decide the quarrel. If the people had not answered this defiance in the manner they did, they would have confessed and proclaimed themselves slaves. They might have been deterred, indeed, from answering it by a distrust in their own strength—or, not having distrusted their strength, they might still, when they came to put it to the test, have found it insufficient; but their

right at least to make the attempt is incontestable. They broke no engagement, they violated no law in doing so;—the law-breaker was the government against which they rose—for the case lay as entirely beyond the jurisdiction of law as if the battle which was to be fought had been one between the armies of two independent nations. The question was, therefore, not whether the French should be satisfied with the semi-freedom doled out to them at the Restoration, but whether they could endure the naked despotism of the Ordinances.

The case indeed was that of a grand national crisis, which made it necessary to act energetically on the instant, if the liberties of the country were to be saved from destruction. 'Now or never' was the language in which it spoke to whatever of patriotism and public virtue existed in France. The aggression on the part of the government was so insolent and altogether monstrous, that for the people to have tamely submitted to it would have shown a baseness of nature almost deserving of such treatment. They had no other course to follow but to fly to arms. Happily the issue, which might have been less fortunate, was the triumph of the righteous cause. But was the necessity, notwithstanding, other than a lamentable one which compelled the resort to this extreme remedy for the distemper of the state? They will not think so who have duly considered the perils to which the shock of a revolution by violence ever must expose the country in which it takes place. Even when the desired object is eventually most completely attained, the price at which it has been purchased is always a heavy drawback upon the benefit. It is no exaggeration to say that the most promising experiment of the kind is likely to cost at least the main part of the happiness and prosperity of a whole generation. Some may hastily conclude that a revolution is the speediest mode of



reforming abuses. Where there is hope of reform at all in any other way, we may truly say, do not try this way with that object. If you shall even have years to wait for the bringing about of the consummation you desire, through the gradual working of legitimate means, be assured that, looking to economy of time alone, it is wiser to abide its coming thus than to think of trying to snatch it from amidst the uproar of a national convulsion. Even things good in themselves, too, thus hastily and rapaciously obtained, are apt to lose a portion of the good naturally belonging to them, and to acquire a taint of evil from the hurry and irregularity that have presided over their introduction. Be it remembered that, the arbitration of force once resorted to, force for a time at least becomes the sole master of the state. Reason, eloquence, and all the other nobler influences by which the minds of men are formed to be swayed, must give way before the harsh, impetuous, degrading dictation of mere physical strength. Is this a condition of things which those should desire, as that in which they might best effect their purposes, who are the advocates only of changes which they believe to be recommended by their inherent reasonableness and beneficial tendency, and to be therefore most certain of making their way to general acceptance, when the peaceful accents of knowledge, reflection, and truth, are most free to make themselves heard? To various kinds of bad ambition, times of confusion and civil war may offer the stage on which they are most likely to play their parts with effect;—but we cannot conceive any truly philanthropic or honourable object to the success of which they are not unfavourable, as compared with times of tranquillity, in which security of person and property and the liberty of the press exist, even although the rights and privileges of political freedom may be deemed to be not sufficiently diffused. In



such a state of things for the people to rise in insurrection against the government, merely to secure some further amelioration of their institutions—or rather to obtain possession of such amelioration a little sooner than they otherwise might, (for if it be truly deserving of that name, its attainment in a few years at most is infallible), would, in our estimation, we hesitate not to say, be an act of absolute insanity

We have specified one case in which it is indispensable for a nation to encounter the fearful hazards of such a movement—that namely in which the government openly dares to break the compact on which alone it had hitherto received the obedience of the people. We do not say that there may not be other cases for which also nothing short of that remedy is sufficient. But with regard to such, we adopt the language of Burke: “The speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act or a single event which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer in extremities this critical, ambiguous, bitter potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable from sensibility to oppression; the high-minded from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold from the love of honourable danger in a generous cause: but, with, or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good.”

We proceed now with our history.

## CHAPTER III.

AT at an early hour on the morning of Monday the 26th, the ordinances at last received from the press that announcement which admitted of no recal. While most of the inhabitants of the capital were yet asleep, the *Bulletin des Lois* and the *Moniteur* already exhibited in imperishable typography, the insulting mandates, fated to prove the signals of so swift and sweeping a revolution. The Count de Chabrol-Volvic, the Prefect of the Seine, was astounded by seeing them, about five o'clock, in the former of these publications. He had entertained no apprehension of anything of the kind, having in fact, like other deputies, received his letter of summons to the deliberations of the Chamber only the evening before\*. Marshal Marmont himself, who was destined to act so conspicuous a part in the subsequent events of the week, had as yet had no intimation of those measures on the part of his masters, in the consequences of which he was to be so seriously involved. He was at St. Cloud when M. de Komierowski, one of his aides-de-camp, having just been informed of the publication of the ordinances by an officer in the guards, came to him with the news as he sat at breakfast. The Marshal's instant exclamation was, that it was not possible the report could be true. He then sent Komierowski to the Duke de Duras to ask him for the *Moniteur*; but the Duke stated that nobody had yet had a copy except the King. About half-past eleven Marmont set out for

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 297., ii. 161.

Paris, not having yet been able to obtain a sight of the newspaper\*. M. de Guise, chief of battalion, was with him at his house in the capital when he first cast his eyes over the impatiently sought-for pages. After perusing them, he left home to go to the Institute, with the intention of returning thence to St. Cloud †. Here he met his friend M. Arago. "Well," said he to that gentleman, "you perceive things are proceeding as I had foreseen. The fools have driven matters to extremities. You, however, have only to mourn in your capacity of a citizen and a good Frenchman; but how much greater cause have I to lament, who, as a soldier, shall perhaps be obliged to throw away my life for acts which I abhor, and for people who seem for a long time to have studied only how to overwhelm me with disgust ‡." M. Bayeux, the Advocate-general of the Royal Court, a functionary whose situation might seem to have entitled him to an early communication of their intentions from the ministers, only heard of the publication of the ordinances about noon. The intelligence appears to have reached him at his own house by the ordinary channels. He immediately proceeded to the Palais de Justice, expecting to find that some special instructions had been left for him; but there was not a line §. With such incomparable boldness, and affected unconsciousness of what they were really about, did these men go forward with their mad enterprise! While proceeding to break through the most sacred barriers of their country's liberties, and by an act of despotic violence to trample the constitution into the earth, they pretend not to think it

\* See Komierowski's evidence before the Commission of the Peers, *Procès*, i. 274; and on the Trial, *Id.* ii. 175.

† *Procès*, i. 249.

‡ Evidence of M. Arago, *Procès*, i. 238, and ii. 182.

§ *Id.* i. 238.

necessary previously to make any further arrangements than such as had been found sufficient for the most regular and ordinary routine of government.

The news of the appearance of the ordinances spread among the general public with a slower progress than it might be supposed so extraordinary an event would have commanded. But the *Moniteur* is but little read in Paris, except by persons immediately connected with the government. In the course of the day, however, the official paper was seen, and eagerly perused by great numbers of persons in many of the principal cafés. The first effects produced by the announcement on the promiscuous assemblages collected at these places of public resort are described to have partaken, in most cases, more of apparent stupor and consternation than of any disposition to tumult or resistance. Such also was the manner in which the intelligence was received generally over the city. The people were confounded by the magnitude and the unexpectedness of the blow aimed at their liberties, and took some time to meditate on the character of the aggression, before they roused themselves to consider how they should repel it. For several hours Paris wore the aspect rather of unusual quiet, than of any extraordinary popular effervescence. But it was the hush of the gathered elements before the bursting of the storm. The day, as we shall see presently, did not close till the tumult was begun which was so rapidly to mount into a revolution.

Meanwhile the sensation produced by the news was to be observed in its most intense degree in the great gathering places of commercial speculation. The Exchange was crowded by ten o'clock, four hours before the usual time of business; and the funds fell rapidly nearly four per cent. "Every countenance," says a witness of the scene, "was clouded from the audacity of these *coups d'état*, but

no one was disposed to enter into political conversation. The royalists beamed with joy. Our friend I. was there, and chuckled at the idea of having made some thousands of pounds; for he was in the secret, and thought, by having sold out some days before, and bought in again at three or four francs less, that his game was sure. I said to him, 'You think, then, that all this will be quietly borne, and that there will be no *row*!' 'None whatever,' he replied; 'I know the French; the matter will end in a few of the canaille getting themselves sabred, and the funds will rise immediately'\*.' By all, however, except a few infatuated individuals, it seems to have been felt that a crisis was at hand. All, accordingly, began to make arrangements to secure themselves as far as they could from the coming tempest. The banks refused discounts. Many persons in business talked of suspending all payments till more settled times. Several of the great manufacturers intimated their intention of shutting up their establishments. One individual, M. Ternaux, dismissed that afternoon a hundred and fifty workmen, paying them eight days' wages in advance †.

But the division of the industrious classes, whose interests were felt to be most immediately and extensively affected by the ordinances, was that whose members depended for subsistence upon the printing-press. It has been asserted, that the number of the inhabitants of Paris, engaged in this one branch of industry at the time of which we speak, was not less than thirty thousand ‡. The extinction of the

\* "Pas de tout," il m'a dit; "je connais les Français; tout cela se passera en faisant sabrer quelques-uns de la canaille, et les fonds monteront de suite."—The French Revolution of 1830, in a private letter (by Mr. Josiah Parkes), Svo., Birmingham.

† *Événemens de Paris, par plusieurs Témoins oculaires*, p. 19.

‡ *Military Events of the late French Revolution*, by a Staff-Officer of the Guards, p. 7.

liberty of the press, which the ministerial mandate would have effected, necessarily threw out of employment by far the larger portion of this vast community. "Our good friends," said some of the most distinguished heads of establishments to their workmen, "our business is suppressed; we can no longer give you employment, but you may go and ask it of your good King." Here was provided at once a plentiful supply of hands for the approaching insurrection. The printers, too, thus deprived of their means of existence by the government, were not slow in encouraging others to oppose the acting power. A nail-maker, named Louis Jean Deré, told some Englishmen in Paris, within three weeks after the Revolution, that he first heard of the ordinances from a journeyman printer, who encouraged him to resistance, and in concert with whom he went out the next morning to fight. Deré, whom we shall have occasion subsequently to notice, was an active and intelligent man; and at the date of this conversation had his arm in a sling, from the effect of a sabre-wound\*.

To the property of the various political journals the new law of the press was in most cases nothing less than a fiat of confiscation and destruction. To all of them, except two or three, it amounted in fact to a prohibition of their re-appearance altogether. A large and influential body of persons, many of them among the ablest men in France, were thus at once combined in hostility against the ministerial tyranny, not only by those general feelings of patriotism which might be supposed to animate the ordinary population, but by personal motives of the most arousing force. The French journalists acted in this emergency with a decision and courage worthy of those

\* Any anecdote related upon this authority will be distinguished by the letters S. T.

who assumed to be the leaders of their fellow countrymen in the warfare of liberty. Having read the edict which would have at once stripped them of their property and extinguished their political existence, they determined at every risk to set it at defiance. Some of them, that very afternoon, published second editions of their papers, with the ordinances, which were in this way first made generally known over the remoter parts of the capital. About five o'clock, Mangin, the Prefect of the Police, sent special injunctions to the different offices that no future publication should take place, except in conformity to the provisions of the new law. He also, at the same time, caused a printed proclamation, announcing the penalties to which keepers of reading-rooms, and other persons, would subject themselves by circulating prohibited prints, to be posted on the walls, and extensively dispersed over the city and the suburbs. In the face of these menaces, however, the editors of the various opposition journals proceeded in concerting their preparations for resistance. It is stated by the Baron de Lamothe Langon, that their first meeting was held at the house of M. Dupin, the celebrated advocate; and this writer professes to give the details of a conversation or debate between the learned gentleman and his visitors, intended to make it appear that the former was much more ready to attest the illegality of the ordinances than to point out or sanction any plan for opposing them\*. It would seem, at any rate, that the journalists afterwards assembled in the office of the *National*, a paper only recently established, but which had sustained a conspicuous part in those hostile operations which had been so perseveringly directed against the Polignac ministry by the almost unanimous press of the capital. Here they drew up in haste an address

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, pp. 110—113.



to their fellow countrymen, which, considering the circumstances in which it was signed and published, must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the noblest displays of courage and public spirit which the history of any age or nation has to record. Having stated the fact of the appearance of the ordinances in the *Moniteur*, after the good sense of the public had refused to believe in the possibility of so violent a course being adopted, and the ministers themselves had rebutted the supposition as a calumny, the associated patriots firmly but calmly remark, that the reign of law, therefore, is interrupted, and that of force has commenced. "In the situation," they proceed, "in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens who have first been called upon to obey are the writers of the journals; they ought first to give the example of resistance to authority, now that it has stripped itself of the character of law." They then, in a few clear and unanswerable sentences, demonstrate the incompetency of the Crown, according to both the language of the charter, the decisions of the courts of law, and its own procedure on former occasions, to pronounce any regulations, by its sole authority, touching either the press or the representation. "This day, therefore," they conclude, "the government has violated legality. We are set free from obedience. We mean to attempt to publish our journals without demanding the authorization which is imposed on us. We will do our endeavours that for one day more, at least, they may be circulated over all France. Such is the conduct which our duty as citizens demands from us, and we fearlessly follow it. It belongs not to us to point out its duties to the Chamber which has been illegally dissolved. But we at least may supplicate it, in the name of France, to take its stand on its manifest rights, and to resist, as far as it shall have



the power, the violation of the laws. Its rights are equally certain with those on which we ourselves rest. The Charter (art. 50) says, that the King may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies ; but for that power to be exercised, the Chamber must have met and been constituted—nay, must surely have done something to warrant its dissolution. Before the Chamber has met and been constituted, there is no Chamber to dissolve—there are only elections to annul. Now no passage of the Charter gives to the King the right of doing this. The ordinances which have this day appeared do only in fact annul the elections, and are therefore illegal, as doing that which the Charter does not authorize. The deputies then who have been elected, and convoked for the 3d of August, remain still well and truly elected and convoked. Their right is the same to-day as it was yesterday. France implores them not to forget this right. Whatever they can do to assert it, they ought. The government, finally, we repeat, has this day forfeited that character of legality which alone entitles it to obedience. We assume the attitude of resistance in so far as we are ourselves concerned ; it belongs to France to consider to what extent she will adopt the same course.”

Forty-four journalists immediately appended their names to this spirited declaration. Among them were comprised the managers and principal contributors of the *National*, the *Globe*, the *Courrier des Electeurs*, the *Tribune des Départemens*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Temps*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Révolution*, the *Journal du Commerce*, the *Figaro*, the *Journal de Paris*, and the *Sylphe*.

But while these and other parties were consulting and resolving within doors what they should do on the morrow, the agitation among the people in the streets had already begun. The Viscount de Fou-

cauld, whose name has been mentioned in a former page, had been first informed of the appearance of the ordinances about ten o'clock in the morning, by his adjutant, M. de Froment, who, having called upon him, perceived the *Moniteur* lying on his secretary's table; and taking it up, read its contents with an astonishment which did not permit him to delay a moment in communicating them to the Viscount. They made him, M. de Foucauld tells us, reflect seriously, and he immediately left his house, to endeavour to see the Prefect of Police. Not finding M. Mangin at home, he called on him again at half past one. "He was much more tranquil," says the Viscount, "than I expected. I told him I had an engagement to dine at the extremity of the Faubourg St. Honoré; but that I thought I ought not to absent myself in the circumstances. He replied that he saw no reason why I should not go to dinner. Nothing passed about taking any measures of precaution. The Prefect gave me no instructions\*." Within an hour or two, however, from this time, the troops and the people might be said to be almost in actual collision.

The crowd which had collected to hear the ordinances read, and to discuss the news in the Palais Royal, had been increasing all the day; till at last the authorities, alarmed both by their growing numbers and the violence of their language and demeanour, sent a party of gendarmes to watch their movements. By about three o'clock in the afternoon they seem to have spread from the square of the palace into the neighbouring streets. M. de Mazug, one of the Commissaries of Police, states, in his evidence before the Commission of the Peers, that about two o'clock he went, by order of M. Mangin, to the mail-coach office in the Rue du Bouloy, to

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i, 334, 335; and ii, 177.

seize any pamphlets or newspapers which he might find to have been sent there for transmission to the country, in contravention of the ordinances; and that, on his return, after having learned that no parcels for the coaches had yet arrived, he found a multitude of people assembled in the Rue des Bons Enfants—immediately to the east of the Palais Royal: this was between three and four o'clock. They appeared strongly excited, he says, against the gendarmes, assailing them, not only with cries, but with stones. The soldiers, however, as yet, kept their stations, without making any attempt to drive back the people\*.

In the recently erected gallery of the Palais Royal called the *Galerie d'Orléans*, was the office of the *Régénérateur*, a paper conducted by a political character of some celebrity in Paris, the Marquis de Chabannes. The Marquis, till very lately, had been the most violent of ultra-royalists; but, as his chief ambition was to have his lucubrations read, in which he succeeded very indifferently, so long as he confined himself merely to sounding forth the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, he had within the last few months contrived to varnish over these less popular articles of his creed with the most vehement invectives against the priests and the ministry, which certainly proved much more generally attractive. A few days before the appearance of the ordinances, he had subjected himself to a visit from the agents of the police, by some verses directed against the members of the cabinet, which he had exhibited at his windows. As his passion was notoriety, this attention on the part of the authorities was thankfully accepted by the Marquis, as the most desirable piece of good fortune that could have befallen him; and he seems to have resolved that it should not be

\* Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 221.

his fault if he was not favoured with a repetition of it. As soon, accordingly, as the ordinances appeared, he again invoked his muse, and in due time fabricated a pair of satirical *quatrains* on this new exploit of his friends in the cabinet, and stuck them up as before, one at each window of the office. There was something either so stinging or so ludicrous in the Marquis's effusions on this occasion, or the patronage of the police had made his office so fashionable, that people came in numbers to read the verses; and the place, ere long, was surrounded by a large and constantly increasing multitude. A great many persons even copied the words, the scribe often making use of his neighbour's back as a desk\*. Such was the scene, when about six o'clock the agents of the police made their appearance on the spot. They immediately proceeded to tear down the obnoxious papers; but no sooner had they removed one copy, than the Marquis, amid the loud applause of the spectators, cleverly fixed up another in its place. Irritated by this opposition, the officers attempted to drive off the crowd, and a scene of great confusion ensued. However, the policemen soon found that they had the worst of it, and were glad to make their escape from the overwhelming numbers by whom they were encompassed.

About eight o'clock, the crowd here received a large augmentation of force, principally from the workmen of the printing-houses and great manufactories, who, on concluding their day's labours, had been informed by their masters that they had no more employment to give them. These persons were naturally in a state of great excitement, and many of them, as they mingled with the general multitude, collected groups around them, and gave expression in the most fearless and unmeasured terms to their indignation

\* *La Liberté Réconquise, ou Histoire de la Révolution de Juillet*, 1830, par J. B. Ams, p. 74.

against the authorities. It seems to have been on this occasion that resistance was first openly spoken of. A writer, who has given us a spirited account of this extraordinary Revolution, and who was an eye-witness of many of the events which he relates, describes the orators as appealing to the feelings of those whom they addressed "whether as men, as citizens, as Frenchmen, they would tamely suffer themselves to be trodden under foot\*." "They said," continues this historian, "that the ministers would now hesitate at nothing; that they were determined, if necessary, to employ force; that the troops in garrison at Paris had been considerably augmented, and that the most rigorous and decisive orders had been issued. It was declared also that the soldiers of the *Garde Royale* (the guards) had received, by way of encouragement, six weeks' pay; that means had been taken to procure the co-operation of the Swiss guards; in fine, that lists of proscriptions were prepared, and that, if the government succeeded in their odious plot, we had to fear, not only general oppression, but also individual persecution. Such were the observations heard in the numerous groups that had been drawn together by the common sympathy of men threatened with a general calamity. At the termination of every speech, at every pause, in fact, the long galleries that surround the garden of the Palais Royal echoed the cries of *Bravo, à bas les ministres* (down with the ministers), *vive la charte* (the charter for ever), accompanied by universal clapping of hands. Suddenly an alarm was spread among the groups, in consequence of some vague report; they dispersed for a few moments through the galleries, but only to reassemble in more considerable numbers, and with increased excitement. Some pale with fright, others trembling with breathless anxiety, shopkeepers hastily closed their shops,

\* Paris in July and August, 1830, by Percy Sadler, p. 99.

the landlords and customers at their coffee-house doors interrogating almost every one that passed, without being able to ascertain the immediate cause of alarm\*." The police and gendarmerie had in fact advanced upon the people, sword in hand, with the determination of clearing the place, in which they succeeded, at least for the moment, and without wounding any one. M. de Foucauld was returning in his carriage, with his wife, from the house where he had been dining, about half past eight, when he was informed of the commotion which had been thus occasioned. Leaving his wife to proceed on her way home alone, he went up to the station of the police, whose force he found had been considerably augmented. A party of foot gendarmes, forty in number, had also been brought from the barracks, on the requisition of the commissary of police of the district. The crowd, he learned, had been expelled, after some resistance, from the galleries, which were then shut. A few individuals had also been arrested †. The people, however, it would appear, had afterwards recovered their station in the *Galerie d'Orléans*, although they continued to be excluded from the garden of the palace. When M. Petit, the mayor of the second arrondissement, passed through the place about ten o'clock, he found a crowd still assembled before the office of the *Régénérateur*. In proceeding afterwards along the Rue St Honoré, he saw a considerable mob of boys, followed by a number of men, running along the street, and breaking the lamps with stones on their way. Some stones were also thrown at the occupants of the police station at the Palais Royal, who were under arms, as the multitude passed, but who did not fire on their assailants. M. Petit having gone to the office of the Prefect of Police, to give information of what he had seen, could not find

\* Paris in July and August, 1830, by Percy Sadler, p. 101.

that functionary; but on mentioning the matter to another person belonging to the office, he was told that a party of six gendarmes had been despatched after the mob, to check them in any farther mischief they might attempt. The Mayor was astonished, he confesses, at the insignificance of the force which had been thought sufficient for such a service\*.

The mob, whom M. Petit saw scouring the Rue St. Honoré, and exclaiming, *Vive la Charte, A bas les gendarmes*, appear to have proceeded directly to the hotel of Prince Polignac, on the Boulevard des Capucins. As it was known that the Prince was at St. Cloud, a considerable number of persons even went so far as the Champs Elysées to intercept him on his return. Fortunately for the minister, another carriage was mistaken for his, and while the attention of the people was thus engaged, he was driven rapidly past, escorted by two gendarmes, and got home without receiving any injury†. M. Courteille, the Commissary of Police for the quarter, on taking a walk along the Boulevards about ten o'clock, had found everything quiet; but he afterwards learned that before eleven a number of persons had collected in front of Polignac's hotel, by whom the windows were broken, the cords on which the lamps were suspended cut, and the carriage of the Prince assailed with stones as it entered the court. After this they went away, saying that they were going for reinforcements to the Faubourg St. Antoine, and that they would be back to set fire to the hotel‡.

In the course of this night the people also attacked the Hotel of Finance, in the Rue de Rivoli, and one or two other public buildings; but the damage they committed was confined to the breaking of windows. The lamps also were beaten to pieces, and the lights extin-

\* Conf. Procès, i. 243; and ii. 149.

† Lamothe Langon, p. 109.

‡ Procès, i. 226.



gnished in several of the streets in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. All this indicated determined preparation for more serious work on the morrow.

Even already the aspect of affairs had spread general alarm among the foreigners resident in Paris, and the passport offices and hotels of the ambassadors were crowded during the day with persons demanding passports, or anxiously inquiring whether or no it would be safe for them to remain in the country. Lord Stuart, the English ambassador, is said, while he endeavoured to encourage a hope that the public tranquillity would not be seriously disturbed, to have manifested by his manner an anxiety and apprehension which his language would have concealed.

While such was the universal agitation of the public mind, and nearly all the inhabitants of Paris, whether native Frenchmen or strangers, saw in the political horizon a coming tempest of no ordinary kind, what were the occupations of the monarch and his infatuated counsellors? The information we have upon this head is not very minute or satisfactory; but it is quite enough to show us how utterly blind all these individuals were to the formidable magnitude of the dangers they had called up around them. The King appears to have spent the day at Rambouillet, engaged in his favourite amusement of the chase. He did not return to St. Cloud till a late hour\*. Marshal Marmont himself was so little aware of the real nature of the convulsion which had commenced, that on the following morning he proposed going to the country, when his aide-de-camp deemed it proper to inform him of the commotions which had already taken place in Paris, and suggested that he ought at least, before setting out, to leave directions where he might be found, in case of anything further occurring. This determined him to

\* See Evidence of M. de Komierowski, Procès, i. 275.



remain at St. Cloud\*. Polignac, from what has been already stated, appears to have been, at least during part of the evening, at St. Cloud, having been probably present at the *Ordre* held by the King after his return from Rambouillet. We find him mentioned as having been seen, also, in the course of the evening, with the Count de Wall, the commandant of the station, at the Luxembourg, where he desired the Viscount de Virieu to occupy the Place Vendôme with five hundred of the Guards—an order, however, which was not executed, in consequence of its being supposed, after the retirement of the crowd from the Boulevards, that the disturbances were over †. But the most curious proof we have of the delusion under which the President of the Council continued to labour, is supplied in the evidence of M. Richebourg. That person (the Commissary of the Exchange) saw the Prince, he tells us, in the course of this evening, and made him acquainted with the fall which had taken place in the funds, when in reply he said that they would soon recover that depression; and that, for his own part, if he had any disposable capital, he would without hesitation embrace the opportunity of purchasing stock with it ‡. M. de Moutbel, indeed, informs us §, that on the commencement of the disturbances, he and his colleagues assembled at the hotel of the Keeper of the Seals, to confer on the state of affairs, and on the measures which it might be necessary to adopt in consequence. While they were consulting, he adds, they heard the tumultuous shouts of the people; and news was brought to him that his own hotel (that of the Ministry of Finance) was attacked; on which he hastened thither, making his way through large bodies of the rioters. But we do not hear of any

\* See Evidence of M. de Komierowski, Procès, i. 275.

† Evidence of M. de Puybusque, Procès, i. 278.

‡ Procès, i. 308.

§ Protestation, p. 9.

steps which were adopted as the result of these deliberations\*.

Above all, the insignificant amount of the military force which was at this time collected in the capital demonstrates how entirely unprepared the government was for any serious resistance to its intended invasion of the national liberties. Upon this subject the most complete and authentic information has been laid before the public, in a very able tract on 'The Military Events of the late French Revolution,' by a Staff-Officer of the Guards, who was actively engaged during the whole of the memorable conflict. On the Sunday preceding the publication of the ordinances, it appears from the statements of this writer, the whole effective force stationed at Paris amounted to 11,550 men, with eight guns and four howitzers. In this number were included 1850 men, forming the parties supplied by the Guards and the Gendarmerie for the daily service of the posts in the capital, at St. Cloud, and other places in the neighbourhood, who, as we shall find, were all seized and disarmed in detail at an early period of the insurrection. The whole disposable force, therefore, could not at the utmost be reckoned more than 9,700 men ;

\* MM. d'Haussez and Capelle, it is said, dined together this day at the Rocher de Cancale, a short distance from town. The party consisted of themselves and two friends. During dinner, the subject of conversation was the courageous blow which the ministry had just struck ; and their Excellencies were in high spirits at the thought of having restored the monarchy to its ancient splendour. M. d'Haussez brought one of the two gentlemen back with him to town in his cabriolet ; and, as they drove through the streets, the minister called the attention of his companion to the perfect tranquillity which reigned throughout the city. About two hours later, however, his Excellency had an opportunity of correcting his first impression as to the state of affairs ; for he was himself attacked in the Rue des Capucins by the mob assembled around Prince Polignac's hotel, and struck by a stone on the breast.—See *Nouveau Journal de Paris* for 10th August.

and, even of this small number, it turned out that only about 4,200, being the amount of three regiments of Guards, two regiments of cavalry, and a few artillerymen, after deducting the already-mentioned detached parties, were actually to be depended on. Besides these, indeed, there were the household troops at St. Cloud, Versailles, St. Germain, and Paris, amounting to 1000 cavalry and 300 infantry; but they were never engaged. In fact, not a man was added to the ordinary garrison of the capital, although, had all the regiments of the Guards been collected which might have been brought up within a week, they alone, together with the household troops, would have furnished out an army of between 19,000 and 20,000 effective men; or, with the addition of the Line, the Fusileers, and the Gendarmerie, would have given a grand total of 25,000 effectives, with thirty-six pieces of cannon. "And if measures," adds our author, "had been taken a fortnight before, and the circle of requisition extended, we might have had from 36 to 40,000 men, with fifty pieces of cannon. The fact, however, was that no preparations were made, when, on the morning of the 26th of July, the *Moniteur* published the celebrated *Ordonnances*\*." Even after the disturbances which took place on the evening of the 26th ought to have opened the eyes of the ministers and the magistracy to the real circumstances in which they stood, "still," he adds, "no precaution on the part of the police—no measure whatever was taken by the military authorities; and such was the blind security in which the government seemed plunged, that the officers who asked, as usual, temporary leaves of absence, obtained them without demur †."

\* Military Events of the late French Revolution, p. 6.

† Id. p. 7.

## CHAPTER IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING the royal ordinance and M. Mangin's special injunction, the editors of the principal opposition journals, in conformity with the protest which they had signed, had proceeded to make preparations for publishing in the morning as usual. But in some cases the printer, less courageous than his employer, shrunk from so decided an act of disobedience to the commands of the constituted authorities. Among others, M. Selligue, the printer of the *Journal du Commerce*, refused to go on with the performance of his contract in the face of the prohibition which had just been issued. On this the proprietors of the paper cited him immediately before the *Tribunal de Première Instance*, the president of which, M. Debelleyme, after a short examination of the facts, decided, without going into the question as to the extent of the royal prerogative, that Selligue should proceed with the printing of the paper, on the ground that the ordinance on which he rested his refusal had not yet been promulgated according to the regular forms. M. Plassan, the printer of the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, having followed the example of M. Selligue, the case was brought before the same magistrate, and received a similar decision; but Plassan, it would seem, still persisted in his refusal to print the paper, which, therefore, did not appear, but instead of it a notice, signed by the principal editor, intimating the circumstances which had prevented its publication. Of the other journals which did not apply for a license, the *Constitutionnel*, the *National*,

the *Temps*, and the *Figaro*, were all printed; but it was found impossible to issue any copies of the first, in consequence of a sentinel having been stationed by the police authorities at the door of the office. Of the other three journals many thousands of copies were thrown among the people from the windows, at an early hour on Tuesday morning, and were immediately dispersed in all directions over the city. They contained the ordinances, preceded by the noble protest of the journalists\*. The writer of a letter from Paris, dated this day, which has been published†, informs us that he went at seven o'clock in the morning to the Palais Royal, anxious to see the appearance the newspapers would present under the scissoring of the new censorship. "The *Moniteur*, the *Universel*, and the *Quotidienne*," he says, "had arrived; no others were to be found in the four beautiful pavilions de lecture which adorn the garden, nor in any of the cafés; but several young men rushed through the garden, distributing profusely and gratuitously *Le Temps*, *Le National*, and *Le Figaro*. Early as was the hour, the garden contained not fewer than five hundred men. Those who had copies of the papers above-mentioned were immediately surrounded by crowds, to whom they read the unquestionably inflammatory matter contained in those papers. In one instance an agent of police interfered, but in no more that I saw. The language of these journals was heard with deep attention, and followed by no comment. In many instances those who had already heard them ran unsated to another group, to hear once more, and probably for the last time, the bold accents of liberty.

\* The *National* also contained a letter addressed to the editor, and bearing the signature of Charles Dunoyer, in which the writer declared his solemn determination to pay no taxes until he should witness the repeal of the ordinances.

† Hone's Annals, p. 19.

I entered the café, and entering into conversation with the proprietor, asked him what he meant by saying yesterday, when he first read the royal ordinances, that he was ruined? 'Good God! sir, how can you ask? Look at my café to-day, and recollect what it was at this hour yesterday. You are now its sole occupant. Yesterday it was with difficulty you found a place in which to sit. The ordinance for suspending the liberty of the press will destroy hundreds of thousands of families—the keepers of coffee-houses, and reading-rooms and libraries, editors, printers, publishers, paper-makers. The *Constitutionnel* sold between 15,000 and 20,000 copies daily; it will not sell 5000 hereafter. Take these as instances. But I do not grieve solely on these accounts, although I shall participate in the general ruin. I have some public feeling: I grieve for the destruction of the charter. It is true, as I pay more than the required sum in direct taxes, that I do not participate in the *destitution* of the smaller voters (the class whose qualification consisted in their paying 300 francs a year only); but I must, and I do, feel for the loss of the political rights of my fellow-citizens. The number of voters disqualified by the ordinance in the city of Paris alone is not less than 9500. The number that will remain does not amount to more than 1900. Here, therefore, in all probability, but certainly in most of the departments, the ministry may reckon on the success of the government candidates. The Chamber, so composed, will pass any law presented to it; you may guess, therefore, that there is an end of liberty in France.'

The first aggressive operations of the authorities this morning were directed against the offices of the journals which had thus been printed and circulated in defiance of the ordinance. M. Lecrosnier, chief of division under the Prefect of Police, was sent for,

he tells us, by M. Mangin, towards seven o'clock, to give his opinion as to what ought to be done in regard to seizing the presses which had been employed for this purpose. He found with the Prefect another gentleman, whom he believed to be an *employé* of the Cabinet; and after some conversation it was decided that the seizure in each office should be confined to the press which had been actually used in printing the paper. This point being settled, the requisite measures were forthwith taken for vindicating the authority of the ordinance. The Viscount de Foucauld had begun this morning at five o'clock an inspection of the different barracks, which had been announced for some time, and which it was calculated would occupy about eight days. He was still engaged with the one with which he had commenced, that of St. Martin; when, about half-past nine, two messages were brought to him,—the first an order from the Count de Wall, requiring him to send forthwith a hundred horse from the gendarmerie under his command; and the other, a request from M. Mangin that he would come to him immediately. Having given the necessary directions for the despatch of the cavalry, "I here," says the Viscount, "terminated my inspection for the present; and, consigning all the troops to their respective quarters, repaired to the Prefect of Police." He found that functionary rather more uneasy than when he saw him the evening before, but still not very much alarmed. He wanted two hundred gendarmes to support the commissaries whom he was going to send to seize the presses of the rebellious journals\*.

In the *National* of the following day we find a detail of what took place at the visit paid to the office of that paper, No. 10, Rue Neuve St. Marc, near the Boulevard des Italiens. The Place des Italiens (the

\* Procès, i, 336.



site of the theatre of that name), which is in the immediate vicinity of the office, was occupied at nine o'clock by a body of gendarmerie, consisting both of horse and foot, while patrols continued to move up and down in the Rue Neuve St. Marc and all the adjacent streets. At eleven two commissaries of police, M. Colin and M. Béraud, presented themselves at the office, and intimated the order of the Prefect for seizing the presses. The proprietors answered that the power in virtue of which the commissaries professed to act was manifestly a violent usurpation against the law, and that the seizure about to be made could only be considered by them as a robbery of their property. They added, that such an act should not be consummated except by the forcible entry of their domicile; and that, powerless as they were to oppose force to force, it remained for them only to protest against the violence to which they were obliged to yield. "The commissaries, however," continues the statement, "believing it to be their duty, notwithstanding our protestations, to proceed to execute their warrant, penetrated into our *bureaux*, assisted by the gendarmes and the peace-officers. The most minute search failed in discovering any copies of our publication of that morning. The anxiety of the people of Paris, and the non-appearance of the greater part of the opposition journals,—deprived as they had been of their printers by the effect of the ordinance,—had early in the morning brought around the doors of our office a crowd of persons, who in less than an hour had absorbed 7000 copies. Our impression was exhausted, and the zeal of our printers, worn out by fatigue during the two last days, could not supply the demands of the people. On our refusal to open the doors of the place in which our presses stood, the commissaries proceeded to force them. This was effected. They did not carry away our presses, but they took them



to pieces; they abstracted the most important parts of the mechanism, and thus, in terms of the royal ordinance, rendered them unserviceable. The consequence is the same. What cannot be removed, is destroyed or broken: there is no longer any security for the property of citizens." The writers go on to state that, on retiring, the commissaries expressed their regret that they had not found them more inclined to obedience. These gentlemen, they acknowledge, softened in so far as they could by their manner of proceeding what was atrocious in the mission they came to fulfil. "But," they add, "a crime has not the less been committed, the laws have not the less been violated; and if the violence exercised against us did not proceed to the shedding of blood—if we were not slaughtered in open day by a party of soldiers in our own house, in the place where we were occupied, under the protection of the laws, in examining the acts of power and defending the rights of our country—such a result was not averted by the politeness of the commissaries, but by our conceiving that our duty, as citizens and as public writers, did not call upon us to do more than merely to refuse to obey." They conclude by expressing a hope that such refusals, if general, may still, without any actual resistance, be sufficient to save the national liberties; and by proclaiming that, as they have already sacrificed their property as journalists, they are prepared again to subject themselves to the same penalty in their quality of ordinary citizens, and to refuse to pay the taxes.

The account published by the proprietors of the *Temps* of the visit to their office is considerably more impassioned and rhetorical. The magistrate, accompanied by a number of soldiers, arrived at half past eleven; and the affair occupied altogether no less than seven hours. The delay was occasioned by the

difficulty that was experienced in obtaining the services of a blacksmith, every individual in the neighbourhood, to whom application was made, having resolutely refused to lend his aid to an act which he considered to be no better than a robbery. A messenger was at last despatched for the requisite assistance to M. Mangin, when the Prefect sent them the man who was accustomed to rivet the irons of the criminals condemned to the galleys. This person had none of the scruples of the regular craftsmen ; and by his means the doors were soon opened, and the presses carried away or rendered unserviceable. While all this was going on, a crowd of people surrounded the office, who warmly testified their admiration of the conduct of the journalists, but imitated their example by refraining from all actual interference with the officers. "Our workmen," says the statement, "whose bread they had come to take away, also restrained their indignation, and, like ourselves, permitted the force which was employed in trampling upon the law, to execute the whole of its wrongful purpose without opposition. All the persons who were present watched in silence the progress of the act of violence ; but eagerly gave us their names, that we might call them before the tribunals as witnesses of the robbery."

The journalists had done their duty nobly ; and now another body of public men stepped forward to form along with them the vanguard in the fight of liberty. This day the recently elected members of the Chamber of Deputies who were in Paris assembled together for the first time at the house of one of their number, M. Casimir Perier, in the rue Neuve du Luxembourg \*. Many of them, as we have men-

\* See the Evidence of M. Perier, Procès, i. 268. In many, we believe in almost all, the accounts of the Revolution which appeared at the time, this meeting is stated to have taken place on

tioned, had already come from the country to attend their parliamentary duties, specially invited as they had been by the official letters sent to them a few days before. Expresses had been since despatched to others, with information of what had taken place, that they might hurry to town with all possible expedition. M. Lafitte, for example, was thirty-five leagues from Paris on Monday when the ordinances appeared ; but an express was immediately sent after him, and he reached home by eleven o'clock on Tuesday night\*. Of course, he was too late to be present at the meeting of his colleagues in M. Perier's, which took place about two in the afternoon †. A considerable number of deputies, however, were in attendance on this occasion, when a protest to the following effect was drawn up and signed. It began by a general statement that, as, being regularly elected to the character of deputies, they considered themselves bound to protest against the measures adopted by the advisers of the Crown, as developed in the ordinances of the 25th, for the overthrow of the legal system of elections, and the destruction of the liberty of the press. The ordinances in question, it went on to say, were, in the eyes of the undersigned, directly opposed to the right of all the different bodies in the kingdom, and calculated to throw the state into confusion ; and that therefore they protested not only against these edicts themselves, but against all the

Monday. The error appears even in the speech delivered before the Chamber of Peers on the 18th of December by M. Persil, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Deputies to conduct the impeachment of the ex-ministers ; see Procès, ii. 227. But this is only one of the countless inaccuracies of those histories, written on the spot, immediately after the occurrences to which they relate, and, as it would seem, with every advantage for the ascertainment of the truth.

\* Procès, i. 281.

† Evidence of M. Mauguin ; Procès, i. 271

acts which might be done under their authority. The boldest passage was the concluding paragraph:—“ And seeing, on the one hand, that the Chamber of Deputies, never having been constituted, cannot be legally dissolved ; on the other, that the attempt to form another Chamber of Deputies, by a new and arbitrary process, is in formal opposition to the constitutional charter and the acquired rights of the electors, the undersigned declare that they consider themselves always as legally elected to the character of deputies by the Colleges of Arrondissement and of Department, whose suffrages they have obtained, and as incapable of being replaced except in virtue of elections made according to the principles and the forms sanctioned by the law. And, if they do not actually exercise the rights, and acquit themselves of all the duties consequent upon their legal election, it is because they are prevented by physical violence.”

This document, though prepared after the crisis had become more imminent, is couched, it will be perceived, in considerably more cautious language than the protest of the journalists. The writers throughout even avoid describing themselves as actually deputies, using only the phrase ‘legally elected’ to that dignity—*légalement élus à la députation*. In the sentence, also, in which they begin by laying down the proposition that the Chamber, not having been constituted, cannot be legally dissolved, they almost draw back from these premises when they come to their conclusion ; for there they seem to admit that a new election alone, provided it were conducted according to the legal forms, might divest them of their character of representatives. The next sentence again, in which they speak of being restrained from the exercise of their functions by physical force (*violence matérielle*), insinuating that, if they had the power as clearly as they conceived themselves to

*Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®*

have the right, they would meet and proceed to business on the day already appointed for the opening of the Chamber, is in a somewhat more unfaltering tone. The general style of the paper is probably to be imputed not so much to any lukewarmness or timidity on the part of those by whom it was drawn up, as to the desire that was felt to satisfy various shades of opinion, and to obtain a unanimous declaration.

Marmont, as we have already mentioned, had been induced to relinquish his intention of going this morning to the country by the accounts which were brought to him at an early hour by one of his aides-de-camp of the state of things in the capital. In a very short time after he had come to this determination, being still at St. Cloud, he received the King's orders to repair to his majesty after mass. At the interview which then took place, it was communicated to him that he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Paris, whither he was desired to proceed immediately. About half past eleven, accordingly, he entered his carriage, and, accompanied by M. de Komierowski, set out for the city. They stopped at Prince Polignac's hotel, but remained there only a few moments, when they proceeded directly to the Tuileries, where the head quarters were established\*. It had been intimated to the Marshal by his majesty, on announcing to him his appointment, that he would be expected to return to St. Cloud to sleep, should tranquillity be restored before night; but although he wrote, it appears, to Charles at the close of this day, that the crowds were all dispersed and every thing again as quiet as usual †, he was not destined so soon to quit his present lodgings. He remained in the

\* See Evidence of M. de Komierowski, Procès, i. 275 and ii. 175, 176; and Evidence of M. de Guise, Id. i. 249 and ii. 171, 172.

† Evidence of M. de Guise, Procès, ii. 171.

Tuileries till he was driven forth from that royal residence, at the termination of the conflict, by the triumphant arms of the insurgents.

Crowds had begun to assemble this morning in different parts of Paris, and especially in the public places and principal thoroughfares of the central district; even before the visits paid to the several newspaper-offices had drawn together a considerable throng around each of these points, like so much fuel to receive the sparks of excitement, and to carry the conflagration forth over the city. Even the more remote quarters were now stirred up, and preparing to take a part in the conflict which all felt to be at hand. M. Léonard Gallois, a literary gentleman, who during these extraordinary events was confined to his house in the neighbourhood of the Place de la Bastille and the Place Royale, by an indisposition which deprived him of the use of his limbs, but who from the window of his apartment, which looked out upon the Boulevard St. Antoine, had rather a favourable opportunity of seeing part of the affair, has given to the world one of the most interesting histories of the great week which have appeared, in the shape of a journal which he wrote at the time—"day by day," as he expresses it, "and hour by hour," as the successive events fell under his observation. Up to two o'clock in the afternoon of Monday M. Gallois had heard nothing of the ordinances. At that hour he had occasion to send his son to the *Palais Royal*, when, in less time than he could have expected to see him again, the young man made his appearance covered with perspiration, and holding in his hand a second edition of the *Messenger des Chambres*, which he handed to his father, remarking that he brought him bad news. In the course of the afternoon M. Gallois also saw the *Moniteur*, which, in addition to the ordinances, as given in the *Messenger*, contained the

report to the King. He confesses that from the demeanour and language of the persons around him, although he thought it probable that the ministerial measures might be followed by dreadful disturbances, he did not dare to hope for any general or successful rising in behalf of the national liberties. The inhabitants of the boulevard, however, he adds, manifested all that day an unusual restlessness, running about to the different reading-rooms, and eagerly interrogating all who came from the central parts of the city. But in other respects their conduct was without violence; they confined themselves to imprecations against the ministers; and their countenances expressed only sullenness and dissatisfaction.

On the following day the case was different. "By five in the morning," says M. Gallois, "I was already seated at my window, now become my observatory, and my son had taken his station at the door of the reading-room. I soon perceived by the stir on the boulevard that I was not the only person in a state of anxiety. The excitement to which the public mind was wrought soon displayed itself; many of those peaceable citizens, known by the name of the *Rentiers du Marais* were walking about on the footpaths alongside the boulevard. I perceived that all were hurrying towards the Place de la Bastille, where I heard a confused noise, as if proceeding from a numerous assemblage of people. I saw many working men, almost all without their coats, go down and return; they gesticulated and spoke with eagerness; some words which reached me convinced me that their conversation related to political affairs, and in no long time I heard the cry of *Vive la charte*. Thus the insurrection commenced in some sort after a legal fashion \*."

\* Gallois, *La Dernière Semaine de Juillet 1830*, p. 8; 2ème edition.



Such was the scene under M. Gallois's eye till towards ten o'clock; when his son came to inform him that all the workshops were closed, and that the *men of the Faubourg St. Antoine* were gathering together to march into the heart of the city. It was not, our author confesses, without some feeling of dread that he heard of the re-appearance on the arena of civil conflict of this famous faubourg, the name of which the events of the former Revolution had invested with such terrible recollections; but he soon saw enough to convince him that forty years, which had changed every thing else, had rendered even the people of St. Antoine a new generation. During the whole of this day the working men whom he beheld crowding the boulevards, although most of them had thrown off their coats, were well enough dressed, and all of prepossessing appearance. Their air, it is true, was resolute, and even menacing; but they showed no disposition to disorder—and their language was unmarked by any of the grossness in which the lower orders of the Parisians used, in former times, to be so fond of indulging. It expressed, however, sufficient indignation against the ministers, and the most determined purpose of resistance to their tyrannical measures. "I affirm too," says M. Gallois, "that I beheld no person among them above their own condition who had the appearance of being employed in exciting them; they had neither chiefs nor incendiaries; they consulted nobody, and no one presented himself to direct them. All those workmen, scattered over the boulevard, seemed to be waiting in expectation of an event of which they certainly were not the instigators. Till eleven o'clock the only cries they uttered were those of '*The charter for ever!*' '*Down with Polignac!*' '*Down with the ministers!*' All on a sudden men were perceived running from the direction

of the Boulevard du Temple towards the Place de la Bastille, crying out that they were fighting in the city, that the troops had fired on the inhabitants, that the Rue St. Honoré and the environs of the Palais Royal were the theatre of a dreadful civil war. This intelligence electrifies the workmen. They call for arms and for leaders. Some run to the Porte St. Antoine, others fly towards the Boulevard du Temple. In the twinkling of an eye the Boulevard St. Antoine is left empty; not an individual remains before my window. My son arrives and informs me that all is in commotion in the Place Royale and the Rue St. Antoine; that everybody is calling for arms and leaders; that the shops of the gunsmiths have been broken open throughout Paris; finally that the people are collecting in numbers in the Place Royale and the Place de la Bastille, some armed with muskets and rusty sabres, others with pistols, swords, spits, pikes, and pitchforks; that everybody is crying '*Down with Polignac!*' '*Liberty for ever!*'\*\*

This sudden agitation among the workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine, described with so much animation by M. Gallois, had its exciting cause in what was now passing in the Palais Royal and its neighbourhood. From an early hour in the morning this chief gathering-place of Parisian politicians had been the resort of numbers of persons, who came to learn or to discuss the news of the day, stimulated some by patriotism, others by mere curiosity. The aspect of this rapidly increasing crowd, although the persons who composed it were unarmed and perfectly peaceable, was not viewed without apprehension by the authorities; and before ten o'clock a strong body of gendarmerie was stationed on the

\* Gallois, *La Dernière Semaine de Juillet 1830*, p. 11; 2<sup>ème</sup> édition.

ground. The feelings of the people, in their present inflammable state, were of course anything rather than soothed by this military demonstration—and the soldiers, it is probable enough, were subjected to a good deal of annoyance, at least from the insulting language and gestures of those whom they came to overawe. As the multitude felt their numbers to be augmenting, those of them who were inclined to turbulence, became of course more audacious. The Viscount de Virieu, colonel in the guards, states in his evidence on the trial of the ex-ministers, that towards eleven o'clock he was informed by the commanding officer that the troops stationed at the Palais Royal had been insulted in such a manner by the crowd as to render it impossible for them any longer to maintain their ground if they were not strengthened; and that, upon this, he ordered the commandant of the third (infantry) regiment of the Guards to double the post in question, and to place at its head a captain upon whose sagacity and firmness he could depend; which was done accordingly\*. On obtaining this accession of force, it seems to have been resolved by the police authorities to assume a bolder attitude towards the people than they had hitherto done, and to proceed to clear the place. The cavalry therefore received orders to advance upon the throng, which they did sword in hand. They appear, however, to have used their weapons merely in the way of intimidation; for in this first collision, although the confusion created was considerable, we do not hear of any person having been wounded. Not contented with driving the people out of the garden, the gates of which were instantly shut, they pursued them to some distance along the neighbouring streets, repeatedly renewing the assault. The commotion thus produced spread like a wave

\* Procès, i. 318.

over the capital—and quickly brought down new throngs from its remotest districts to the scene where it was reported that the civil conflict was already raging, and the fire of an insolent soldiery scattering their fellow-citizens.

The effect of this was rapidly to swell the numbers of the congregated populace, till even the strong military force which had so far driven them back became unable any longer to keep them in check, at least by acting as it had hitherto done, and merely pressing as it were with its weight upon the mass. For some considerable space the contest seems to have assumed the form of an alternating movement backwards and forwards, in the course of which, however, the people were gradually gaining ground, till they threatened at last to re-establish themselves in their original position. About half-past one the open space to the south of the Rue St. Honoré called the *Place du Palais* was partly occupied by the soldiers and partly by the crowd; when, according to one of the witnesses on the trial of the ex-ministers, M. Feret, bookseller, a number of the latter took possession of a heap of stones which lay opposite to his shop in the gallery de Nemours, and began to throw them at the gendarmes who were stationed in platoons at two corners of the *Place*\*. This seems to have been the first actual aggression which was committed that day on the part of the people. The aspect of things now however became more and more serious every moment. Most of the shops in this neighbourhood were already shut. Another of the witnesses on the trial, M. Delaporte, *Marchand de Nouveautés*, at No. 10 in the Rue St. Honoré, states that he closed his at two, having learned that all his neighbours were doing the same. After this, he placed himself at a window on his first floor, from which he saw the

\* Procès, i. 231.

people proceeding in large bands towards the *Place du Palais Royal*, shouting out "*Vive la charte*" and "*A bas les gendarmes*.\*" Matters went on in this way for some time—the throng continually accumulating around the soldiers, and they on their part merely maintaining their ground, without farther attempting to repel the pressure. Suddenly however, and, as appears, without giving any warning of their intention, the cavalry made another general charge upon the people, with much more fury than before. According to the description of M. Letourneur, another shop-keeper of the Rue St. Honoré, they plunged into the midst of the dense multitude at the gallop, throwing many down, and striking others with their sabres. A great number of persons took refuge in M. Letourneur's shop †. Among those who were thrown to the ground was an old man who was severely wounded, and who, according to another witness, was afterwards run through the body by the sword of the officer who commanded the gendarmerie ‡. This outrage drew from the people a vehement outcry of indignation; and having obtained possession of the dead body, they afterwards bore the bloody trophy along with them through the streets, calling upon all to take arms to avenge their murdered fellow-citizen.

The partial dispersion of the people by this second attack of the military sent a portion of them from the Palais Royal and its neighbourhood to other parts of the town, and of course had only the effect of extending the agitation. About two o'clock, a body of workmen, to the number of a hundred and fifty, passed through the Grève and up the Rue St. Antoine, some of them armed with sticks and sabres. The shops were shut as they appeared; but they stopped at one, and demanded some gunpowder;

\* Procès, ii. 139.

† Id. i. 237.

‡ Id. p. 236; Evidence of M. Greppeau.

when, a few pounds being given to them, they passed on\*. These were probably part of the succession of bands described by M. Gallois, as having re-appeared after some time on the Boulevards under his window, directing their course towards the Porte St. Martin. "The long procession," he says, "uttered no cry; a sombre despair seemed to have taken possession of all. I observed, nevertheless, that those of them who had muskets evidently considered themselves as fortunate, and marched, each proud as an Artabanus, at the head of the rest. Thus the possession of a musket and a cartridge-box was all that was required to make any one captain of a company; but these companies were composed of men, most of whom had not even sticks. They marched with their arms crossed, as if they had been going to their work. All at once I heard the cry of—*To the timber-yard!* and the crowd rushed to the timber-yard which is over against the Boulevard. There some armed themselves with thick pieces of wood, others with poles, which they flourished about, calling out '*Liberty for ever!*' †"

As yet, however, no fire-arms had been used by the military. Indeed, up to four o'clock, according to the Staff-Officer whom we have already quoted, the troops, with the exception of the detachments of gendarmerie which had been called out by the police authorities, had received no orders to repair to the scene of action ‡. The civil war, as it was called, was as yet no more than an attempt to clear the streets, resisted by the crowds who were in possession of them. It had not been supposed, indeed, at headquarters that the services of any considerable portion of the troops would be required at all. "Some re-

\* Procès, i. 225; Evidence of M. Lange, Commissary of Pol for the quarter of the Hôtel de Ville.

† Gallois, p. 12.

‡ Military Events, p. 8.

giments," continues the writer to whom we have just referred, "had been kept in barracks by the private orders of their colonels, on account of some squabbles which had occurred the day before on the Boulevards and in the Rue de Rivoli; but the guards, sentinels, and all the daily detail of posts had been marched off, as usual, from the morning parade. At half past four, however, all of a sudden arrives an order at the barracks of the several regiments for getting the troops under arms, and for marching them to the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV., and the Boulevards. Many officers were absent from this sudden parade, not having been apprised that any order whatever was expected\*."

The forces now called out consisted of one battalion from each regiment of the line, of which, including the *Fusiliers Sédentaires*, there were five at this time in Paris, two battalions of about two hundred men each from each of the three regiments of foot-guards, a squadron of a hundred lancers, and another of as many cuirassiers. The artillery comprised four field-pieces. Of these troops, one battalion of guards and two pieces of cannon were stationed on the Boulevard des Capucins, in front of Polignac's hotel, in the interior of which a detachment of the 5th regiment of the line had some time before been placed. The squadron of lancers also patrolled this Boulevard. The portion of the Boulevards from the Porte St. Martin round to the Place de la Bastille was occupied by the battalions of the line, as was also the Place Vendôme. Finally, three battalions of guards were placed in the Carrousel and the Place du Palais Royal, and two other battalions of guards, with two guns, took their station in the Place Louis XV. †

\* Military Events, p. 8.

† Id. p. 9.





## CHAPTER V.

By the time that these dispositions were made, the aspect of the multitude in the streets had become extremely formidable. Their numbers had increased so immensely as quite to block up the great streets of Richelieu and St. Honoré; and conscious of this augmentation of their strength, as well as infuriated by the ineffectual attempts which had been made to disperse them, they were now wound to the proper pitch for throwing themselves at the impulse of the first chance excitement upon their enemies, instead of as hitherto awaiting their assault. There was but one thing they wanted; the soldiers were armed, and they were not. To the gunsmiths' shops, therefore, was now the cry. And in a short time, accordingly, various of the principal establishments of this description, in different parts of the town, were surrounded and broken into. Among others, that of M. Lepage, whose father, still living, in his eighty-fifth year, had voluntarily distributed the stores of his manufactory among the people at the taking of the Bastille in

1789, was attacked by an impatient and clamorous multitude. M. Lepage, it has been stated\*, as his assailants were about to burst open his doors, presented himself before them, armed with pistols, and proclaimed that as his father, in similar circumstances, had done, he would readily supply the champions of the national liberties with the means of meeting their enemies: "You request arms," said he, "you shall have them; but no violence, no person shall enter my house; I will myself distribute them among you." But the eager temper of the people would not brook this deliberate process; M. Lepage was spared all the trouble he proposed to take in making a fair distribution of his weapons; "they rushed into his shop," says Mr. Sadler, "and in an instant muskets, fowling-pieces, pistols, cross-bows, and every other species of arms were carried off."

The riot had now become an insurrection; and the people were engaged in actual battle with the military. There is much confusion and contradiction of statement among the different accounts which we have as to the commencement of the firing. According to several of the witnesses on the trial, who relate what passed under their own observation, it was from the military that the first fire proceeded. M. de Mauroy, an officer of engineers, states that after the Guards had taken their station in the Place du Palais Royal, which was by this time cleared of the people, a sergeant, conspicuous from his red hair, advanced into the Rue St. Honoré, in front of the lines, and stood for some time taking aim with a musket, but without firing, at the persons who were sheltering themselves in the cross lanes, or in the corners formed by the houses of the street. He stood at the north-east angle of the *Place*, near the Rue de Valois (Palais Royal), and the people at whom he took aim were spread over the

\* Sadler, p. 109.

street as far as the Rue du Coq. At last he fired, according to this witness, without any provocation; two or three soldiers who stood by his side imitated his example; and immediately the whole party advanced, and discharged several volleys up both the Rue de Valois and the Rue Croix des Petits Champs. Several persons, among them a woman, were understood to have fallen on this occasion. It seems, however, to be allowed on all hands, that the troops, on first resorting to their fire-arms, discharged them over the heads of the people\*. "Indignant," continues M. de Mauroy, "at the scene I had witnessed, I went to put myself at the head of a party of about forty working printers, who were collected near the Rue de Rampart St. Honoré†. Armed with stones, we kept our ground firmly, in the face of a detachment of lancers, who were advancing by the Rue de Rohan; and, when they came up to us, we twice assailed them with volleys of stones. A pistol was fired at me by one of the lancers, who had separated himself from the troop, and pursued me as far as the Hôtel de la Louisiane‡." Another witness, M. Delaporte, whose evidence has been already quoted, admits that nobody was struck by the first discharge of musketry on the part of the Guards, which took place, he says, in the Rue St. Honoré, about six o'clock. But half an hour after this, having left his house, after enjoining his children to remain in the apartment where they were, and not to present themselves at the window; he had been but a short time absent, when his son, who supposed that the soldiers had passed, went to open the window, and was killed in the act of doing so by a volley

\* "We are determined to write impartially," says Mr. Sadler, a zealous friend of the popular cause, "and to acknowledge that the first shots fired by the military were in the air."—Paris in July and August, 1830, p. 114.

† It runs between the streets of St. Honoré and Richelieu.

‡ Procès, 1, 218.

fired by the Guards from about the end of the Rue du Coq, as they were returning to their station in the Place du Palais Royal\*. After the soldiers had fired, several pistols were discharged at them by the people, who also threw flower-pots, and other heavy articles, down upon them from the windows of the houses. They returned this attack with their fire-arms†. M. Perusset, a merchant, who was then on his return from the Exchange, gives much the same account with M. de Mauroy. After the serjeant had fired, and his example had been followed by the battalion to which he belonged, or at least by a part of it, the people, according to this witness, ran to provide themselves with stones from some building-materials which lay in front of the house No. 219 in the Rue St. Honoré. He does not seem to have any notion that the soldiers were only firing in the air; the volleys, he says, were so violent from the first moment, that he would certainly have been killed himself if he had not succeeded in making his escape into the Café de la Régence‡.

M. Boniface, Commissary of Police for the quarter of the Palais Royal, some time before the firing commenced, was earnestly pressed by Reisch, the Commandant of the Gendarmerie, to order the people to disperse according to the forms appointed by the law. The effect of this would have been the same as that of reading the riot-act in England; had the crowd remained in defiance of the warning given them, they might have been legally fired upon by the military. Although the Commandant affirmed, however, that his troop had not only been attacked by stones, but that a musket had been discharged at them from a window (which does not seem to have

\* Procès, p. 232, and ii. 139.

† Evidence of M. Pilloy, Procès, i. 232.

‡ Id. p. 247. See to the same effect the evidence of M. Terassey, Id. ii. 111; and that of Poirson, i. 218.

been the case), the magistrate declined to interfere. He replied to the officer, that, since he had not sent for him before making his men sabre the people, he had no *sommation* (or command to disperse) to give them; and that besides, the two parties having already come into collision, any such ceremony would be useless\*. The worthy Commissary, whatever may have been his respect for the law in ordinary circumstances, seems rightly to have judged that for the present its supremacy might be considered as suspended, and that it was but fair, since the government had chosen to resort to force, to allow that to decide the quarrel.

Some of the officers, however, addressed persuasions to the people to retire, which were not altogether without effect. The Viscount de Foucauld, who set out about half past six, accompanied by a party of fifteen gendarmes, to visit the scene of the disturbances, states that, on entering the Rue St. Honoré from the Rue du Coq, he perceived a body of three or four hundred soldiers of the line surrounded and pressed upon by the crowd in such a manner as to make it impossible for them to stir. "I addressed myself," says the Viscount, "to this multitude, and induced them to retire so as to release the soldiers; I easily prevailed upon the people to move back." On approaching the neighbourhood of the Théâtre Français (in the Rue de Richelieu) he found the crowd apparently animated by feelings of more violent hostility; and some stones were thrown at a detachment of gendarmerie which was passing. "But yet," he adds, "none were directed against the party which I commanded; and I repeated to the people, without being insulted, the injunction that they should retire." Afterwards, however, on proceeding to the Rue Croix des Petits

\* Procès, i, 229; Evidence of M. Boniface.

Champs, he found the agitation much increased. The crowd were throwing stones at a party of foot gendarmes, who were retiring before their assailants. When the Viscount, who was on horseback, approached with his men they also had stones thrown at them, one of which struck M. de Foucauld on the head, and knocked off his hat. We see from this evidence the rapid progress of the popular exasperation. Although many persons retired when first called upon to do so, it was observed that they all very soon returned. One of the gendarmes himself remarked to the Viscount that the people had been evidently irritated by the cavalry having attacked them sword in hand. His own sword, M. de Foucauld says, was never out of its scabbard during the whole affair\*.

This witness, on turning into the Passage Montesquieu, which forms a communication between the Rues des Bons Enfants and Croix des Petits Champs, saw lying on the ground the dead body of the woman who is mentioned in most of the accounts of the Revolution as having fallen this evening. According to one of the gendarmes, of whom he made inquiry, she had been killed by a stone thrown by some one in the crowd, and intended for the soldiers; but the man seems to have spoken rather from conjecture than from his own knowledge. The popular histories, we believe, all agree in representing her to have been shot or sabred by the military. The author of one of these productions tells the story as follows. After having stated that "the corpse, mutilated and trampled on, was afterwards taken up by one of the populace, who had the appearance of a baker's workman," he proceeds: "This man, whose athletic form, cast in nature's manliest mould, gave effect to every word and gesture, carried the

\* *Procès*, i. 337, and ii. 178.

body to the foot of the statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires, where he addressed the surrounding crowds in a strain of rude, but overpowering, eloquence, which was responded to by every heart; and ‘Vengeance,’ ‘Vengeance,’ burst from every tongue. The same man then bore the corpse to the military post at the Bank, and, laying it down at the feet of the soldiers, he exclaimed, ‘Look! see how your comrades treat our wives and sisters, will you act in the same manner!’ ‘No,’ replied a soldier, taking his hand, ‘but come with arms.’ This advice was promptly followed. The scene had an evident effect upon all present; among the military it spread still wider the spirit of dissatisfaction at the revolting task before them, while it impressed the people with additional hatred to the government, under whose sanction such deeds were perpetrated\*.”



\* Narrative of the French Revolution in 1830; Paris, Galignani, p. 16. The same account is given by the Baron de Lamothe Langon, who quotes as his authority M. Darmaing, principal Editor of the *Gazette des Tribunaux*. See *Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris*, p. 157. The woman is said to have been between thirty and thirty-five years of age, and to have been shot by a ball in the forehead. See *Tablettes Populaires*, par A. M. p. 5.



The attempt here described was not the only one that was made this evening, and with some success, to work upon the patriotic sympathies of the soldiery. When the battalions from the regiments of the line first appeared in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, they were received by the people with cries of "The line for ever!" "The line does not fire!" "The line is on our side\*!" And, indeed, it soon appeared that not only the men, but several also of the officers of these battalions, felt but little relish for the service in which they were employed. The same witness, to whose evidence we have just referred, informs us, that upon hearing it rumoured that the line had refused to fire, desirous of ascertaining what truth there was in the statement, he proceeded forward in the direction of the Palais Royal till he came in view of the fifth regiment, when he perceived the men moving along without presenting any demonstration of hostility to the crowd which thronged the streets. On reaching the Place du Palais Royal, he went up to the officer at the head of the gendarmes by whom it was occupied; and, on questioning him on the subject, was informed that an officer of the line had certainly refused to order his men to fire, alleging as his reason that there was no commissary of police present †. "I heard," says another witness, "under my own window in the Rue de Chartres, a colonel (*chef d'escadron*) of gendarmerie intimate to a young officer of the line the order that had been given to fire upon the people. The officer replied that he had received no instructions. A paper was then shown to him by the other. To this, however, he still answered by a sign of dissent, and by inclining his sword towards the ground ‡." M. de Mauroy, already mentioned, informs us that on the arrival of the fifth regiment in the Place of

\* See evidence of M. de Praille; Procès, i. 311.

the Palais Royal, he himself, followed by a number of the working printers whom he had joined, went up to several of the officers and exhorted them not to fire upon their fellow-citizens; "on which," says he, "several of them embraced us, protesting that they would not fire; and in fact no hostile demonstration was offered by these battalions, at least while I remained on the ground\*." It was only on the line, however, that these appeals made any impression. One witness, M. Lecomte, states that he advanced to the commanding officer of the gendarmerie, and endeavoured to prevail upon him not to allow his men to continue to fire upon the people. "But he paid no regard to my observations," says M. Lecomte, "and threatened that he would strike me with his sabre if I did not withdraw instantly. I told him that he would have one day to account for the blood he was causing to be shed, and retired to escape the effect of his menaces †." As for the Guards, they, as is well known, with a few exceptions remained faithful, throughout the whole of these events, to the government, conceiving, whatever were their political opinions, that the oath they had taken as soldiers forbade them to remember that they were also citizens. Yet, even as early as the present evening, some of them are recorded to have manifested in no unequivocal manner the strong reluctance with which they drew their swords in this unhappy contest. M. Letourneur saw one of the officers in the Rue St. Honoré advance three times in front of his troop to implore the people to disperse, after which, perceiving that his entreaties were of no avail, he withdrew, shedding tears at being obliged to order his men to fire ‡.

We have an animated description of one of the at-

\* Procès, i. p. 218.

† Id. p. 313.

‡ Id. p. 237.

tacks made about this time by the military, in the evidence of M. Bayeux, the Advocate-General of the Royal Court. About half-past six, while sitting in his own house in the Rue Traversière, which connects the Rue St. Honoré with the Rue de Richelieu, M. Bayeux heard a great noise in the direction of the latter of these streets; and immediately went out to ascertain the cause of the tumult. He thus sketches what he saw:—"All the inhabitants of the Rue Traversière were at their windows, having their heads turned towards the Rue de Richelieu. All on a sudden we heard a discharge of a number of pistols behind our backs. Several lancers of the Guards had entered the Rue Traversière by the short street opposite to the passage called St. Guillaume; and, although there had been no crowd in the street, and I had heard no tumult or cry behind me, three persons were already shot at their windows; two of them were a foreigner and his wife, who were standing on the balcony of the Hôtel du Grand-Balcon; the one received a ball in the back of the head, the other in the side. An old man was killed at the window of a house beyond that in which I live; and a lady had her thigh broken at the corner of the Rue du Clos-Georget, some paces from me. This attack, so violent and so unprovoked, aroused all the inhabitants of the street, although till now they had been perfectly tranquil; and every one henceforth thought only of arming himself in self-defence\*."

A narrative of many of the events of the three days has been put into our hands by Count Tasistro di Rivoli, an Italian nobleman, who reached Paris on Sunday the 25th July. From this manuscript we shall occasionally give extracts. The Count's expressions, with the correction of a few foreign idioms, will remain the same as he has written them;

\* Procès, i. p. 290.

especially as he is no friend to the popular cause, and may therefore claim that his sentiments shall not be qualified or altered.

The attack here described by M. Bayeux appears to have been a portion of another scene, but of the same affair, of which Count Tasistro chanced, very much against his will, to be a spectator. Having been up the greater part of the night, it was late, he says, before he rose. He immediately ordered breakfast, with *Galignani's Messenger*, when he was informed that the paper had not been published that morning. But this was not the only deprivation by which he was made feelingly to perceive that the times were 'out of joint.' It was in vain that he both called and rang for hot water and the other necessaries of the breakfast-table; not a servant was in the house to answer his summons. They had all, he says, assembled in the yard, and were singing the Marseilloise around a dead body—that of a man shot in the fray, which some persons were exhibiting to stir up the popular indignation. "At last, it being now half-past four in the afternoon," he proceeds, "seeing that there was no chance of bringing the waiters to a sense of their duty, the master having lost all control over them, and having heard at the same time that the town was all in an uproar, I sallied forth in quest of adventures, and very dear the doing so had nearly cost me. On arriving at the Place du Palais Royal, I heard rising from among the multitude such mingled vociferations of '*Mort au Roi!*' '*Mort aux Ministres!*' '*Vive Napoléon!*' '*Vive la République!*' &c., that I exulted in the consciousness that nature had not made me a Frenchman. From thence I proceeded towards the Rue Richelieu, but I had hardly got into this street when I was obliged to run for shelter under a *porte cochere* (carriage entrance to a house), where fate compelled me to remain longer than I had bargained for.

“ A squadron of *gendarmes à cheval*, about forty in number, were passing quietly along, with no hostile manifestations whatever, when a missile whistling close by me made me turn my head to the left, whence it seemed to proceed; and then I saw a mob, composed of the lowest of the Parisian populace, and amounting to between three and four hundred persons, drawn up in a line in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite to the extremity of the Rue Richelieu. They were armed with all sorts of nondescript weapons, and were evidently determined to oppose the progress of the cavalry.

“ At first, the leader of the *gendarmes*, on seeing himself so suddenly and unexpectedly brought into close quarters with a villainous rabble, whose bloody intentions were no longer to be misunderstood, and whose frantic looks reminded you of a former crisis, which they seemed inclined to commemorate by somewhat too close an imitation, ordered his squadron to halt; and then addressing himself to those ragged gentlemen, he begged to remind them that he had come with no hostile intentions—that his duty was to protect the town from disturbance and riot; and he therefore entreated them, in the name of the King, to allow him to pass, and to spare him the pain of forcing his way through the midst of them. The only answer that was returned to this civil and reasonable remonstrance was a volley of stones, by which two or three of the *gendarmes* were wounded, and the caps of a few others knocked off. It had also nearly levelled me to the ground, as I stood in the middle of the street awaiting the result of the parley.

“ The caps were picked up, the commander only muttering a few “*sacres*,” but without losing his temper. However, just as he was going to urge them again to respect his Majesty’s troops, another [discharge of heavier missiles] than the first un-

horsed some of the men, and struck the commander himself. ‘*Au galop,*’ was instantly the word of command; and forward they rushed, sword in hand, while I sneaked under the *porte cochere*. If the mob had even now dispersed and retired to their homes, no farther mischief would in all probability have ensued; but, instead of doing this, new auxiliaries having poured in from every side, they stood their ground, so that the gendarmes had no alternative but to charge and strike with their swords in all directions. The cuirassiers and lancers soon arrived to their support; and now the heroic citizens, finding that the odds were no longer so monstrously in their favour, took flight in all directions, leaving many of their comrades maimed and slain on the ground. The cavalry, having thus routed their enemies, quietly arranged themselves again in order, and proceeded along as if nothing had happened, only keeping a constant watch to avoid being surprised by another similar attack.

“During all this while, I can assure the reader that my situation was none of the most enviable. It was now half-past eight o’clock, and I had been forced to remain all this time in my hiding-place, because the stones that flew about in all directions made it unsafe to stir; and the fury of the troops on the other hand was now raised to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that they continued constantly galloping up and down the street, dealing about their blows wherever their swords could reach, and sparing no one who had not a military coat on his back. I was therefore obliged to stay where I was, only now and then thrusting out my head when a moment’s calm prevailed. Many were the balls which struck the thick gate behind which I stood concealed; and when I at last ventured out, volleys of stones still continued to fly around me. But the Goddess of



Curiosity kindly preserved me from any unlucky accident; and, by nine o'clock, I had the happiness to find myself once more safe in my lodgings, and enjoying as excellent a ragout as ever solaced an equally excellent appetite."

From what he witnessed on this occasion, Count Tasistro considers himself entitled to affirm that the mob, and not the soldiers, were the aggressors in this civil contest. But, whatever may have taken place here, elsewhere, at all events, the people, having ceased to stand merely on the defensive, had already for some time been actively employed in preparing the necessary means for enabling them boldly to face, and, as it were to give battle, to the enemy. They had repeatedly ventured, as we have seen, to attack the soldiers with the imperfect instruments of annoyance they could alone as yet command. Stones collected for building, or whatever rubbish the streets afforded, had been eagerly seized upon and used as missiles. Many stones had been carried up to the higher stories and the roofs of houses, and showered down upon the military. But another grand operation of popular warfare was also already employing many busy hands. The barricades were once more rising in the streets. This evening it was principally in the Rue St. Honoré that these erections made their appearance. According to the Staff-Officer, the first barricade which was encountered by the military was one situated in this street, at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle. On the commanding officer, he says, summoning the people behind this barricade to surrender, the answer was a shower of stones and tiles. The obstacle, however, was eventually cleared, and the crowd who had entrenched themselves behind it compelled to retire\*. We have a more particular account of the capture of this barricade in the evidence of M. de Puybusque, delivered before the

\* Military Events, p. 11.







Engraved by

RUE ST HONORÉ  
CORNER OF RUE DU COQ

T. Higham

Commission of the Chamber of Peers, on the trial of the ex-ministers. It was constructed, according to this witness, principally of two omnibusses, overturned and placed across the street. Lieutenant-Colonel de Varaigne, who was riding past at the time, very nearly had his cabriolet taken from him by the people, who wanted to employ it in the defence they were erecting. A party of lancers, M. de Puybusque says, had been already stopped by this barricade, when he came up with a detachment of thirty fusileers to attempt its demolition. He effected his object by leading his men round by a back street, so as to bring them to the other side of the structure, where the people were, who all fled on their approach. The omnibusses were then removed, and the lancers passed and rode forward at a gallop. The people, however, though thus dislodged from their position, by the manœuvre which had enabled the enemy to attack them in the rear, were neither dispersed to any great distance, nor much daunted by their mischance. Scarcely had the cavalry passed the spot at which they had been formerly repulsed, when a pursuing crowd began to assail them with showers of stones and brickbats. De Puybusque on this advanced with his men, and for a short distance without receiving any annoyance; but on reaching the Rue des Pyramides, a new street, which connects the Rue St. Honoré with the Place de Rivoli, large quantities of stones and other missiles were thrown down upon them from the corner house, which appeared to be full of people. Several shots also, M. de Puybusque asserts, were fired from this house, which induced him to order a halt, for the purpose of entering and searching it; but before he could do so, his men, without his authority, fired into the windows of the house, and shot three persons in one of the apartments\*. These unfortunate

individuals, according to another witness\*, were merely lodgers in the house, and were reported to be Englishmen. The Staff-Officer, who designates the house in question the 'Hôtel Royal,' says that one of them was a Mr. Fox of the Holland family, and that it was he who fired the only shot that came from the windows †. The first of these statements is certainly incorrect; and it appears, indeed, that the name was not Fox, but Foulkes. According to the evidence of some of the witnesses on the trial, no shots at all had been fired from this house, but only some stones thrown from it, when the soldiers discharged their guns in great numbers at the windows ‡. When M. de Puybusque forced his way into it, some time afterwards, with a part of his detachment, he was informed that, previous to the arrival of the soldiers, it had been amply provided with stones and brickbats from a cart which had been brought to the door, and which had then proceeded onwards to furnish other houses in the street with similar supplies §.

Various other barricades, besides the one at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, had been erected along this part of the Rue St. Honoré. There was one at the extremity of the Rue des Pyramides, and another about a hundred paces farther west, behind which a large multitude was collected. M. Delaunay states, that being ordered by his commanding officer to fire upon this assemblage, he advised that that measure should not be adopted, observing that he perceived a detachment of the Guards behind the people; and then, advancing alone, he invited them to retire, saying that he must fire upon them if they did not; when they immediately dispersed ||. M. De Blair, of the 3d Regiment of the Foot Guards, was sent at

\* M. Delaunay, Procès, i. 328. † Military Events, p. 10.

‡ See Evidence of M. Bellée, Procès, ii. 83.

§ Procès, i. 250. || Id. i. p. 328.

the head of a party of thirty men to destroy a barricade in the Rue St. Nicaise, another of the short streets connecting the Rue St. Honoré with the Rue de Rivoli. "I asked my Colonel," says this witness, "if I was to make my men charge their guns? 'What a question!' he replied—'Certainly you are; you must be prepared to repel force by force.' When I reached the barricade I found it to be a miserable affair, which opposed but a feeble impediment to our progress; we were, however, assailed by the people with stones torn up from the pavement, and other missiles. On turning into the Rue St. Honoré we found another barricade, formed of two omnibusses overturned, and an immense multitude of the populace behind it, together with several heaps of brickbats and paving-stones, which they had collected. We were attacked here also, as we had been in the Rue St. Nicaise; but having drawn up my men in order of battle opposite to the barricade, I made them load their guns and advance with their bayonets levelled, upon which the crowd took flight into the adjacent streets\*." He then mentions that some of the men, who had imprudently advanced forty or fifty paces before the rest of the detachment, were assailed by the people with stones, and were even twice fired at from the houses; which provoked them to use their muskets in return, till he ran after them and brought them back to the ranks. The carriages forming the barricade were then turned aside so far as to permit the passage of four horses advancing abreast. Another officer of the Guards, M. de St. Germain, gives a similar account of an attack which he made on a barricade at the junction of the Rue St. Honoré with another of these cross-streets, the Rue de Rohan. The people attacked the detachment with stones, and wounded several of the men, who

\* Procès, i. p. 324.

were, however, prevented from firing by their guns not being charged\*. We insert an engraving from a drawing taken at the time of another of these barricades, which was erected at the corner of the Rue du Coq. Like the one first mentioned, it will be perceived to be principally formed of two omnibusses.

These details, which rest almost entirely on the authority of actors in the scenes to which they relate, will give the reader a full and correct conception of the terrible commotion which raged in the heart of Paris till a late hour this evening. All along the line from the Rue du Coq in the east, to the Rue du Dauphin (opposite to the church of St. Roch) in the west, and in most of the short cross-streets between those two points leading towards the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Rue de Rivoli, as well as all around the Palais Royal to the north, a fierce and obstinate contest was maintained from five or six in the afternoon till ten or eleven at night, between the military and the people. The former, drawn up in regular order, commanded by able and experienced officers, fully equipped and armed, in complete possession, in short, of all those advantages of discipline, organization, and appointment, which must have contributed so powerfully both to sustain their own confidence and to give them an imposing aspect in the eyes of their antagonists,—met in the latter a numerous, but entirely unprepared and uncombined, multitude—destitute both of leaders and of arms, except the stones which they gathered from the streets, and composed principally of persons altogether unacquainted with the practice, and even new to the spectacle, of warlike operations. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that at most of the separate points in the extended field of action where the two parties came into collision, the final result was that

\* Procès, i. p. 321.



the regular force succeeded in effecting the dispersion of the insurgents. These tumultuary and almost defenceless bands, thus attacked in succession, had no other resource except to fly before the musketry of their assailants. But, although in this way repeatedly driven from their ground and apparently scattered in all directions, it was only, as we have seen, that they might the next moment recommence their hostility in some other form, often against the very troop which had dislodged them. Chased from under the shelter of their barricades, they spread themselves along the borders of the street, from which they fling their missiles at their victors as they advance, or closing in behind them, become in turn the harassing pursuers of those from whom they had fled but the instant before. Forced to retire from the streets, when they are swept by volleys of musketry, they enter the houses, and ascend to their upper stories and their roofs, not merely to take refuge there from the danger, but from their new position to renew the war, and to shower down their brickbats and paving-stones with more sure and more destructive effect from this elevation. Thus it matters little how often they are discomfited, or how many posts are wrested from them; the suppression of the revolt is no nearer because for the moment the barricades are carried and demolished, or because portions of the streets are cleared; the multitudes by whom they were thronged are merely driven off to congregate elsewhere; and even when at last the scene of the conflict seems entirely deserted by the people, and the military guards stationed at the different points are left to watch in undisturbed silence, the people have but retired for a few hours to their homes, to rest themselves and recruit their energies after the fatigues of this extraordinary day, the events of which have deepened their exasperation, but not depressed their courage or their hopes.



## CHAPTER VI.

THE contest, however, had not been confined during this day to the single district in which we have been hitherto following its movements. It was here that the whole population might be said to be in insurrection; but temporary tumults had also disturbed various other parts of the town. Prince Polignac's hotel, at the corner of the Rue des Capucins, was surrounded by considerable crowds during a great part of the afternoon\*; although the strong military force, by which it was protected, seems to have deterred the people from any actual violence. But at M. Casimir Perier's residence, in the adjoining street, the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, where, it will be remembered, a meeting of the Deputies was held in the course of the afternoon, a somewhat serious affair occurred between the military and the people. A considerable throng having collected around the gate, greeted the Deputies as they successively approached, with cries of welcome and exultation; but it does not appear that they had been guilty of any further disorder, when they were suddenly attacked by a body of sixty mounted gendarmes, who issued from the neighbouring hotel of M. Chantelauze, in the same street. The crowd, according to the evidence of M. Perier's porter, consisted chiefly of young men, apparently students; one of whom he saw thrown down in the charge by the horses, while another received a cut with a sabre in his neckcloth, without being hurt. It was reported, however, that

\* See Evidence of M. Courteille, Procès, i. 227.

several more had been wounded ; but the witness did not hear that any one had been killed. The cavalry seem to have advanced to the charge, and afterwards to have scoured the street, with considerable impetuosity ; and the result was that it was speedily cleared of the people, whom they pursued as far as the Boulevards\*.

About seven o'clock in the evening disturbances broke out at the Bourse. Soon after this hour M. Deroste, one of the Commissaries of Police for the quarter, was informed that a considerable crowd had collected in the square, attracted by the exhibition

\* Such is the substance of the evidence of Rayez, the porter, as delivered by himself before the Commission of the Chamber of Peers. See Procès, i. 285, 286. M. Mauguin, however, the well-known member of the Chamber of Deputies, gives in his deposition a very different version of the facts, although he seems to quote this very witness as his principal authority. "On reaching," he says, "about two o'clock the house of M. Casimir Perier (where he had understood his colleagues were assembling) I perceived a great commotion at the guard-house, which had been established since the preceding evening at the hotel of M. de Polignac ; there were also a great many people in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg. M. Casimir Perier's gate was shut ; I knocked, and the porter did not open it to me till after he had asked me who I was. When I had entered, he told me that a large crowd, but without arms, having assembled before the gate and called out *The Deputies for ever!* as they successively entered, the gendarmerie had come up all at once from both ends of the street, and made a double charge on the people, striking them with their sabres ; and that in this charge two young men had been killed, and eighteen or twenty wounded. This statement was confirmed to me when I came out by several persons who were in the street ; and some days afterwards I received a visit from a young man, who assured me that his brother had been killed on this occasion. He informed me that he was himself a student of law ; but I do not recollect his name."—Procès, i. 272. We find also M. Hamelin, a wine-merchant, who is described as residing in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, and who says that he saw the charges made by the cavalry, attesting that several of the people fell to the ground wounded.—Id. ii. 219.

of a dead body—that of an individual who had been killed in the Rue St. Honoré soon after the commencement of the firing. Having repaired to the place, accompanied by his colleague, M. Fouquet, and a party of gendarmes, he found it impossible either to get possession of the body, or to make his way through the dense ranks of the multitude\*. After having carried it about for some time, in the midst of cries of Vengeance! Vengeance! The exhibitors of the dead body attempted to deposit it in the shop of M. Mesnier, bookseller, at No. 31 of the *Place*. The porter, however, having refused to admit them, they threw a number of stones at the windows; and then proceeded with their burthen to the guard-house of the gendarmerie, where they left it. On examination, it turned out that the man had been shot by a ball in the head. Between nine and ten o'clock, however, the mob returned to the guard-house, and began to attack it with stones with so much fury that M. Deroste judged it most prudent to retire, and to advise the soldiers to follow his example. They all accordingly did so, except two, who were forced by the people to take up the body, and to convey it to one of the cellars of the Exchange. After this the people set fire to the guard-house; which was quickly in a blaze, and continued burning all the night. The flames were seen to a great distance, and alarmed the surrounding country with the apprehension that the conflagration of the city was begun. Some detachments of the Line and the Guards at length appeared on the ground, and endeavoured to disperse the multitude, on whom, however, they do not appear to have fired in the square, although assailed by them with stones. But several discharges are stated to have taken place about ten o'clock in the

\* Evidence of Deroste, Procès, i. 221.

Rue Feydeau and other streets in the neighbourhood\*.

It was on this occasion that an incident occurred, strikingly illustrative of the exalted state of feeling to which even the humblest of the populace were already wrought by the influences of this stirring conflict. M. Darmaing, the editor of the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, who was present among the assailants, overheard two working-men who had been left to guard the post, remark to each other that they had tasted nothing for twelve hours. He immediately went up to them, and, offering them a five-franc piece, said, "Go, my friends, and get something to eat; I shall take your place, and will remain here till your return." The men at first seemed disposed to decline his bounty; but on his pressing it upon them, with the remark that at such a moment as the present it was only a matter of course that he who had should give to those who had not, they accepted the money. With a fine feeling of what was just and proper, however, having satisfied their necessities, they re-appeared in a quarter of an hour, and returning their thanks to M. Darmaing, gave him back fifty-five sous, which remained after their expenditure. M. Darmaing felt that he could not even ask them to retain the money.

The dead body, which had given rise to all this commotion at the Exchange, was not the only similar evidence of the sanguinary violence of the government that was in like manner carried about and exhibited this evening, for the purpose of kindling the indignation of the spectators. The person whom we have mentioned as having been thrown down in one of the first charges of the gendarmerie, and afterwards run through the body with a sabre, was conveyed, it

\* See Evidence of MM. Deroste, Delangle, and Mesnier; Procès, i. pp. 221, 234, 235.

appears, even before he had expired, to the Place du Châtelet, where a large multitude soon gathered around him. One of the Commissaries of Police having come up with a party of gendarmes, succeeded in gaining possession of the dying man, and sent him in a hackney-coach to the Hôtel Dieu; but he was again seized by the people at the gate of that building. This happened soon after seven o'clock. The crowd which filled the Châtelet had extended to the adjoining Quai de la Megisserie; and there it was soon announced that the people had broken into and were plundering several gunsmiths' shops. Their numbers, however, were found to be by far too great for the small party of gendarmes who attended the Commissary, to cope with; especially as the guns of the latter were not loaded, while many of their opponents were well armed with the weapons they had just obtained by pillage. Several shots were, in fact, fired at the military, one of which only missed the Commissary, in consequence of the arm which directed it having been turned aside by one of the gendarmes\*.

Such were the localities which were this evening the principal scenes of disturbance. The Palace of the Tuileries was only attacked by some stones thrown at the windows from the Rue de Rivoli †. About seven o'clock a considerable mob appeared before the station-house of the gendarmerie at the Halle aux Draps, and threatened an attack upon its occupants; but after some time they retired without having made any attempt to execute their menaces ‡. In the Rue St. Martin a band of young men, who had issued, it is said, from the establishment of M. Fain, the printer, and were armed only

\* Evidence of M. Alard, Procès, i. 226; and of M. Galleton, id. i. 262, and ii. 152.

† Procès, i. 265; Evidence of the Baron de Glandèves.

‡ Procès, i. 277; Evidence of M. Ducastel.

with broomsticks, were attacked by the gendarmerie, as they were rushing along the street, crying out *Vive la Charte*, and put to flight\*. Other rencontres took place in the course of the evening between the people and the military on different parts of the quays leading from the centre of the city towards the Faubourg St. Antoine. The cavalry assailed two successive throngs who were proceeding in this direction, with the intention of meeting in the Place de la Bastille; when several of them who were armed were deprived of their weapons, and two tricoloured flags which they bore were also captured†.

\* Ambs, *La Liberté Réconquise*, p. 77.

† Procès, i. 280; Evidence of M. de Puybusque. Various other events, it may be proper to mention, besides those related in the text, are assigned by many of the popular histories to this the first day of the Revolution. Thus, for example, Mr. Sadler (p. 116) informs us that "in the Faubourg Poissonnière, a Captain Flandin, at the head of about 200 men, not more than twenty of whom were armed, attacked the barracks that were guarded by about 140 soldiers of the 50th of the line, and made them lay down their arms." The author of the 'Narrative,' published by Galignani, also states (p. 16) that "several of the police and military posts in various parts of the city were attacked and taken possession of by the populace, who carried off whatever arms they contained." But we can find no trace of these affairs in the more authentic accounts. The capture of the different military posts (with the exception of that at the Exchange) seems to have been chiefly effected on the morning of Wednesday. Several of these productions (see *e. g.* Ambs, p. 239) likewise speak of the soldiers having been fired upon this day from the Porte St. Denis—thus ante-dating, we believe, another of the occurrences of the day following. According to the same authorities too (see Ambs, p. 186) the tricolour was this day planted on the towers of Nôtre Dame, and the tocsin rung from the bells of the same venerable structure—events, neither of which assuredly had yet taken place. It is said, however, that the tocsin was ringing this afternoon by half past four at the neighbouring villages of Montrouge, Vaugirard, Issy, and Vanvres. (See *Histoire de la Révolution*, par E. M. S. Caporal dans la Garde Nationale, p. 54.) Mr. C. K. Tynte, who has published a 'Sketch of the Revolution,' "compiled," he says, "almost entirely from my own observations and notes on

We have already mentioned that by noon this day most of the shops in the central parts of the French capital were shut. In the course of the afternoon the suspension of business of every kind may be said to have become nearly universal over the city. But few of the theatres were opened at all; and in some, where the performances had commenced as usual,

the spot," tells us, among other things which occurred this day, that "many of the old National Guard now appeared in uniform, completely armed, ranging themselves with, and assuming command over, the people"—"that the students from the Polytechnic School were now mingling gradually but rapidly with the populace"—that "General Dubourg, making his appearance, was entreated to take a command, which he accepted; and from his experience and conduct a distinct order of battle was organized and assumed"—that "barricades were constructed, by cutting down the trees of the Boulevards, along these walks and all the principal streets of the town, every twenty or thirty yards," &c. &c. (See pp. 32—36). None of these statements, we may venture to affirm, are correct. Lastly, to mention no other instances, Mr. Sadler (another eye-witness) assures us (p. 112) that on this same day, "the Place de Grève, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, became a scene of horrid carnage;" that "a strong force, composed of troops of the line, guards and gendarmes, was posted there;" and that "they made repeated and furious charges, driving the people in all directions, and leaving stretched upon the pavement numerous victims of their brutal ferocity." Now, so far is any part of this description from being true, that M. Lange, Commissary of Police for the quarter of the Hôtel de Ville, assures us, in his deposition on the trial of the Ex-Ministers, that with the exception of the breaking of the lamps at a late hour, the only interruption of tranquillity which occurred this day in the *Place* was occasioned by a party of about one hundred and fifty workmen who passed towards the east a little after two o'clock, and returned about eight, without having committed any outrage beyond demanding some gunpowder from one shop,—and that, during the whole day, not a gun was fired in his quarter. (See *Procès*, i, 225.) Nor is this evidence contradicted by that of any of the other witnesses. These examples, selected from many that might have been added, afford a curious illustration of what History often is, even when it professes to relate events passing, if not under the eye, at least we might almost say under the window, of the writer.



the scanty audiences (they must have been so) that had assembled at so strange a time to seek excitement from the shows of fiction, on its being announced that a civil war was actually raging in the streets, left the house in a body to crowd to that more interesting drama\*. The cafés were in like manner deserted. Mr. Parkes states that, having left the Palais de Justice at six o'clock in company with an advocate, they made their way to the Palais Royal with much difficulty, "from the throng of people and the sabring that was going on in the Rue St. Honoré;" after which, having gone to dine at Prevost's, they found there "only about ten persons, instead of two or three hundred as usual." "During dinner," adds the writer, "the lancers charged the populace under the galleries †."

The breaking of the public lamps, which had commenced the preceding evening, was completed to-night throughout nearly the whole of Paris, and was the last achievement of the people before they retired from the streets. In the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville the work of demolition commenced about half-past ten o'clock; the agents were a band of about forty young people ‡. This extinction of the lights was not a mere act of wanton mischief. The darkness in which it involved the town was well calculated to aid the popular warfare, both by rendering it almost impossible for the military force of the government to act so long as it continued, and by enabling the insurgents to arrange their plans, to erect their defences, and even, if they should think fit, to attack the detached stations of their opponents, in comparative concealment and security. An anecdote

\* Gardeton, Révolution Française, p. 7; Hone, p. 21.

† Letter, p. 6.

‡ Evidence of M. Lange, Procès, i, 225; and of Count de Chabrot-Volvic, id. p. 298.

dote is told of the conduct of the people while employed in this operation, which does them honour. A band of them having arrived at a certain house—that occupied by M. de Pastoret—a man was proceeding to strike down the lantern which stood under the arcade, when another of the crowd called out, “Let us leave this one; this is the house where they give bread to the poor all the winter;” and by unanimous consent the light was allowed to burn untouched\*.

According to the author of the ‘Military Events of the Revolution,’ the insurgents this day appeared to be altogether of the very lowest class of the people †. M. Delaunay also states in his evidence on the trial that he did not all the day see any citizen (*bourgeois*) in arms ‡; and another officer of the Guards, M. de St. Germain, represents a crowd, by whom his detachment was attacked in the Rue de Rohan, as apparently composed of people drunk §. These statements, however, considering the sources from which they come to us, are not to be received without some degree of distrust in their absolute correctness. The mere labouring classes, no doubt, formed the great bulk of the groups, by whom the tumultuary warfare, to which alone the insurrection had as yet given birth, was waged. It was this order of the population chiefly by whom the military were assailed first with insults and bravadoes, and then with stones—who piled up the few imperfect barricades which appeared this afternoon in the Rue St. Honoré and in its vicinity—who were elsewhere seen rushing along in smaller parties, uttering cries of indignation against the ministry—by whom the bodies of the slain were borne about in exhibition, the shops of the gunsmiths pil-

\* *Amb.*, p. 121; and in the Collections of Anecdotes.

† *Military Events*, p. 12.

‡ *Procès*, i. 328.

§ *Id.* p. 321.

laged, the lamps broken, the guard-houses menaced or assaulted, and other outrages committed of a similar character. All this was mainly and almost entirely the doing of the mechanics and labourers of Paris. In so acting they performed the part properly belonging to them at such a crisis as had arrived. So long as the contest between two parties in a state is carried on within the recognised forms of the constitution, it may do for individuals alone to engage in it, while the mass of the population remains inert, or at least (no matter with what interest it looks on) refrains from all active interference. The weapons of the combatants here are only argument, eloquence, and what other instruments are to be drawn from the armoury of persuasion, which may be wielded with effect by few as well as by many hands. But when the strife is one to be decided by the sword, the physical strength of the country must take its place in the front of the battle. In such a case the higher and better educated classes—the natural leaders of the people, as they have been called—can only make their appearance with propriety, or to any useful end, after the people themselves, whom they are to lead, and without whom they can do nothing, have shown that they are in earnest in the business by beginning the attack. Let us not, therefore, affect either to depreciate this Revolution, with some, as a mere revolt of the mob, because the resistance which brought it about was begun by the labouring population; or, with others, to underrate the public virtue of the higher classes because they were not first in the field in so righteous a cause.

We are not, however, to suppose that among the multitudes who thronged the streets even on this the first day of the insurrection, there were not many persons belonging to the upper classes of the commu-

nity. Such persons, it is probable, did not very generally take part in the mere pursuing and pelting of the military, and those other acts of violence by which a large portion of the crowd rather evidenced their exasperation than gained any actual advantage in their contest with the government; but still some are noticed as having engaged even in this part of the business. M. de Mauroy, for instance, as we have seen, an officer of engineers and a member of the Legion of Honour, put himself at the head of a body of working printers; and along with them made two successive attacks upon a troop of lancers with stones in the Rue de Rohan. Some also of those who were slain on this evening were not of the poorer classes. Of six wounded persons who were brought in the course of the afternoon to the Hôtel Dieu, one is described as having been a young man, elegantly dressed, who expired before he could tell his name, having received a ball through his lungs\*. Even females of respectable station are mentioned in some of the accounts as having taken part in the work of the day. A Madame Weber, it is said, was exposed for some time to the fire of the troops in the Place of the Palais Royal, with her child in her arms; but she did not withdraw from her perilous situation without exhorting her countrymen valiantly to defend their rights †. Other instances of female patriotism thus early displayed are mentioned by M. Gallois. The widow of a general ‡, he informs us, repaired this afternoon to the Palais Royal, and announced that, if money were wanting to effect a revolution, she was ready to contribute. Another lady, Madame R—, herself armed her two sons, and sent them forth to join

\* See l'Hôtel Dieu de Paris en Juillet et Août 1830, par Prosper Ménière, pp. 41 and 288.

† Ambs, p. 225.

‡ Of General Foy, we believe.

the combatants. For two days she heard no tidings of them; but they returned to her at last unhurt, when she received them with a flood of tears. A third lady, Madame Vénot, had also permitted her only son, to whom she was tenderly attached, to leave her this day to take his share in the fight. When some one asked this heroic mother where her boy was, and, on being told, expressed surprise that she should allow him to mix in such affairs, "It was right," she answered, "that he should do as others; if all were to stay at home, there would be nothing for us but to bend the neck." "But if he should be killed?" said the other. "I should console myself," was the reply, "by the reflection that he had died for his country." Madame Vénot, it is related, had also the happiness of again embracing her son, unharmed as when he had parted from her, after the victory was won\*.

It appears that, besides the meeting of the Deputies, which we have already mentioned as having taken place this afternoon at the house of M. Casimir Périer, a smaller number of them assembled again at half past eight in the evening at M. Audry de Puyraveau's. As no resolutions, however, were adopted at this consultation, the circumstance only deserves to be mentioned in consequence of its having been here that the scheme of calling out the National Guard seems to have been first seriously spoken of. One of the persons present, M. Caffin d'Orsigny, addressing himself to General Lafayette, asked him if he would accept the command of that force. The General replied that he would not hesitate, if he should be called to that dignity by the voice of his fellow-citizens †. M. Caffin d'Orsigny having re-

\* Gallois, p. 16.

† M. de Lafayette had first heard of the ordinances this morning as he sat at breakfast at Lagrange. He immediately hastened to Paris. (S. T.)

turned to his own house, accompanied by M. Bérard, "We there," says the former, "along with some other friends, reflecting on what had been said at the meeting, resolved to save the cause of the people, which we saw would be exposed to the danger of being lost, if it should be left as it had been to itself. The people wanted leaders, and these we proposed to give them, by establishing a Provisional Government\*." The results of this determination we shall afterwards have to relate. The Marquis de Sémonville, the Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, was also very anxious to bring about a meeting of the members of his order this day; but he found that, even including those who were on service at St. Cloud, there were not yet more than about eighteen of them in town †. The Marquis, as we shall find, afterwards gave up the thought of consulting with his colleagues, and resolved to take upon himself to represent, in his single person, the majesty of the whole body.

Notwithstanding the much more formidable aspect which the insurrection had this day assumed, the infatuation of the ministers, and their confidence in the successful issue of the struggle, continued the same as ever. M. Bayeux, the Advocate-General of the Royal Court, had an interview with M. de Chantelauze at eight o'clock in the morning. This gentleman had already, partly from his own observation and partly from the communications of others, begun to entertain very alarming apprehensions as to how the affair might end. He could not however inspire the Keeper of the Seals with any of his own terrors. "I related to him," says M. Bayeux, "all that had

\* Letter of M. Caffin d'Orsigny to the Duc de Choiseul; published in the *Nouveau Journal de Paris* for the 9th of August, 1830.

† Procès, i. 301; Evidence of the Marquis de Sémonville.

been told me; I communicated to him what I had myself observed, and I did not conceal my conviction that the day would not pass without bloodshed. He replied, that I was alarming myself very needlessly;—that it was not to be doubted that the smallest demonstration of force would restore every thing to order;—that the people would confine their opposition to the cry of “Down with the ministers!” which it was resolved to allow them to utter without molestation. I observed, in reply to this, that, even if it could be supposed that a mere show of force could for the present moment calm the effervescence of the popular mind, it certainly would not be possible so to restrain it when, at the time of the approaching elections, all France would be in motion. M. de Chantelauze assured me that the Government had foreseen all that,—that it was perfectly informed of the state in which things were, and that I might make myself quite easy. I quitted him with the conviction that in spite of all I had said he would retain his erroneous notion that the people would return to subordination as soon as they saw the bayonets of the soldiers pointed at them\*.” Notwithstanding his assertion of the perfect acquaintance of the Government with all that was taking place, M. Chantelauze, we may here remark, according to his own statement, was not informed of the protest of the editors of the journals which appeared this morning till about seven o’clock at night, when its publication was mentioned to him, along with some other facts regarding the

\* Procès, i. 289, and ii. 213. It is but fair to remark, however, that M. de Chantelauze, in his own examination, while he does not deny having felt the confidence M. Bayeux imputes to him, maintains that that gentleman himself had not the merit of so much foresight at this time as he was afterwards anxious to take credit for. See Procès, ii. 125.



condition of the city, by the Procureur du Roi, whom he met at M. de Polignac's\*.

M. de Montbel, by the manner in which he expresses himself in his pamphlet, would lead us to suppose that the cabinet had not, previously to the issue of the ordinances, been altogether blind to the possibility of their giving rise to some commotion. He says that he himself was earnest in insisting that proper precautions should be taken; and that it was declared (he declines mentioning by whom), in the presence of the King as well as of the ministers, that all the requisite military measures had been adopted, and that the Royal Guards and numerous other troops were disposed in such a manner as to prevent any revolt. "I know not," he adds, "what fatal error occasioned assertions to be made so distant from the truth; they inspired us with the confident belief that all attempts at disorder would be, if not entirely prevented, at least easily suppressed †." This statement, however, is hardly consistent with those of his colleagues, who would actually seem never to have thought of precautions in consequence of never having apprehended any danger. When Polignac is asked by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers what plan he had formed for putting down the resistance which he must have felt that his ordinances would excite, his answer is, "No plan had been formed, because no resistance had been anticipated ‡." De Chantelauze's reply to a similar question is equally explicit: no resistance by force (*résistance matérielle*), he says, was expected; it was thought that the only opposition to the ordinances would be attempted in the courts of law §. But the declaration of M. Guernon de Ranville is the most

\* Procès, ii. 124.

† Protestation, p. 9.

‡ Procès, i. 154.

§ Id. p. 182.

naïve and curious. "It is not possible," observe the Commissioners, "but that in signing the ordinances you must have foreseen that they would occasion a great resistance; what arrangements were made for putting it down?" "Facts," replies the Count, "more irresistible than any reasonings, demonstrate that we were as far as possible from foreseeing a resistance, or rather an insurrection, such as we have had the misfortune to experience,"—(the warmth with which the ex-minister vindicates his claim to political shortsightedness is amusing); "if this resistance had been foreseen, we should have taken those precautions against it, which the most ordinary prudence would have pointed out. But all was sudden and entirely unexpected." "Even on the evening of Tuesday," he is afterwards asked, "when the disturbances had fairly broken out, did it not occur to you, as you had been opposed at first to the system of the ordinances, to insist now that their execution should be suspended?" To this he replies that, although certainly so early as this day not only tumults of an insurrectionary character had taken place, but his Majesty's troops had been attacked and blood shed, still it was impossible as yet to recognize the true nature of the commotion, which might have been, and indeed appeared to be, nothing more than a riot occasioned by some assemblages of workmen and persons belonging to the lowest class of the people\*." So that in all the extraordinary events we have related—the fighting in the streets—the erection of the barricades—the seizure of arms by the people wherever they were to be found—the government saw nothing more than a passing disturbance of the public tranquillity on the part of the mere rabble.

The actual movements and proceedings of the ministers this day, as far as we can trace them, do

\* Procès, i. p. 193.

not, as might be expected, indicate much energy or activity. Peyronnet, by his own account, was the greater part of the morning at St. Cloud\*, and during the remainder of the day at his official residence †. Polignac was all day in his hôtel ‡, and first heard of the commotion in the centre of the city about noon §. His colleagues, however, or several of them, repaired hither to him, about four in the afternoon; he having previously, in anticipation of their visit, desired M. de Foucauld to have so strong a force planted around the house as should prevent them from being insulted by the people as they entered ¶. We have already mentioned what protection was sent to him in consequence of this order. Secure, as they conceived, behind their numerous guard, the members of the cabinet dined and deliberated. The first resolution to which they came was to issue orders for the immediate arrest of the journalists who had signed the protest against the ordinances. At a later hour, on more alarming reports being brought to them of what was passing in the streets, they determined to propose to the King to declare the town in a state of siege, "conceiving," says M. de Montbel, "that the military authority was now the only power which could arrest the sedition. ¶" According to M. de Peyronnet, however, this resolution was only adopted conditionally in the meantime; "the principle alone," he says, "was determined upon, and it was agreed that the President of the Council should take the orders of the King the following morning, according to the state in which things might then be\*\*." About eleven

\* Procès, ii. 120. † Id. i. 176.

‡ See evidence of M. de Mazug, Procès, i. 222; and that of M. de Guise, id. p. 249.

§ Procès, ii. 113. ¶ Id. i. 336.

¶ Protestation, p. 10. \*\* Procès, i. 173.

o'clock M. de Guise brought them from Marshal Marmont the no doubt welcome intelligence that the crowds were entirely dispersed from the streets, and that the troops were about to withdraw to their quarters. On his return to the Tuileries, M. de Guise, at the dictation of the Marshal, wrote a letter to the same effect to his majesty—which, however, was not despatched till next morning\*.

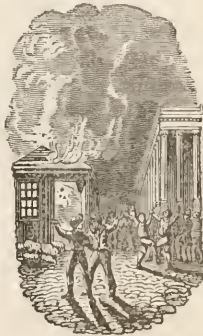
Thus ended this memorable day, on which it might be said that France rose and threw from off her neck the sway of the Bourbons—as on the same day thirty-six years before (for it was the anniversary of the famous 9th Thermidor †) she had burst the bonds of another tyranny. We conclude our sketch with the summary of the military officer to whose work we have more than once referred. “Almost the whole strength of the garrison had been already employed, and it was evident it would have to face next day an increased force of from 60,000 to 80,000 men, of which a great portion would be armed. There were known to exist in Paris 40,000 equipments of the old National Guard; the attempts on the gunsmiths’ shops had not altogether failed; at day-break they might be expected to be renewed, and the several guard-houses scattered through the town, which could offer no resistance, would of course afford a considerable number of muskets; the arsenal was well supplied both with arms and ammunition. The powder-magazine of Deux-Moulins was unguarded. All these points ought to have been considered and provided for. This night offered leisure to arrange, and opportunity to execute, all

\* Procès, i. 249; Evidence of M. de Guise.

† Most of the popular accounts assign this honour to the 28th; but as the month called Thermidor began on the 19th, the ninth day of it fell of course on the 27th, which indeed was, at any rate, undoubtedly that which witnessed the overthrow of Robespierre. His execution, however, took place on the 28th.

necessary precautions; the circumstances were urgent,—the danger obvious and imminent, yet NOTHING AT ALL WAS DONE. All that I have just stated was represented to the proper authorities, but nothing was attended to; blindness, folly, or fatality, were triumphant\*.”

\* Military Events of the late French Revolution, p. 14.



## CHAPTER VII.

A FEW hours of repose, snatched from midnight, and the short season of darkness preceding the earliest dawn, sufficed this night for the most wearied of the combatants, as well as for those who, although hitherto only lookers on, were now resolved to take arms in their hands on the renewal of the fight, and to join the cause which, as it was that of the people, it was by this time proved that the people themselves would support. Many doubtless did not retire to bed at all during a night, every moment of which was so precious. The first movement in the great work had now been achieved ;—the popular force had come into collision with that of the government. The din of civil contention, a little while ago so loud, had sunk into silence ; the streets, left in darkness by the extinction of the lamps which were wont to illumine them, were no longer fitfully irradiated by the flashing musketry ; the crowds which had filled them during the day with uproar and tumult had mostly retired ; the military occupied their several stations unassailed. All this was but a pause in the battle ; and one, too, the benefits of which were all reaped by the people. The defenders of the royal cause, as if they alone had had exertions to undergo which had exhausted their strength, did nothing, arranged nothing, took no precautions against the chances of the morrow, formed no plan of future operations, any more than if they had no apprehen-

sion of any farther disturbances. Indeed, Marshal Marmont, as we have seen, had written at a late hour to his Majesty that the public tranquillity was completely restored; and he must have supposed, it would appear, not only that the insurgents had retired for the present, but that they had given up the contest without any intention of renewing it; for instead of making use of the interval of quiet he had obtained, which for that end was invaluable, to strengthen whatever the suddenness of the revolt had left weak or insufficiently guarded in the defensive attitude of the government, he remained perfectly inactive, sent off no despatch for additional troops, allowed the different small parties of his men who were scattered up and down throughout the city to continue at their isolated posts—each a ready prey for the multitude, whenever they should choose to attack them,—and even adopted no measures to protect the great depôts of arms and ammunition, the seizure of which by the insurgents would be almost of itself enough to secure them the victory. His opponents manifested more foresight. They knew indeed, what he did not, that the struggle, so far from being at an end, was only, in its exhibition of the whole strength of the two combating parties, about to begin. On the use which they should make of the short breathing-time of this night, therefore, they believed that their fate depended. Under this conviction, the popular narratives represent them as evincing all the energy and disinterestedness befitting the crisis. Every man, we are told, seemed to be animated only by patriotism and the love of liberty; all other feelings were swallowed up in these master-passions. Hence no man refused to act with another whatever might be their difference of station, or even the more important difference of any other kind that had heretofore divided them;



those who had been enemies for years now embraced each other, made friends again by the glorious cause which brought them together to fight for their common country. No individual yet appeared, or had been named, to assume the general direction of affairs; but everywhere persons were found ready to undertake, each in his own district, the several necessary services in the work of organizing the popular strength. The inhabitants of the different quarters of the town were enrolled and formed into bands. Arrangements were made for providing the combatants with ammunition, muskets, or other arms. Many wealthy individuals subscribed their money liberally for these purposes—and even the poor in numerous instances contributed to the utmost extent of their means.

Comte Tasistro, forgetting, under the inspiration of a dinner, “such,” he says, “as Paris alone can supply,” the dangers he had already run, once more left his hotel this night at a late hour; and being joined by two of his friends, proceeded, in their company, to make another perambulation of the streets. “The town,” he says, “was involved in gloom, and the awful silence was disturbed only by the trampling of steeds and the rolling of carriages, whose flambeaux, glaring behind, made a murky glow to be reflected from the arms of the military. In the remoter streets, however, where mischief could be carried on with impunity, a little more bustle prevailed. Persons wearing the proscribed costume of the National Guards occasionally hurried by us; the breaking of lamps also went on in some places; but still no hostilities took place between the troops and the people. A few shots were indeed heard now and then, but at such a distance that we felt no inclination to go to inquire the cause of the firing; and after having scoured the streets for three hours

*Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®*

without meeting with anything remarkable, we again reached the hotel where I lodged, at two o'clock in the morning."

By four o'clock large bodies of the people were in the streets and in motion in various parts of the capital. Two formidable columns, in particular, advanced towards the heart of the town; the one from the Faubourg of St. Marceau in the south, the other from that of St. Antoine in the east. These and other bands directed their march upon the Hôtel de Ville; and the spacious square of the Grève in front of that building was soon filled by the congregated multitudes. Other open spaces in the same vicinity, as well as all the principal streets, also became crowded as the morning advanced. The aspect of the popular array, as its different divisions were seen marching along from the respective points where they had collected and formed into something like military order, presented features of interest striking even beyond "the pomp and circumstance" of ordinary war. "What Frenchman," exclaims one of the historians before us, "could behold, without emotion and without pride, the brave of every rank and age issuing from their houses, either alone or in little groups, one armed with an old sabre, another with a pike, a third perhaps bearing aloft a tricoloured flag? They walked side by side, full of confidence; and where they found themselves in sufficient numbers they marched with a firm pace to meet the enemy. The women followed their steps, with disquieted, indeed, and troubled eyes; but not a gesture, not a word, intimated a wish to retain them at home; some even put muskets and ammunition into their hands, nay, seemed to regret resigning to them these means of defending the rights of their country. As for these heroic bands themselves, no low pretension nor insulting outcries marked their demeanour; their

countenances for the most part were grave and sad ; but they became lighted up with animation before the bayonets, and under the fire of the soldiery\*.”

It was some hours, however, after they began to assemble in the streets, before the people came into actual collision with the troops. That interval was employed by them, partly in completing their preparations for the coming combat, and partly in various preliminary exhibitions of their temper and their strength. The removal of the different insignia of royalty from the shops and public offices was begun at an early hour. M. Deroste found a crowd engaged in this work of destruction in the neighbourhood of the Exchange, a little after four. They threw the boards which they had pulled down into the flames of the guard-house, which they had set on fire the preceding night, and which was still burning †. In other parts of the town many of the King's tradesmen removed these unpopular emblems, of their own accord ; and even the notaries and bailiffs were not slow in following their example. Where this was not done, the mob soon effected their object by their own hands. As each massive and gilded board, torn from its fastenings, fell to the ground, the huzzas of the bystanders rent the air. It was then, with every manifestation of contempt and hatred, tossed into the kennel ; and, whenever any vehicle came up, the driver was compelled to make his wheels pass over it. The crowds, we are assured, who committed these excesses, were not composed merely of boys or of the lowest classes of the population. Many respectable citizens took an active share in the work. And, although in some sort one of

\* *Révolution Française*, par M. César Gardeton, p. 10 ; Paris, 1830.

† *Procès*, i. 224. See also evidence of M. Delangle, *ibid.* p. 235.

demolition and violence, it was undisgraced by anything like plunder or rapacity on the part of its perpetrators. In most cases, when the materials of the displaced and degraded decoration were of any value, they were even restored to the owner after the escutcheon or other symbol which they bore had been obliterated. The Baron de Lamothe Langon saw the people at one place fall upon a young man who was carrying off a notary's sign of gilt copper, and punish the attempted theft with a hearty beating. The word *royal*, wherever it was perceived, was instantly defaced ; and even the lottery-office keepers might be seen pasting paper over the obnoxious dissyllable where it stood in the inscriptions over their doors. The white flag, the family ensign of the Bourbons, met with no greater forbearance. It was quickly torn down from all the government offices—and while the badges themselves were suspended in derision from the lantern ropes, the poles from which they had been wont to float were seized upon to be used as weapons by those bold insurgents in their war against the sovereign authority.

The aspect of this morning, therefore, in Paris, was warlike enough from its dawn, and full of the promise of turbulence and bloodshed. Some of the shops, nevertheless, were opened as usual ; but they were very soon shut again. It was felt by the most dull and indifferent that the time was no fit one for the ordinary business of buying and selling. The city in truth was a vast encampment, in every quarter of which were seen arms flashing, and men going forth to battle. Proceeding with their preparations, the managers of the insurrection every where took advantage, with admirable judgment and activity, of the opportunities afforded them by the supineness and negligence of the government. Before the morning was yet far advanced, the different tele-

graphs had been rendered unserviceable, and the government was thus deprived of the means of sending for succour from a distance with the requisite rapidity, or even despatching intelligence to its friends of the state in which affairs were. The telegraph on the church of Petits Pères (to the north-east of the Palais Royal) is stated to have been thus put out of use by the exertions of no more than two individuals, a M. Petit, a printer, and another man\* ; an account which, if true, would imply that the station must have been left almost without any guard at all. But the grand object with the popular leaders was to provide their followers with arms. For this purpose the store-houses of the different gunsmiths throughout the city, of which only a few had been rifled the preceding evening, were visited by bands whose numbers and determination made all resistance to their demands out of the question, even when the wish to refuse them what they asked was entertained. The manufacturers of the weapons of war yielded in general with a good grace to the depredation to which they were thus subjected ; and the supplies which they afforded armed a considerable number of their fellow-citizens. A farther resource presented itself in the armouries of the different theatres ; and this idea having struck some one, placards were forthwith fixed up on the walls, directing the people to proceed to help themselves to what they so much wanted for their great occasion from these dépôts, furnished only for the use of mimic heroism. The establishments in question, when assailed, made hardly any more resistance than the gunsmiths had done. The Museum of Artillery, in the Rue de l'Université, was also attacked and broken into ; and from this store-house, to adopt the words of a

\* Histoire de la Revolution des Quatre-Vingt-Seize Heures, par M. Aug. Imbert, p. 215 ; Paris, 1830.

writer whom we have already quoted, "many suits of antique armour, two-handed swords, bucklers, lances, pikes, spontoonis, halberts, falchions, battle-axes, maces, as well as match-locks, petronels, and every other species of fire-arms, were pressed into the common service; and weapons which, since the battle of Pavia, had remained in inglorious disuse, again mingled in the bloody affray, to assert that liberty which too often, it is to be feared, they had assisted in suppressing\*." "The citizens," says Mr. Tynte, "now presented a most formidable, though, to the military eye, a very ludicrous spectacle. Here was the halbert of the sixteenth century, and the two-handed sword of earlier times;—the sword of Charlemagne was obliged to do duty in the horny hands of a blacksmith;—whilst the massive maces that had done good service in the knightly hands of the mailed soldiers of the Cross, against the Infidels before Salem and Ascalon, were now wielded by the brawny arms of smiths and cabriolet drivers, in the attack on the palace of a Christian prelate! The people who had come from the country were chiefly armed with implements of husbandry, or large clubs. One or two Restaurants had turned out their establishments to the fight; the *cordons bleu* (head cook) armed with a spit—his *marmitons* (scullions) with different portions of the *batterie de cuisine*, until victory or chance furnished more warlike weapons†."

We have stated that some of the detached guard-houses throughout the city had been attacked or menaced the preceding evening—and that one of them at least, that at the Exchange, was actually taken and burned to the ground. These defenceless posts offered too tempting a prey to be any longer neglected by the insurgents, now that their strength

\* Narrative published by Galignani, p. 18.

† Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 48.

had been collected, and something like system introduced into their proceedings. They were severally assailed, accordingly, in the course of this morning—and the few soldiers who occupied each disarmed without difficulty, and in general even without its being found necessary to resort to force. Among others, that at the Châtelet surrendered without attempting any resistance\*. The guard-house at the Halle aux Draps, which the mob that had assembled around it the preceding evening had not ventured to attack, was now visited by a more numerous throng, who soon succeeded in effecting its capture. After their arms had been taken from the soldiers, however, no farther harm was done to them, and they were quietly reconducted to their barracks†. About half-past ten the gendarmes who occupied the post of the Hôtel de Ville were forced to retire‡. Before this time, also, the people had made themselves masters of the arsenal and the powder-magazine at Deux Moulins, as well as of the canteens and cooking-houses of the guards, and had disarmed the whole of the *Fusiliers Sédentaires*, a body consisting of about eleven hundred men§. These and several other exploits of a similar nature, which were accomplished almost without any fighting whatever, not only seriously diminished the scanty force of the government, but at the same time materially aided in another way the cause of the insurgents, by supplying both their hands with arms and their hearts with confidence.

But what especially distinguished the aspect of the popular array on this morning, was the re-appearance among the throng of armed citizens of the uniform of the National Guard. We have related

\* Evidence of M. Galleton ; Procès des Ex-Ministres, i. 263.

† Evidence of M. Ducastel ; ib. i. 277, and ii. 146.

‡ Evidence of M. Lange ; ib. i. 225. § Military Events, p. 15.



in our former volume the circumstances which led to the disbanding of this force in 1827\*. That act had contributed, perhaps, as much as any other of his perverse and disastrous reign, to alienate from Charles the affections of France. The civic militia could hardly fail to be regarded with pride and attachment by the people, from the midst of whom it had sprung, and of whose feelings and wishes it was indeed the armed representative. Its early history was honourable; and even in the latter days of its existence, when the armies of united Europe pressed upon the capital, it had on the heights of Montmartre made a final stand for the preservation of the national independence, in a manner worthy of its origin and of the heroic recollections attached to its name. For all this,—for its growth from the soil of the Revolution, its popular constitution, and the part which it had so often borne in the maintenance of the national liberties—the National Guard, though distrusted and disliked by the Bourbons, was dear to France; which felt its dissolution, accordingly, both as a blow and as an insult. Now, therefore, that the standard of the popular cause was once more unfurled, the re-organization of the popular militia naturally presented itself among the first plans of the patriots. We have already mentioned the suggestion to this effect, which was addressed by M. Caffin d’Orsigny to General Lafayette, on Tuesday evening, at the meeting of Deputies which took place in the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau. M. d’Orsigny, in the sequel of his letter published in the journals, informs us that so early as six o’clock on Wednesday morning he communicated his project to three gentlemen, formerly captains in the National Guard, who so entirely approved of it, that they immediately joined

\* Paris and its Historical Scenes, i. 384.

him in his endeavours to collect as many as possible of their old comrades, and in less than forty minutes they had about a hundred and twenty of them assembled at the house of one of their number. "We immediately," continues the writer, "issued all the necessary orders for the re-organization of the corps, in which we were seconded in the most effective manner by all who were present. A sufficient force was forthwith despatched to the Hôtel de Ville, to take possession of it. A commission was then nominated to proceed to General Lafayette, to receive his orders—and we set out to present it to him." They found the General, about half past ten, at the house of M. Lafitte. Upon their asking him if he would receive a deputation of the National Guard, and put himself at its head, he desired to be permitted to consult his colleagues of the Chamber, who were assembled there at the moment. About ten minutes after he re-appeared, and informed the deputation that his brother deputies approved of his nomination to the command of the Guard, and he accordingly accepted the appointment. Such is the account given us of his own exertions, by M. d'Orsigny, who would seem, however, to have anticipated some of the circumstances which he relates. The assumption of the command of the Guard by M. Lafayette appears not to have taken place till the morning of the 29th.

Other individuals, meanwhile, were engaged with equal activity in the promotion of the same object. MM. de Quevauvilliers and Würtz presented themselves this morning before M. Hutteau, the Mayor of the tenth Arrondissement, to engage him to set about the re-establishment of the National Guard of the district, as a protection, they said, for persons and property. The Mayor at first declined moving in the business; but they pressed upon him so

strongly the necessity of something being done in the circumstances in which the city was placed—representing that if the re-organization of the Guard did not take place under the sanction of the authorities, it would certainly proceed in spite of them—that he at last so far yielded to their persuasions as to consent to go along with them to consult Marshal Marmont on the subject. “We set out, accordingly,” says M. Würtz. “The Swiss occupied the Tuileries and their approaches. But the Mayor demanded a passport, and we arrived at length in the presence of the Marshal, who did not appear to pay much attention to our demand, although it was stated to him with earnestness. ‘I cannot, at present,’ said he, ‘accede to what you ask. Before anything can be done, the people must return to subordination. And besides, if the re-establishment of the National Guard should be abused by the introduction of bad subjects into its ranks, might not the safety of the State be endangered? What you ought to do, is to tell the inhabitants of Paris to retire into their houses, and to put lights at their doors and windows. You will scarcely have left the palace, when you will hear the cannons roaring.’” This interview took place about half past eleven. From the tone of the Marshal’s reply, it was of course felt to be in vain to argue the matter further with him, and the Mayor and his two companions retired. As they were leaving the palace, however, they met one of the aides-de-camp, who, at their request, went back and asked if they might see M. de Polignac. An answer was brought expressing the minister’s willingness to receive the Mayor; and M. Hutteau accordingly returned. But when he rejoined his colleagues, he had only to report that the answer he had received from Polignac was similar to that of the Marshal. All this, M. de Quevauvilliers says, determined him

immediately to return home and assume his arms and his uniform as a lieutenant of grenadiers ; “ after which,” he adds, “ I repaired to the mansion-house of my district, to take measures, in concert with my fellow-citizens, for the re-establishment of the Guard—which was effected with extraordinary activity\*.” It appears to have been at a later period of the day that M. Petit, the Mayor of the second Arrondissement, was induced, in consequence of having been called upon by several members of the old National Guard, to repair to the Tuileries upon a mission similar to that upon which M. Hutteau had gone. He saw Prince Polignac, and stated to him the general desire which was felt for the re-establishment of the Guard. The Prince, according

\* See Evidence of M. Quevauvilliers, Procès, i., 287, 288 ; and of M. Würtz, id., ii. 87, 88 and 210, 211. It appears from the evidence of Count de Chabrol-Volvic, Prefect of the Seine, (id. i. 298,) that he had also been applied to this morning, by M. Hutteau, to give his sanction to the re-establishment of the National Guard, and that his reply both to this application and to a subsequent one of the same nature from a M. Marchant was, that he had received no orders on the subject. Both these interviews, he says, took place before eleven o'clock—a statement which, taken along with the evidence of Quevauvilliers, would imply that M. Hutteau's visit to the Prefect had preceded that which he paid to the Marshal. But nothing, it is to be observed, can be more confused and contradictory, than the different statements as to the details of this Revolution, given both by the witnesses on the Trial of the Ministers, and even the most careful and best informed among those who have written its history, in so far at least as concerns the times at which particular events are asserted to have taken place. The occurrences of morning, noon, and night, would seem to have been jumbled together inextricably in the recollection of many of the narrators ; and in the case of some events of considerable moment it is even difficult to find out, from the discordance of testimony, on which *day* they actually happened. There can be no doubt, whatever was the time at which either interview occurred, that it was *after* he had been with the Marshal that M. Hutteau made his visit to the Prefect.

to this witness, seemed to regard the matter as important and deserving consideration; but, on its being submitted to Marmont, the Marshal, as before, expressed his apprehensions that the proposed measure might be attended with dangerous consequences. M. Petit's application, therefore, produced no result\*.

The members of the Guard, nevertheless, proceeded in their several districts to re-organize themselves, and they appeared accordingly among the ranks of the people in the course of this day in considerable numbers. Most of them wore their uniform, but some were in plain clothes. Along with the return of the National Guard arose once more another long-lost emblem of the past, peculiarly dear to the hearts of Frenchmen—the famous tri-colour. It is said that the first building on which the restored national flag was planted was the chapel erected on the site of the Opera-house in expiation of the murder of the Duc de Berry, which took place on that spot†. It was borne also before the different bands of combatants as they marched from the suburbs to the great scene of action in the centre of the city. By nine o'clock it was waving from the pinnacles of Nôtre Dame, having been placed there by the hands of a young hero, M. Petit-Jean, who advanced upon the cathedral at the head of a party of about three hundred of his fellow-citizens, and wrapping the colours around his middle mounted with them to the top of the towers‡. Many telescopes were directed to the old revolutionary ensign, as it floated from this proud elevation, where it must have been well discerned even from St. Cloud. Soon after eleven o'clock, also, the same national standard, surmounted by a piece of crape,

\* Evidence of M. Petit, Procès, ii. 150.

† Histoire de la Memorable Semaine, par Ch. Laumier, 4 edit., p. 156; Paris, 1830.

‡ Lamothe Langon, Une Semaine, &c. p. 236.

stood conspicuous on the top of the central tower of the Hôtel de Ville. The guard at this post, as formerly mentioned, had been driven off by the people, who then beat in the doors of the building—compelling M. de Chabrol-Volvic, the Prefect of the department, who was within, to retire into one of the outer offices of the establishment—and afterwards rushed into the different apartments; at the windows of which they took their stations with their fire-arms, while some of their number mounted aloft and there fixed their banner, displaying at once the tokens of victory and of mourning in the manner that has been described\*. The tocsin before this had been ringing for some time from the bells of Nôtre Dame—and those of the parish church of St. Gervais also began now to fling forth the same dismal alarm.

Other excitements there likewise were in plenty, to kindle and sustain the courage of the people. In various places might be seen orators addressing the multitude with the most passionate energy, and calling upon them by every form of vehement imprecation to rise and contend, if need were to the death, against the oppressors of their beloved country. Printed placards, also, containing similar exhortations were fixed up along all the principal thoroughfares, which groups collected around and read with eagerness. Of the patriotic journals several were this morning printed and distributed in great numbers—especially the *National* and the *Temps*, each containing the narrative to which we have already referred, of the seizure of the presses by the Commissaries the preceding day. From a copy of the *National* which lies before us, we translate the following striking paragraph, in which the conductors describe the state of the capital at the moment of

\* Evidence of Count de Chabrol-Volvic; Procès, i. 299, and ii. 162.

publication. "Since the first days of the Revolution," they say, "Paris has not been agitated as it has been during the last two days. The absence of all publicity contributes the more to this extraordinary excitement. It is necessary to go out to the streets to learn the news. The Police has caused a great number of cafés, of reading-rooms, and of places in which the journals used to be found, to be shut. The papers which have this morning appeared, without authorization, are devoured in the midst of restless groups, and almost under the bayonets of the gendarmes. The immense population of Paris refuses to obey the ordinances; it protests by all the means in its power. The workshops are every where shut; the rich retail-shops of the Rues de Richelieu, St. Honoré, and St. Denis, are scarcely half-opened. The Palais Royal, so brilliant in times of peace, so famous in the first days of the Revolution, is now merely a melancholy prison. The gates have been shut, and all have been forced to leave the garden and the galleries. The Tuileries also are shut. Every place which might serve for the assembling of a crowd is occupied by the gendarmerie, the royal guard, and the regiments of the line. Nevertheless the alarm increases hourly. Persons who leave their houses either to relieve their curiosity or to take the air, run every where the risk of falling into the midst of mobs, which are spread out in all directions, and which the armed force has the greatest difficulty in restraining. On both sides blood has already flowed. Three gendarmes, it is said, have been killed, and many work-people, several of them women, have been sabred and thrown down among the feet of the horses. A word, a single word, the revocation of the ordinances, would at once re-establish tranquillity as by enchantment; but that word comes not, it is not even hoped for; and the consequences



of this inconceivable provocation are henceforth incalculable." The *Moniteur* of this morning took no notice of the extraordinary events which had convulsed the capital; but contained an ordinance of the King, appointing Marmont to the command of the first military division—a promotion which, according to the explanation afterwards given by the ministers, was conferred upon him in consequence of General Coutard having left town for the elections, with the intention of going to a watering-place for some months\*. The ordinance was dated on the 25th †, and the appointment appears to have been contemplated before the commencement of the disturbances ‡.

We have mentioned the resolution as to declaring Paris in a state of siege, which was adopted by the ministers at a late hour the preceding evening. It is somewhat remarkable that this measure appears to have been spoken of by various partisans of the government, not only as contemplated, but as actually carried into effect, some time before it is said to have been even discussed in the cabinet. Thus, Boniface, the Commissary for the quarter of the Palais Royal, states that on Tuesday evening several military officers on duty were heard to remark that the city was already in a state of siege, and the civil authority at an end—on which it is farther attested that one of them took upon him, of himself and without the concurrence of any magistrate, to summon the people to retire, and then to order his men to fire upon them§. M. Puybusque also, who, as mentioned in a former chapter, commanded a detachment of military which

\* See examination of Polignac, Procès, i. 135.

† Id. p. 252.

‡ See evidence of the Viscount de Champagny, id. p. 315.

§ Procès, i. 230. Evidence of Boniface, and certificate signed by several individuals.

came frequently into collision with the people on this same evening, admits in his evidence that he himself acted upon the conviction of the siege having been already declared. While he was effecting his forcible entry into the house at the corner of the Rue des Pyramides, from which stones had been thrown down upon his men, one individual in particular protested violently against what he deemed so illegal an outrage; on which "I replied to him," says M. Puybusque, "that we had the right to act as we were doing, *the town being in a state of siege.*" "This news," he continues, "had been told me at head-quarters by Colonel d'André, whom I saw there, on my remarking that no proclamation had been made\*." The witness refers, we suppose, to the omission of the usual formality of a command to retire being addressed to the people by the magistrate, before the soldiers could be ordered to fire. He nowhere witnessed, he says, any such command or warning being given that day by the civil authorities, in any case in which the crowd was fired upon by the troops.

Polignac states, in his answers to the interrogatories of the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, that he was not the person who advised the measure of declaring Paris in a state of siege; but being informed, he adds, that the thing was legal, he countersigned the ordinance in his quality of interim Minister of War†. Although the determination of resorting to so extreme an exercise of authority—the effect of which was at once to suspend the functions of every civil tribunal and magistrate, and to deliver up the whole government of the city into the hands of the military power—appears, as already stated, to

\* Procès, i. 280.

† Procès, i. 135. Polignac held at this time the portfolio of the Minister of War, in consequence of the absence of General Bourmont at Algiers.

have been taken only conditionally on Tuesday night, the aspect of affairs, even at an early hour this morning, seems to have been considered too alarming to admit of any farther hesitation. Polignac accordingly set out himself to St. Cloud with the ordinance for the King's signature\*. The Viscount de Champagne, Under-Secretary at War, who was there at seven o'clock, making his weekly report of military promotions to the Duke d'Angoulême, was, as soon as he had gone through this form, sent for to speak to the premier, who was then with the King. "When he came out," says the Viscount, "he told me that the ordinance declaring Paris in a state of siege was signed; and he desired me to inform him what the law had appointed as to this state of things, and especially in regard to the councils of war which he thought ought to be established as soon as the siege was declared. Fearing that I might not be able to give him the necessary details with sufficient exactness, I requested him to wait till I should go to the War-Office. I there called to me the principal and sub-principal of the bureau of military justice; and we prepared a note of the particulars required, which, when I was called to the Tuileries, I presented to M. de Polignac, who charged me to take it to the Duke of Ragusa. I do not believe that this note was attended with any result, and I never heard that a council of war had been formed†."

The manner in which Marshal Marmont was made acquainted with the extraordinary measure which the ministers had thus thought proper to adopt, is related in the evidence of M. de Guise. About eight o'clock the Marshal had written to the King an account of the events which had taken place up to that hour; and had entrusted his letter to a gendarme, who lost

\* Polignac's examination by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers, Procès, i. 159.

† Procès, i. 316.

it on the way. On learning this, he immediately made M. de Guise write another to the same effect, but going much less into detail. It was dated nine o'clock, and was expressed in the following remarkable terms. "I had the honour of yesterday giving your Majesty an account of the dispersion of the assemblages which disturbed the tranquillity of Paris. This morning they are forming again in still greater numbers, and with a more menacing aspect. It is no longer a commotion; it is a revolution. It is of urgency that your Majesty take means of pacification. The honour of the Crown may yet be saved; tomorrow, perhaps, it may no longer be possible. I am taking for to-day the same measures as were adopted yesterday. The troops will be ready by noon; but I wait with impatience the orders of your Majesty." This despatch the Marshal was so anxious should reach its destination, that he gave express orders it should be carried by an officer of ordnance. "A very short time before or after it was sent off," continues M. de Guise, "a young man whom I do not know came enquiring for the Marshal from the Prefect of Police; and asked him if it was true that the town of Paris had been declared in a state of siege. The Marshal, to whom several other persons likewise spoke of this circumstance, sent me about ten o'clock to M. de Polignac, to learn what truth there was in the rumour; and at the same time to call the attention of the Prince to the legal conditions necessary to be observed in the adoption of such a measure." Polignac informed M. de Guise that in fact the ordinance in question was signed, and that he had already sent to the Marshal to desire him to come to receive it. De Guise then went back to the Tuileries to fetch Marmont, who saw the minister, and received the ordinance from his hands. He and De Guise then returned together to head-quarters\*.

Polignac acknowledges that, after obtaining the King's signature to the ordinance, he satisfied himself with merely putting it into the hands of the Marshal, without giving any orders about its publication\*. He even expresses his belief that it never was published at all according to the forms appointed by the law†. It appears, however, that this matter was not entirely neglected. M. de Ranville tells us that on Tuesday night he prepared, and sent to the Marshal, after it had received the approval of several of his colleagues, a proclamation warning the people of the dangers to which they exposed themselves, which he desired Marmont to get printed and placarded before morning. At noon next day he learned that this had not been done—on which, at the Marshal's request, he drew out another proclamation more extended than the former, and gave it to one of the commissaries of police to see published. What prevented its appearing, he says he does not know‡. The ordinance declaring the town in a state of siege was also transmitted about half-past two in the afternoon of this day to M. Bayeux, the Procurator-General, by M. Chantelanze, accompanied by a letter from that minister, desiring him to intimate it to the Court of Assizes, and to take care that, in so far as he was concerned, it should be carried into full effect. He was charged to communicate it also without delay to the King's Procurator, in order that that functionary might make it known to the *Tribunal de première instance*. Upon repairing however to the Palais de Justice, M. Bayeux found nobody there, except the gendarmes and soldiers of the line who were on duty at the

\* Examination by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers, Procès, i. 159.

† Examination by the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, Procès, i. 135.

‡ Examination by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers, Procès, i. 195.

Court of Assizes. M. Girod de l'Ain, the President of that court, had retired as soon as he had learned that the town was declared in a state of siege. It was only by making two gendarmes disguise themselves and employing them as his messengers, that M. Bayeux succeeded in conveying the necessary intimations to this magistrate and the King's Procurator at their own houses\*. By a communication, too, from Mangin, the Prefect of Police, dated at Berne the 9th of December, 1830, and addressed to the President of the Chamber of Peers, which was read on the trial of the ministers, it appears that Polignac himself transmitted this day a copy of the ordinance to Mangin, along with an intimation of his wish that it should be printed and placarded. Mangin asserts that he immediately attended to this order; in proof of the execution of which he transmits the memoranda of the printer, the stationer, and the billstickers, which attest that the placards were actually printed and posted along the streets the same day. He had promised and paid the billstickers a gratification beyond their regular charge, in consideration of the extraordinary impediments which they had to surmount in rendering their services on this occasion†. This was probably nearly the last of M. Mangin's official acts. When Boniface, the Commissary, went to him to ask instructions in the course of this morning, he appeared to be in a state of great perplexity, saying that he had now no orders to give, and that the city having been declared in a state of siege, he was no longer anything‡. And about the same time M. Bayeux learned at the Palais de Justice that he was already dismissing all his officers§.

\* Evidence of M. Bayeux, Procès, i. 290, 291.

† Procès, ii. 137.

‡ Evidence of M. Boniface, Procès, i. 230.

§ Evidence of M. Bayeux, id. i. 290.



## CHAPTER VIII.

THE details, which we have given in the preceding chapter, will put the reader in possession of the state of Paris up to about nine o'clock in the morning of this eventful day. As yet, it will be observed, the people had scarcely come into collision with the military, the different detached posts which were attacked having in every instance surrendered without attempting any resistance. It was past eight o'clock indeed, according to the Staff-Officer of the Guards, before the troops left their barracks. At nine the different regiments were stationed in the following manner. Six battalions of French Guards, making about 1320 men, were drawn up in order of battle on the Place du Carrousel, along with three squadrons of lancers, of a hundred men each, and eight guns. The cuirassiers, who seem to have been about five hundred strong, were quartered in the barracks of the Cèlestins near the Place de la Bastille, and were in com-



munication with three regiments of the line (the 5th, 56th, and 53rd,) who occupied nearly the whole extent of the northern Boulevards, as well as the Place Vendôme. Finally, the 15th light infantry had been ordered to the Place de Panthéon, the Palais de Justice, and the Place de Grève\*. But the most important of these stations, the Place de Grève, had been filled by an armed multitude from an early hour, against whose numbers the military sent to occupy the ground seem to have found it in vain to attempt to make head. At a quarter-past nine, Marshal Marmont, suspecting that the troops ordered on this service might have difficulties to encounter, directed an officer and fifteen men to proceed after them to ascertain if they had been able to take up the several positions assigned them. "Such an order," says the writer to whom we are indebted for these details, "proves the perfect ignorance of the Marshal as to the state of Paris; for, if the 15th were not arrived, it is clear that so weak a detachment must infallibly have been cut off. A quarter of an hour afterwards this was thought of, and a whole battalion was ordered to make a *reconnoissance* in that direction; but, by a singular neglect, the battalion was not apprized of the preceding detachment. It was only ordered to proceed to the Palais de Justice, and there to wait till the 15th should have arrived. This battalion proceeded along the quays; and, opposite the Place du Louvre, met a kind of advance-post of two privates of the National Guard in uniform. These men said that they had taken arms to maintain order, and that they had directions to fire on any troops which should attempt to proceed *towards the town*—the direction of course in which the battalion was marching. These two men were sent back to head-quarters. The battalion pro-

\* Military Events, pp. 15, 16.





*The Highgate*

PLACE DU CHATELET  
26<sup>th</sup> JULY 1830

*Engraved by*

ceeded onward to the Pont Neuf, which it ought naturally to have crossed, and then have marched by the opposite quay de l'Horloge; but its advanced guard having continued to march by the north quay de la Mégisserie, it was not thought worth while to turn back—and the battalion followed, intending to cross at the next bridge, the Pont au Change. This little accident saved the detachment of fifteen men just mentioned, which, on its arrival at the Place de Grève, found it occupied by an armed mob. The officer, advancing to parley with them, was received with a volley point-blank. He himself was severely wounded, and one private was killed, and four others wounded. He, of course, made the best retreat he could; but was on the point of being cut off, when the advanced guard of the battalion reached the Place du Châtelet, and saved it. The battalion returned to the Tuileries as soon as it was satisfied of the arrival of the 15th light infantry at the Palais de Justice\*.”

The engraving we have given from a drawing, made at the time, presents a view of the Place du Châtelet—with its beautiful Fontaine du Palmier, or Palm-tree Fountain, as it is styled, in the centre—during the encounter, here noticed, of which it was the scene between the crowd who had come from the Grève in pursuit of the fifteen soldiers and the battalion which here came up so opportunely to the relief of the latter. The evidence taken on the trial of the ministers contains an account of the adventures of the small detachment in question from the mouth of Lieutenant de St. Germain, the officer who commanded it, “As soon as we had arrived,” says he, “at the Place de Grève, seven or eight hundred persons, most of whom bore fire-arms, and some sticks, rushed upon us with a loud outcry. I in-

\* Military Events, p. 19.

stantly ordered my men to halt—and advanced alone towards the people, with the intention of appeasing them. Scarcely had I stepped forward a few paces, when a volley was fired upon me and my men, by which two of them were killed, and almost the whole party wounded, including myself. I have still several bullets in my left arm, and a quantity of shot in my face and over the front of my person; my clothes and my hairy cap were pierced in various places. I do not know how I escaped with my life from this fire; for they discharged their pieces at us when not farther than a dozen or fifteen paces off. My men then fired, and several of the people fell. Fearing that I should be surrounded by the crowd, I retreated, firing all the while, as far as to the Pont Nôtre Dame; as we ran, our fire was returned, and I heard the balls whistling past. Fortunately for us, a battalion of the regiment arrived, and they put me in a cabriolet. But as the people continued to fire at me, and several balls had already pierced the cabriolet, the driver stopped and made me get down, when I rejoined the battalion which then occupied the Pont Nôtre Dame\*.” M. de St. Germain concludes by stating that he lay three weeks in the hospital before he recovered from his wound. But the evidence of M. de Blair, one of the officers of the battalion, supplies us with the fullest account of the combat which occurred in the Place du Châtelet. When they reached the *Place* on their march from the Tuileries, they found it filled by an immense multitude. The commander immediately made his men form in order of battle, with

\* Procès, i. 323. It will be perceived that there is a discrepancy between this statement and that given above from the work of the Staff-Officer in regard to the numbers of the killed and wounded in M. de St. Germain's detachment from the first fire of the people at the Grève.

their faces to the people and their backs to the river. He then repeatedly addressed to the crowd the summons to retire prescribed by the law ; but, as appears, without producing any effect. Meanwhile the soldiers also seem to have refrained from firing. They had been standing in this position for about a quarter of an hour, when M. de St. Germain and his men came up, followed by the crowd who had pursued them from the Grève. A platoon of grenadiers was immediately detached to their aid ; and, according to M. Delaunay, who was present, a few shots from this reinforcement sufficed to rid the wounded men of their assailants. The remainder of the battalion, however, had now to sustain a heavy fire at once from the Pont au Change, from the adjoining quay, and from the windows of the houses at the bottom of the *Place*. De Blair acknowledges that a great many of his men were wounded, and that the battalion found itself finally obliged to retire to the other side of the river \*. If we may trust the evidence of other witnesses on the trial, it was not, as has already appeared, till some time after this that the people succeeded in driving the gendarmerie from the Hôtel de Ville, and obtaining possession of that building. This seems to have taken place about eleven o'clock, and to have been the first aggressive act by which the popular forces followed up their victory at the Place du Châtelet †.

It was three-quarters past ten o'clock when this battalion got back to the Tuileries. About eleven, five hundred men arrived in the Champs Elysées, from the regiment which occupied St. Denis and Vincennes. By this time also three squadrons of horse grenadiers from Versailles had taken up their station on the same ground. Of the Guards

\* Procès, i. 325 and 329.

† See the evidence of Count de Chabrol-Volvie, quoted above.

originally drawn up in the Carrousel, one battalion appears to have been withdrawn to the Palais Royal; a hundred of the men being posted in the Bank at one extremity of the line, while it was directed that a communication should be kept up, by the Rue du Coq and the adjacent streets, with the Louvre on the other.

We have now a complete view of the situation of the Marshal and the troops under his command, immediately before the commencement of the general conflict with the people. A strange fact which may be here mentioned is disclosed by the military writer whom we have just quoted. "The staff," he says, "usually so complete at all the King's levees—reviews—parades—could by some fatality furnish on this day but six or seven officers. Some could not procure horses—others could not lay their hands on their uniforms, but they offered to serve in plain clothes. A few officers, who did not belong to the staff, or even to the Guards, came to offer their assistance. Marmont was, however, supported by four major-generals, nine or ten other officers, and his own four aides-de-camp. Of the chiefs of the staff of the division of the Guards, one alone was at his post\*."

The multiplicity of the positions in which the contest of this day was simultaneously carried on, makes it difficult to present such an account of it as shall both comprehend all the principal occurrences, and be tolerably free from complexity and confusion. "The events," so use the forcible language of M. Martignac, "so press upon, jostle, and confound each other, that the imagination can scarcely follow them, or the understanding arrange them in order †." The most convenient plan, probably, will be to conduct the reader first from one to another of what may be

\* Military Events, p. 17.

† Defence of Polignac; Procès, ii, 289.



called the several central points of the fight, being the localities in which it raged longest or with the greatest fury,—and then to notice the minor or more detached transactions of the day.

We will begin with the *Marché des Innocens*. About twelve o'clock a column, consisting of two battalions of the Guards, with two pieces of cannon and thirty gendarmes, left the *Place du Carrousel* under orders to make their way to this station; on reaching which one of the battalions was to proceed up the *Rue St. Denis*, as far as the *Porte* of that name, and then to return to the market-place; while the other was to make a similar *promenade* down the street as far as the *Place du Châtelet* and back. The reunited column was then to wait in the market-place for fresh orders\*. It is difficult, as has been remarked, to conceive what object Marshal Marmont could have proposed to himself in thus merely marching his troops up and down the streets. Yet, as we shall see, the several movements which he directed this morning, in this and every other instance, amounted in fact to nothing more than such *promenades* seemingly without purpose or effect. He appears, in truth, to have formed no plan of operations, and to have trusted merely to being guided as to how he should act by the circumstances that might arise. In the meanwhile, by sending off his forces, as he did, in so many successive divisions, to perambulate the quays, the Boulevards, and the streets, he atleast consumed time, and gained an escape from the necessity of deciding immediately upon the adoption of some really effective measures. But this, as the Staff-Officer of the Guards does not hesitate to remark, was manifestly the conduct of a man who had *perdu la tête*—lost his head, as the English translator has literally rendered the expres-

sive phrase. In other words, it was the conduct of one who had become so confused and bewildered by the circumstances in which he was placed—called upon to assume the management of a contest, in which the issue, whether of defeat or of success, would to him be equally dishonourable and unwelcome, and thrown at the same time into the midst of difficulties, even in his purely military situation, formidable from their novelty and his inadequate means for meeting them—that he was really incapable of applying his faculties to the calm and deliberate arrangement of any scheme of action. At all events, the manœuvres which he did direct, could not be attended with any but the most dangerous or disastrous results, and proved that he was completely ignorant of the state of the capital. In the first place, by dispersing his troops on these useless expeditions, he left the Palace of the Tuileries, in which his head-quarters were established, and which was in every respect the most important position in the town, almost entirely stripped of protection—so that in fact, as has been remarked by the translator of the Staff-Officer's pamphlet, if the people had been apprized of the whole extent of the Marshal's absurd movements, both that building and the Louvre might have been taken, and the whole affair ended, this morning\*. But secondly, in ordering his columns to march along several of the most crowded thoroughfares of this hostile city, for no other end except that they might march back again by the same road, he was not only employing the men uselessly, but sending them, while thus effecting nothing, to encounter the full fury of that very form of the popular warfare which was both the most destructive and the most difficult for them to cope with—that, namely, waged from the barricades, and from the

\* Military Events, p. 27, note.

roofs and windows of the houses. He only, in short, to employ again the words of the writer we have last quoted, "fatigued and exhausted his troops in *laborious and dangerous nothings*; for, if his whole plan had been uninterruptedly successful, and if all the promenades had been happily accomplished, things would only have been exactly where they began; with these two differences—that the soldiers would have been exposed and harassed; and that the people would have become acquainted with the whole force of their opponents, and gained time to take their measures accordingly\*."

But in the case of the division which was despatched to the *Marché des Innocens*, it was eventually found to be out of the question to attempt the execution of the movements which had been ordered. When the troops arrived in the market-place, they found it thronged by a multitude in great part armed, who received them on their advance with a sharp fire. From the windows of the surrounding houses, also, fire-arms were discharged at them; and stones, tiles, and articles of furniture thrown down upon them in great numbers. They succeeded at last, however, by a persevering fire, in so far silencing that of the people who occupied the ground, that the General in command conceived he might venture to send off one of his two battalions, as he had been directed, to the *Porte St. Denis*. It proceeded up the street, accordingly, under the conduct of Colonel *Pleineselve*—and we will leave it the mean time to pursue its way, while we notice what befel the other battalion, which the General, seeing the formidable appearance of the popular preparations, resolved to retain in the market-place till the former should have returned, instead of marching it now, as his orders were, to the *Place du Châtelet*. The troops

having with so much difficulty succeeded in establishing themselves in their present position, it was deemed wiser to allow them, if possible, to preserve the ground they occupied, than to carry them away on a toilsome and hazardous excursion; merely in order that, on their return, they might have, with weakened strength, and probably diminished numbers, again to attempt to make themselves masters of the station they had a little before relinquished. But even to remain thus where they were was no easy matter. The popular bands, although at first repulsed, soon returned to the attack in augmented force. The throng of opponents by whom the military were closed in, became every moment more numerous and more daring. New supplies of arms were brought to the place, to enable the assailants to carry on the contest with the greater effect, as its continuance and the progress they were gradually making, excited more and more interest in the efforts of those who were engaged on this spot. Barricades also arose on every side of the soldiers, in spite of all they could do to prevent their erection. Things continued in this state for some hours, the situation of the battalion becoming more critical every moment. At last, about four o'clock, their ammunition began to run short, although it had been economized as much as possible. The General now became more anxious than ever to make his situation known at headquarters. But all communication with the Tuileries was cut off. In these circumstances his aide-de-camp offered to make his way to the Marshal. "In a moment," says the Staff-Officer, "he cut off his moustaches, and, putting on a jacket of one of the populace, set off for the Tuileries." He succeeded in reaching the palace; "but the Marshal," continues our authority, "had no disposable force but a battalion of Swiss. It was ordered to the Marché

des Innocens to relieve the column so critically situated there. The officer who commanded this battalion lost time and his way, and increased all the difficulties. He entered the Marché des Innocens by the Point St. Eustache, after having wandered through the streets Montorgueil and St. Sauveur, which were in a quite opposite direction from that which he ought naturally to have taken. It seems that this Swiss colonel did not know his way to the Marché—it was one of the captains of the regiment who at last set him right. The two battalions, being however at last united, marched by the lower part of the Rue St. Denis to the Place du Châtelet, and from thence along the Quays, to the Quay de l'Ecole near the Louvre, where they took a position. They met several barricades, which at first sight seemed to oppose great difficulties to the passage of the guns, but they easily surmounted them\*.”

Thus we see the day spent by this portion of the troops in accomplishing absolutely nothing, except the voluntary and needless exposure of themselves to an unequal and disastrous contest with the people; the result of which was their compulsory evacuation, at last, of the position which they had shed so much blood to maintain. But where, all this while, was the other battalion, which had been ordered to proceed to the Porte St. Denis, and to return immediately to the Marché des Innocens after having performed that not very long, though certainly very superfluous, march? The adventures of this detachment furnish a still more forcible illustration, than even what befel their comrades, of the worse than inutility of the movements directed by the Marshal. They had proceeded but a very little way up the street, when on coming opposite to the old building called the Cour Batave, they found themselves impeded by a barri-

cade, and assailed at the same time by the fire of the people, who had stationed themselves at the windows and along the iron railings of that extensive edifice. A short distance beyond this point, Colonel Pleinseve, the commander of the battalion, had his horse killed under him, and was himself so severely wounded, that his soldiers were obliged to halt for a considerable time to make him a litter, on which they afterwards carried him along with them. At last, with great difficulty, they reached the Porte St. Denis—having had seven men killed, and about twice that number more put *hors de combat*. After what they had encountered, it would have been madness to have attempted, according to their orders, to return by the same route; and besides, it was feared that from the length of time that had already elapsed, the other battalion might possibly have left the Marché before they could reach it. It was therefore resolved to proceed at once to the Tuileries by some other line of road. The Boulevards would have been the shortest and most natural course—but it was observed that they were covered with barricades of so formidable a construction, as to threaten to make the passage of the troops exceedingly difficult and tedious, if not impracticable. Upon this it was decided to advance along the Rue du Faubourg St. Denis to the outer Boulevards, and then to sweep round by that much more circuitous, but unimpeded, avenue. They remained, however, for some hours at the Porte St. Denis, during which the wounds of those who were most severely hurt were dressed. Among these was not the Colonel, who insisted, we are told, on being the last man whose wound should be looked at; nor was it, in fact, dressed till one o'clock in the morning, after he had been carried to the hospital. This brave and distinguished officer then had his thigh amputated, and died soon after. The

battalion succeeded in reaching the Tuileries by the route we have mentioned, between seven and eight hours from the time of its leaving the *Marché des Innocens*\*.

About the same time that the division of the royal forces, whose unfortunate history we have just recounted, set out for its appointed post, another column, consisting of one battalion of Guards and a half squadron of lancers, with two pieces of cannon, was despatched to occupy and maintain the *Hôtel de Ville*, in which service it was to be supported by the 15th light infantry, who were by this time stationed in the neighbourhood of the *Pont Neuf*. This column proceeded along the quays of the *Tuileries*, *Louvre*, and *l'École*; and, on reaching the *Pont Neuf*, was joined by one of the battalions of the 15th; the other being at the same time ordered to hold itself in readiness to support its movements. Thus strengthened, the column, crossing the bridge, advanced along the *Quai de l'Horloge* and the *Marché aux Fleurs*, in the *Ile de la Cité*, when it prepared to re-cross the river for the purpose of marching upon the *Hôtel de Ville* by the *Pont Notre Dame*, which stands a few hundred paces to the west of the *Grève*. The people, however, were now seen advancing in great force down the *Rue des Arcis* upon the opposite end of the bridge, to oppose their passage. They came, the Staff Officer states, in something like orderly array, headed by their leaders, and with drums beating in front. The two guns which had accompanied the column were now drawn forward to the centre of the bridge. "At this moment," says the authority we have just named, "a field-officer of the Guards advanced across the bridge to meet the insurgents; he pointed out to the leaders the position of the guns, and explained that

\* *Military Events*, pp. 28—31.



they were marching to certain destruction; and he conjured them in the name of humanity to retire." The officer here mentioned is understood to have been the writer himself. The effect of his address was to induce the people to withdraw to the other streets on the right and left; but, while thus retreating, they fired some shots, one of which killed an adjutant by whom the officer was accompanied. The guns then fired one shot each; after which the column passed over without further molestation, and occupied the quays de Gêvres and Pelletier on the north side of the river. While the main body were thus advancing over the Pont Nôtre Dame, a small detachment had been sent forward to make a demonstration by the new suspension bridge, which is directly opposite to the Grêve—it being intended that they should not proceed entirely across till the other party should have reached the *Place*. But the commanding officer, in his precipitancy, overstepped the orders which had been given him; and by leading forward his men into the *Place* before their comrades had come up, exposed them for some time to a galling fire from the windows of the surrounding houses. The rest of the column, however, at length came up, and the *Place* was taken\*.

Such is the substance of the narrative given by the Staff Officer. We gather however a few additional particulars of interest respecting the entry of the troops into the Grêve—the possession of which was not gained quite so easily as this account would lead us to suppose,—from the evidence of M. Delaunay, one of the witnesses examined on the trial of the ministers, who would appear to have been with the detachment which crossed the river, as mentioned above, by the suspension bridge. After he and his companions had established themselves on the *Place*,

\* Military Events, pp. 23, 32—34.

so destructive was the fire to which they were exposed both from the windows and from the quays, that, having lost two officers, besides several men, they were obliged to abandon the ground and to retire upon the Quai de Gèvres. The two field-pieces, he says, were then brought up, and, being fired upon the people, enabled the military to make themselves masters a second time of the contested square. Immediately after this, M. Delaunay was despatched with eight men to the other end of the bridge to disperse a number of persons collected on the opposite quay, who continued to gall the detachment with their fire across the water. As soon as he made his appearance with his party, the people fled; and they only fired three shots, at a man who ventured to take aim at them. Delaunay was occupied nearly a quarter of an hour on this service, during which he declares that he forbade his men in the strictest terms to fire upon any citizens whom they should see unarmed. At last, however, he perceived that his companions on the other side of the river were again evacuating the Grève, on which he instantly made all haste to rejoin them. They were soon after enabled to recover their ground, from which they were not again driven back\*.

The troops having thus at last obtained possession

\* Procès, i. 329, 330. This evidence however, it is right to remark, bears manifest traces of being in several respects incorrectly reported. We doubt, in particular, if the two field-pieces were at all employed in the manner the witness seems to state. These guns, it will be remembered, were retained by the main body of the column which crossed by the Pont Notre Dame; whereas the various repulses sustained by the detachment to which M. Delaunay belonged, all appear to have occurred, even by his own account, before that main body came up; for he afterwards attributes the final establishment of his men on the ground which they had twice been forced to abandon to the arrival of General Talon, who was in fact the officer in command of the column. How then could they have had the aid of the two guns so long before?

of the Grève, pointed their two guns towards the Quai de la Cité, and the entrance of the Pont de la Cité, which leads over into the Ile St. Louis. This, the Staff Officer says, was all that could be done with them, the height of the parapet wall of the quay making it useless to direct them against any other point. "I must here observe," he adds, "once for all, that the eight guns which were distributed, two and two, to the several columns, were nowhere of much use, and were everywhere a considerable embarrassment. We have heard a great deal of the grape and canister shot supposed to have mowed down so many thousand insurgents; but I repeat, with a full certainty of the truth of my assertion, that there were but four rounds of that kind of shot\*."

Soon after the Guards had thus taken up their position, a discovery was made which must have struck a deeper consternation and hopelessness into the ranks of the government partisans than any of the other signs of this portentous morning. The spirit of revolt, it now became too evident, had reached an important division of the military. A battalion of the 15th light infantry, it will be recollected, had been ordered to support the column whose movements we have just detailed; and it was accordingly stationed for that purpose along the quays of the Ile du Palais which extend between the Pont au Change and the Pont de la Cité; occupying also the two short streets of la Colombe and St. Landri, which lead to the eastern portion of this line. It was intended, of course, by this disposition of the battalion, that it should prevent these quays from being occupied by the people, who from such a station had it in their power seriously to annoy the troops in the Grève by firing upon them

\* Military Events, p. 35.

across the river. But, in a short time, to the surprise, no doubt, of the General commanding the Guards, several of his men were perceived to fall wounded by shots that came from the very quarter which was supposed to be thus defended. Upon this a message was sent to the colonel of the battalion, directing his attention to the circumstance, when he answered that he would prevent it for the future. But the annoyance continued unabated. A second message was then sent, in reply to which the colonel distinctly stated that he would not give any orders on the subject. "Very soon," concludes the Staff Officer, "the Quai de la Cité was filled with insurgent sharpshooters, who, under the protection of the 15th, kept up a well-sustained fire on the Guards in the *Place*\*."

Some of the popular histories give a different account of the behaviour of this colonel. According to the Baron Lamothe Langon, it was one Saunière, a native of Carcassonne (in Languedoc), and an advocate in the Royal Court of Paris, who, in a conflict which he says took place this day between the military and the people in the Street des Prouvaires or du Roule (he does not notice at what time), perceiving that the line manifested an indisposition to continue shedding the blood of their fellow-citizens, threw himself between the two fires, and while the balls whistled around him endeavoured by his earnest prayers to both parties to effect a reconciliation between the combatants. He had to repeat his attempt three times, we are told, before he succeeded; but at last he had the happiness of returning to the popular ranks, and bringing them the gratifying tidings that the soldiers and officers of the line had alike promised on their honour to fire no more on their countrymen. "The colonel of

the 15th," adds the history, "on being informed of this fraternal capitulation, hastened to break it; he commanded his men to recommence their fire, but they all remained immovable. You have sworn fidelity to the King, said he. We have sworn it also to the nation, was their reply; and there stands the nation calling upon us to keep our word; while the King hides himself, and makes us butcher our brethren. The colonel, confounded, withdrew, testifying profound despair\*."

Somewhat similar to this is the account which is given of the behaviour of the 5th regiment of the line, which was stationed in the Place Vendôme. Having received orders to march up on the Place des Victoires to support the forces there (also of the line) who began to be very much pressed upon by the people, they were proceeding for that purpose along the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, when they were stopped by some obstacle. At this moment, according to Mr. Sadler, M. Joanny Pharaon, whom our author describes as one of the editors of the French edition of his work, advanced to the troops; and was proceeding to address them, when the officers interfered, remarking to the orator, that their soldiers did not need his exhortations, knowing, as they did, that their duty was to obey those under whose orders they were. As the men themselves, however, seemed inclined to listen, M. Pharaon did not suffer himself to be repulsed by this check; but, borrowing a chair from a neighbouring shop, mounted it, and went on with his harangue. He called upon the soldiers to remember that they were not now going forth to fight against the enemies of France,—in which case, he said, no Frenchman would attempt to stop them, or to damp their ardour, —but to shed the blood of their fellow-countrymen,

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 253.

perhaps of their own relations. Their duty, he implored them to consider, could never be to involve themselves in the guilt of such a crime. If they fired at all, in obedience to the orders of their officers, it ought to be in the air. "Some of the soldiers," continues Mr. Sadler, "immediately cried out that they were not assassins—that they would not fire on the people: the cry ran through the ranks, 'We will not fire, we will not fire.'" They kept their words; and these brave Frenchmen, every time they were ordered to fire, elevated their muskets above the heads of the people, and, as soon as they were able, joined them.\*

M. Delacoux, one of the witnesses on the trial of the ministers, was present in the Place des Victoires when the troops from the Place Vendôme arrived. According to his statement, the people were already collected on the ground in great numbers, deliberating on the means they ought to adopt to resist the military, but had decided that they would not attack the infantry, who, here at least, had not as yet shown themselves hostile to the popular cause. When the regiment from the Place Vendôme came up, preceded by a squadron of cavalry, the first thing which its colonel did was to strike down a tricoloured flag which was carried by one of the citizens, to whom he said at the same time, "*You deserve that I should pass my sword through your body.*" "Nevertheless," proceeds M. Delacoux, "as the soldiers appeared disposed to fraternize with the inhabitants, its passage was not opposed, as it might easily have been; and as soon as it had taken its ground on the Place, it fired a discharge in the air, in token of reconciliation †." Suddenly, however, and from some cause which we do not find explained, the compact

\* Paris in July and August, pp. 128-130.

† Procès, ii, 98.



thus made and ratified is represented to have been broken on the part of the military. Mr. Sadler merely informs us that "shortly after this a dreadful engagement, accompanied by immense slaughter, took place in the Place des Victoires, and all the issues, which are six;" "but the royal troops," he adds, "were completely beaten, and obliged to evacuate with precipitation." M. Delacoux's account is somewhat different. "The instant after the soldiers had fired off their guns in the air," he says, "they loaded them again, and discharged them upon the crowd, by whom nothing could have been more unexpected. By this discharge two persons were killed, and three others wounded. The people cried out 'Treason!' and slowly dispersed, taking their way towards the Place de Grève, where the struggle was more obstinately maintained."

But, whatever may be the fact as to the act of treachery, alleged to have been committed by the military on this occasion, it is quite true that the defection of the troops of the Line from the government cause was this day universal, in so far at least as it could be shown by the most decided refusals to act against the people. Scarcely had the Guards on the Place de Grève ascertained that they could no longer count on the support of the 15th, when another of these regiments, the 50th, which it will be remembered had been posted since morning on the Boulevards, arrived among them, equally determined to lay down their arms. The first attempt of this regiment, on abandoning their station, had been to return to their barracks; but finding the building when they repaired to it in possession of the people, they determined to join a detachment of forty cuirassiers which was at the moment setting out from the Place de la Bastille for the Hôtel de Ville. The detachment, thus accompanied, had an enterprise of no slight difficulty



to achieve in making its way to its destination. "It turned," says the Staff Officer, "out of the Rue St. Antoine by the church of St. Gervais, to avoid the narrow streets between that point and the Place de Grève. The captain of the cuirassiers detached his trumpeter to apprise the troops in the *Place* of his movements, and to desire that a diversion might be made to facilitate his junction with them. This brave young man devoted himself to almost certain death for the safety of his comrades; and he fortunately succeeded in reaching the Hôtel de Ville by the back streets, over numerous barricades, and through every kind of danger. A charge was immediately ordered of twelve lancers and some light-infantry, through the Arcade St. Jean, under the left wing of the Hôtel de Ville, and through the Rue St. Gervais, which called off the attention of the insurgents to these streets, while the detachment of cuirassiers made its way down to the quays, and so to the Place de Grève, the 50th regiment following, but taking no part in the fight\*." From this detachment the General in command of the Guards learned that he was no longer to look for the arrival of a considerable reinforcement which he had expected from the Place de la Bastille; it having been found impossible for the troops in question to attempt passing to him through the formidable array of the armed population which occupied the streets. His situation now became sufficiently alarming; and to complete his difficulties, just as we have already found happened to the force in the *Marché des Innocens*, his cartridges were almost all spent. The supply, we may here notice, which each man had taken with him this morning from the *Place du Carrousel* seems to have amounted to thirty rounds †.

M. Delaunay says, that when the ammunition thus

\* Military Events, p. 36, note.

† Ibid. p. 16.

began to fail, two detachments were sent off to procure more, but they never returned. A message, however, which was sent to the Tuileries for assistance, arrived nearly at the same moment with that formerly mentioned of the same import which came from the officer commanding at the *Marché des Innocens*. It was carried by a party of cuirassiers; and in reply to it two hundred Swiss were despatched to the *Place de Grêve*. By the time of their arrival, the battalion of the Guards, which was only two hundred and twenty strong, had been five hours engaged, and had forty men *hors de combat*. Before this, however, (at five o'clock, M. Delaunay says,) the General had effected an entrance with part of his forces into the *Hôtel de Ville*; all the insurgents who had originally occupied the building having retired from it, either previously or at the moment when the military took possession of it. The Staff Officer states that the cavalry and artillery were marched into the stable-yard to protect them from the severe fire which the people continued to direct against them from the opposite side of the river; and that the 50th regiment was placed in the inner court of the *Hôtel*, at the earnest desire of its colonel, who had only been able to induce his men to follow him by promising that he would not call upon them to fire on the citizens. According to M. Delannay, the troops of the line who were thus disposed of, consisted of a part of the 50th and a part of the 53rd regiments. They fired a few shots, he says, when they first arrived. The men of the platoon to which he himself belonged, after having been ordered to collect together the few cartridges they had remaining, were stationed at the windows of the rooms on the first floor.

Up to this period, the principal part of the fighting appears to have taken place at the entry to the *Rue*

du Monton, a street which opens into the Place de Grève from the north. The houses in this short street bore evidence of the severity of this conflict.

Fronting the opening to the Place de Grève is a tobacconist's shop. The wife of the owner was in child-bed during the conflict; and her sister assured us that fourteen balls entered the curtains of the poor woman's bed\*. For some time after the troops had succeeded in establishing themselves on the Place, a fire had been kept up upon them both from the angles of this street and from behind a barricade which had been erected in it. The barricade, however, they soon carried; and they retained possession of it till the arrival of the two hundred Swiss; when, by some awkwardness of movement in the operation of relieving on the coming up of this detachment, it was again lost. One of the severest struggles of the day now occurred. Preparations were making on the part of the military to drive the people once more from the barricade; when the latter, not even waiting to be attacked, made a simultaneous rush from all sides, as if with the intention of overwhelming their opponents. But, although several of the Swiss were killed in this encounter, they stood their ground, supported by the grenadiers and light infantry of the Guards; and even eventually succeeded in regaining possession of the barricade. The popular forces seem now to have pressed for some time with less vigour upon this point, insomuch that the light infantry, we find it stated, was withdrawn to guard the suspension bridge; where, according to the Staff Officer, they maintained themselves, though they had not a cartridge left, for three quarters of an hour, with most remarkable steadiness and courage†.

It was resolved at last, however, to withdraw all the troops from the Place into the Hôtel de Ville—

\* S. T. † Military Events, p. 33.

the only position retained being the barricade in the Rue du Mouton, for the maintenance of which the light infantry were now removed from the bridge. But, when the Swiss proceeded, according to this arrangement, to give place to their successors, the people, either, as the Staff Officer suggests, mistaking the movement for a retreat on the part of the military, or thinking that the moment in which the one force was taking the place of the other, offered the best opportunity for their design, made a second general attack. On this occasion, however, they suffered severely from the fire of the men stationed at the windows of the Hôtel, and were quickly obliged to retire. This fire commanded even the back streets, in which till now they had been quite safe, and rendered them wholly untenable. The sharpshooters of the Guards, by whom all the windows were occupied, obtained cartridges from the regiment of the line which had refused to act\*.

The Hôtel de Ville, after it was thus entered and taken possession of by the troops, was never recovered by the people in the course of this day's fight. This fact is established beyond all question, both by the narrative of the Staff Officer and by the evidence given on the trial of the ministers. The popular histories, however, almost without exception, represent the building to have been repeatedly wrested by the one party from the other during the afternoon and evening. Without attempting any description of the movements by which these alternate captures and evacuations were effected, the writers to whom we refer assert, some of them, in general terms, that the post was taken and retaken "several times"—while others, who aim at greater particularity of statement, commonly specify "three" as the exact number of times this change

\* Military Events, p. 16.

of position occurred. The Baron de Lamothe Langon, however, who is indeed on almost all occasions still more poetical than any of his brother chroniclers, tells us that the thing happened no fewer than a *dozen* times\* ;—he adds, to be sure, a faltering “*peut-être*,” as if he felt that he might possibly in this instance have gone rather too far. And certainly, to say that a circumstance happened a dozen times, which in point of fact never happened at all, is a somewhat loose way of writing history.

But though unsuccessful in driving the military from the stronghold in which they had here established themselves, there can be no doubt that the popular forces who fought this day in the Place de Grève maintained the arduous struggle in which they had engaged with extraordinary valour. Even from the sketch of the mere outline of the conflict which we have given (and which we regret that we are without any means of filling up) it is evident that their conduct throughout was characterised not only by the most ardent and admirably sustained intrepidity, but even by no mean display of military skill. We see them posting themselves every where at the points from which their fire could be directed in the greatest security and with the heaviest effect, and dexterously seizing for their successive attacks the very moments when the enemy was most likely to give way, as well as bringing up their strength on these occasions with a rapidity of arrangement and combination, which proves that their leaders must have been men well practised in field manœuvres. Whenever the sacrifice of life was needed to purchase any real advantage, it appears to have been ungrudgingly made ; the armed citizens maintained their ground on the *Place* with unshrinking and undaunted firmness in the face both of the

\* Une Semaine, &c. p. 233.

musketry and the artillery of the soldiers; they retired from the streets which were commanded by the sharpshooters stationed at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, only because to remain would have been to expose themselves to certain destruction for no end. Whatever, in short, could be done by a mere half-armed multitude against the complete equipment and steady discipline of veteran soldiers, was achieved by the Parisians throughout this sanguinary and protracted struggle.

Many instances, also, there doubtless were of brilliant daring on the part of individuals, of which it is to be lamented there is no more trustworthy record than the vague and contradictory narratives of the popular historians. Some of the anecdotes, however, which we find reported by those authorities, we may give; having in some measure ascertained their general correctness by personal inquiries. We have seen that one of the stations from which the insurgents directed their most effective fire upon the troops was the line of Quays in the Ile de la Cité, lying opposite to the Place de Grève, and communicating with it by the iron suspension bridge. About three o'clock, it is said, during the hottest of the fight which was thus carried on between the people and the troops across the river, a party of the latter, in number about fifteen or twenty, advanced upon the bridge, with the purpose of driving from their shelter behind the parapet at the opposite extremity, a body of about as many young men from whom the fire had principally proceeded. "Instantly," says the story, "the intrepid citizens present themselves to the enemy with the alacrity of veteran soldiers; they discharge their muskets; three of the Swiss fall; the others, frightened, retire. Immediately one of the youngest of the combatants throws himself upon the bridge; he rushes into the

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midst of the balls fired at him, he reaches the three soldiers stretched dead upon the ground, seizes their guns and their cartridge-boxes, and then returns to his comrades, calling out, My friends here are arms and ammunition \*!"

This adventure must not be confounded with that of another young hero, who has made this bridge still more famous in the popular annals. After the two parties of combatants, it is said, had been for some hours separated by the river, the bridge all the time being commanded by the fire of the military, a body of the people determined to make an attempt to pass over to the assistance of their friends in the Grêve. When they arrived, however, at the end of the bridge, they stopped, intimidated by the enemy's fire. At this instant, one of their number, a young man about seventeen †, waving a tricoloured flag in his hand, rushed from the midst of them; and, running forward along the bridge, ascended to the top of the elevated pier which forms its central support, and there planted the ensign of liberty, when he immediately fell, pierced with balls. According to another version of the story the young man only succeeded in fixing his flag, after three times making the attempt; when, an officer having run to take hold of it, the hero, waiting his approach, shot him dead as he came up, and was on his way back to his friends when he was himself struck down by a ball which lodged in his thigh ‡. Whether it was that this courageous exploit of itself recalled to the recollection of the spectators the similar action of Buonaparte at the bridge

\* Ambs, p. 92; Imbert, p. 107; Lamothe Langon, p. 239. All these writers, and several others whose names might be quoted, relate the anecdote nearly in the same words—which are also almost literally translated in the narrative published by Galignani, p. 26.

† Some accounts make him only fourteen. See Imbert, p. 97.

‡ Ibid.



of Arcole in Italy, or that, as some of the narratives assert, the young man called out, as he ran forth to find his honourable death, "Comrades! if I die, remember that my name is d'Arcole," assuming to himself, in the mere enthusiasm inspired by his design, that appropriate designation—or that, as some more literal interpreters affirm, d'Arcole was actually his patronymic,—the bridge has ever since been called *Le Pont d'Arcole*, in memory of his gallantry and patriotic devotion. His companions, it is added in some of the accounts, animated by his noble example, immediately rushed forward where he had led the way, and forced the passage of the bridge\*.

Our engraving represents the bridge as it appeared soon after it had been thus decorated with the popular colours. In the distance is a view of the Hôtel de Ville and the Place de Grève with the throng of combatants there engaged involved in the smoke of their answering volleys. In the foreground are seen a number of the people firing upon the military from the south side of the river and from behind the shelter of the parapet.

Nor were these the only instances of similar heroism, of which the iron bridge was this day the witness. A boy of thirteen or fourteen is recorded to have advanced along it waving a tricoloured flag, which in the midst of the hottest of the fire he at last planted within a few steps of the enemy's line †. Still more extraordinary was the daring of another

\* Laumier, p. 66 ; Lamothe Langon, p. 240 ; Sadler, p. 146, &c. &c. The translator of the Staff Officer's work, in a note on p. 35, erroneously speaks of the Pont de la Cité (which joins the Ile de la Cité to the Ile St. Louis) as the scene of this exploit ; for in all the accounts which we have consulted, the iron suspension bridge in front of the Grève is pointed out as the one in question ; and of this fact we have no doubt from the concurrent testimony of several witnesses of the transaction, whom we saw at Paris.

† Imbert, p. 183.



*McClaghorn*

PONT D'ARÇOLE, AND HOTEL DE VILLE.

28<sup>th</sup> JULY 18<sup>th</sup>

*Engraved by*



of the civic combatants, who, when one of his friends, carried forward by his impetuous courage as far as the middle of the bridge, had been there struck down by the balls of the military, rushed up to the spot where the dead body lay, planted the tricolour by its side, discharged his musket and avenged his slaughtered comrade; and then, lifting up at once the flag and the body, although the shot continued to rain around him, regained in safety the ranks of his admiring fellow-citizens\*. On the Place de Grève equally remarkable examples were exhibited of intrepidity and generous devotedness. At one time when the popular bands, shaken by the heavy fire of the soldiers, seemed about to give way, a young man bearing aloft a tricolour fixed to the point of a lance, deliberately advanced upon the levelled muskets of the soldiery, and, exclaiming, My friends, I am going to show you how one dies for his country, fell almost the instant the words had passed his lips, pierced by many death-wounds†. Mr. Sadler mentions a M. Boulet, one of the most celebrated fencing-masters in Paris, who distinguished himself greatly on this spot. "Several females, also," he adds, "exasperated at the butcheries committed by the soldiery, mixed in our ranks, and fought as bravely as any of us. A woman named Frottier braved every danger to offer assistance to the wounded that were lying in all directions. At one time she darted forward, and seized a piece of cannon that had just been discharged; her courage electrified every body; the air was rent by Bravo! bravo! and other enthusiastic cries‡." Among the most ardent of the combatants is particularly noticed a M. Tripier, one of

\* Imbert, p. 183.

† Laumier, p. 165; Narrative published by Galignani, p. 25.

‡ Paris in July and August, p. 147.

the many old soldiers of the empire, whom this grand crisis drew forth to mingle once more in the clash of arms. M. Tripier is said to have remained in the thickest of the battle from nine o'clock in the morning till five at night,—his son, a boy of fifteen, and armed only with a sabre, all the while fighting by his side. During this time he saw his brother-in-law M. Noël, and M. Bouvenot, another of his relations, perish near him\*. Another person who greatly distinguished himself by his valour and activity was M. Papu, a young surgeon, and a native of Bretagne, who acted as the captain of a small band of patriots. Not confining his exertions however to mere deeds of military prowess, he might be seen at one place as eagerly engaged in dressing or binding up the wounds of a fellow-combatant as he had been at another, the moment before, in leading on his followers to the charge, and scattering death among the ranks of the enemy. It was while employed in bestowing the aid of his professional skill upon one of his disabled comrades that he was himself mortally wounded by a discharge of grape-shot on the Quai le Pelletier, about six o'clock in the evening. He was immediately carried into a house on the Quai; where, notwithstanding the most assiduous attentions, after lingering three or four hours, he expired. "While he lived," the account concludes, "he was occupied in forming prayers for the triumph of liberty. His ardent patriotism imposed silence on his physical agonies. Some moments before he expired, he called out, Let my family know that I die content; for I feel that the victory cannot now escape us. It is sweet, it is glorious to die for one's country." M. Papu left a mother and several sisters in Rennes, whom his

\* Imbert, p. 206.

death plunged into the deepest grief\*. Louis Deré, the nail-maker we have already mentioned, was one of five men who undertook the dangerous exploit of conveying ammunition from the *Cité* to the people at the Place de Grève. These men placed their valuable store in a boat, and swam across the river, pushing the boat before them. They reached the quay in safety; and conveyed the powder through one of the narrow streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville †.

The following is another of these anecdotes, which we translate literally from the original, as it appears in various publications. "M. Mourette, residing at No. 2, Rue Neuve-de-Bretagne, was carried home from the Hôtel de Ville on a litter, disabled by a dangerous gun-shot wound which he had just received. His mother, who had been for many years a widow, said to him, as she pressed him tenderly in her arms, In losing you, my son, I shall lose the only means I have of supporting existence; but I am happy, seeing that you die for so noble a cause. A working watchmaker, of the name of J. F. Michel, immediately made a collection, to which he contributed himself all the money he had about him, and which amounted at last to eighty francs; it was given to the widow Mourette, and her son, reanimated by the affectionate utterances of his mother, exclaimed with a feeble voice, *Vive la Charte! Vive la Liberté ‡!*" The wounded man was afterwards taken, it is added, to the Hospital of St. Louis; where, when the Baron Lamothe Langon wrote, he still remained in great danger. The dead were carried during the day to the Morgue, and the wounded to the hospitals, some on litters,

\* Imbert, p. 179. See also a Letter from M. Pierre Grand, Advocate, addressed to the Editor of the Tribune des Départements, in Ambs, p. 141.

† S. T.

‡ Imbert, p. 111; Lamothe Langon, p. 221, &c.

and some in carts. The most respectful silence, we are told, on the part of the crowds through which they passed, accompanied the march of these frequent and melancholy processions.

Such are a few of the incidents of the combat at the Hôtel de Ville which we find related by the historians of the popular party. During the greater part of the time that the work of slaughter had thus been going on in this and other parts of Paris, those engaged in the fight, in addition to their other toils, had to sustain the fervour of an almost literally broiling sun; the thermometer actually standing at the unusual elevation of 95° Fahrenheit. In the Grève the firing on both sides gradually slackened towards nightfall; but the royal troops had gained nothing by all the fatigue they had undergone and the breaches that had been made in their ranks. It is true that they had established themselves in the Hôtel de Ville, and remained still in possession of that building; but, so far were they from considering the capture of this post as any advantage which they had gained, that their only thought now was how they should best contrive to retreat from and abandon it. The only message they had had from head-quarters since the arrival of the two hundred Swiss, was one brought by a non-commissioned officer in disguise, to the effect that they must look for no farther reinforcement, but endeavour to effect their return to the Tuileries *as they could*. "This," says the Staff-Officer, "was the reply to a message sent at four P. M. by a detachment of six cuirassiers, the officer commanding which received, at six o'clock, orders to return. Having observed that it was impossible to force his way without infantry, they gave him twenty Swiss; but neither he nor they could get over a barricade formed on the Quai de la Mégisserie, about half-way between the Tuileries and the Place



de Grève, and just in front of where the 15th light infantry was stationed. Several of this party were killed and wounded under the eyes of the 15th\*.”

In these circumstances, therefore, it was determined to leave the building about twelve o'clock; when it was presumed that the people who had fought so hard all day, would be mostly retired from the streets, and to endeavour to make their escape back to the Tuileries by the same road by which they had come in the morning. The necessity of taking along with them the wounded, who amounted to between fifty and sixty, formed the chief difficulty in the way of this attempt; but their comrades undertook to carry them †. “A singular circumstance,” continues our military historian, “was near defeating this arrangement, or, at least, greatly increasing the difficulties. By an excess of precaution it was thought necessary to occupy the shop of a wine-seller, which forms the corner of the Place de Grève and the Quai Pelletier. Twenty-eight grenadiers were destined to this object; but it was thought proper to begin by firing two cannon shots at this building. The corner pillar, on which the whole rested, was, as near as possible, shot away. It had been already damaged by a shot from the guns on the Pont Notre Dame in the morning. If this corner had fallen, the upper part of the house would have followed, and would have formed a complete and insurmountable barricade across the Quay: besides, the shop below was open on every

\* Military Events, p. 39; note.

† Such is the statement of the Staff Officer—Military Events, p. 40. But M. Delaunay asserts that the wounded were conveyed in three cabriolets which were found in the Place. Procès, i. 330. Eleven, not twelve, o'clock, also, according to this witness, was the hour at which the troops left the Hôtel de Ville. M. Blair again speaks of the wounded as amounting to between 150 and 200. *Id.* 326.

side; and it was found that the grenadiers were too tall to stand in the *entresol*. They were recalled\*." When we saw this wine-shop in August, the corner had been repaired; and was adorned with a tolerably well executed representation of this remarkable conflict †.

At twelve o'clock, however, the troops, as had been arranged, quitted the Hôtel de Ville. Their cartridges long ere now had been exhausted—all except a few, which were given to a detachment of light infantry, forming the advanced guard of the retreat. The people by this time, as had been anticipated, had almost all left both the streets and the windows of the houses. The Guards, the Staff Officer tells us, had seen them very plainly stealing away on the approach of night; "but there was no desire," he adds, "to interrupt them." The only incident of the retreat, which this writer mentions, is the circumstance of a few shots having been fired at the troops from the quays of the Ile de la Cité on occasion of the noise which they made in rolling down some stones of a barricade which they found on the Quai Pelletier, to enable the guns to be got over. With this exception they seem to have accomplished their march to the Tuileries without annoyance. When they reached the Palais de Justice and the Pont Neuf, they were a good deal surprised by finding the 15th light infantry still occupying, after a day of entire inactivity, the very ground on which they had left them stationed twelve hours before. From the Tuileries they were marched to their barracks, according to M. Delannay, after resting an hour. By this time their exhaustion must have been great. Before leaving the Grêve they had induced several of the wine-

\* Military Events, p. 41.

† S. T.

sellers who had any wine left, and particularly one at the corner of the Rue du Mouton, to sell them some at a high price. "A few bottles," says the Staff Officer, "very much diluted with water, were of great use to the men and the wounded. It was *the only food or refreshment they had tasted the whole day* \*."

\* Military Events, p. 41.





## CHAPTER IX.

HAVING detailed the events which occurred at the two principal scenes of action in the interior of the city, we will now proceed to the northern Boulevards, at different points along the line of which the contest also raged during a great part of this day with destructive violence. About the same time that the troops already mentioned were despatched to the Marché des Innocens and the Hôtel de Ville, another column, consisting of a battalion of guards and two squadrons of horse grenadiers, accompanied by two guns, left the Champs Elysées, under orders to proceed along the Boulevards as far as the termination of the Rue de Richelieu, and then to return. It marched, accordingly, up the Avenue de Marigny, and thence along the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré,

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until it reached the extremity of the Boulevard de la Madeleine, without meeting with any interruption, or encountering any of the popular forces, except a small body of National Guards, posted at the Mairie of the first arrondissement, whom it detached a few men to disarm. On turning up the Rue Royale, however, it was assailed by a sharp fire from the Church de la Madeleine, which stands at the northern extremity of that spacious street. "The General commanding," says the Staff-Officer, "ordered the light company to advance, which forced a barricade, formed of the planks and scaffolding which surrounded this unfinished work, and put to flight the people who had occupied it." The troops, this writer asserts, then opened the communication along the Boulevards as far as the *Chinese Baths* (on the Boulevard des Italiens) and maintained it by detached posts. "They remained all day," he adds, "in these positions without any events worth notice: not a man was wounded\*." It appears, however, that some of the troops stationed on this part of the Boulevards, or the neighbourhood, came occasionally in the course of the day into collision with the people. M. Lecomte, in his evidence on the trial of the ministers, states that about three o'clock in the afternoon, having been for some time riding through the different quarters of the capital in order to encourage the inhabitants and to direct them in their schemes of defence, as he was entering the Rue d'Antin (a short distance to the south of the Boulevard des Capucins), he was, along with several other persons, fired upon by a party of about a hundred and fifty soldiers of the line, who were stationed at the opposite extremity of the street. By making a precipitate retreat, however, into a house, he was fortunate enough to escape being hit. About an

\* Military Events, pp. 22 and 24.

hour afterwards, he was again fired at, but it would seem with as little effect, by the Guards, while crossing the Boulevard, opposite to the Rue de la Paix\*. The Boulevard des Italiens also, according to the Baron de Lamothe Langon (who assures us, by the by, that many officers there lost their lives), was the scene of an incident which we give in his own words. "An officer struck a child of twelve years of age with the flat of his sword, calling him at the same time a scoundrel (*gamin*) and a little thief; the boy ran to a little distance, hastily snatched a musket from a citizen, cocked it, came back running to the officer, who was standing at the end of the Rue de Choiseul, took aim at him, and shot him dead. When asked why he had committed this murder at his years, and what the officer had done to him as an individual; He insulted me, replied the child; it was necessary that either he or I should die †." It is not for us to decide whether this incident is to be numbered amongst the apocryphal narratives of scenes where so little could be accurately recorded, amidst the craving appetite for whatever best adapted itself to the tone of popular feeling.

About the same time that the three columns, whose routes we have now traced, set out on their respective errands, a fourth column was directed to proceed up the Rue de Richelieu, thence to follow the Boulevard as far as the Porte St. Antoine, and from that point to make its way back along the Rue St. Antoine to the Hôtel de Ville, to join the other force by which it was expected that that station would be already occupied. This detachment, which was under the command of the Count de St. Chamans, consisted of a battalion of guards and three squadrons of cavalry, accompanied, as in the other cases,

\* Procès, i. 313.

† Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 246.

by two field-pieces \*. The orders, the Count informs us, which he received from the Marshal were to disperse all tumultuous assemblages, to level whatever barricades he might encounter on his march, and to repel force by force if he should meet with any resistance †. The Rue de Richelieu, as we learn from another witness on the trial, had at an earlier hour in the morning been filled by a numerous throng of people, who, intrenched behind some planks which lined the side of the street next the Palais Royal, assailed with volleys of stones a detachment of gendarmerie sent to disperse them. This happened about nine o'clock ‡. The column, however, under the conduct of M. de St. Chamans, was now allowed to proceed up the street without molestation, although the crowd was still considerable. The first interruption which it had to encounter was on the Boulevard de Bonne Nouvelle, on the summit of

\* Military Events, p. 22. The Count de St. Chamans, however, if we may trust the printed report of his evidence, makes the numbers about nine hundred infantry, and a hundred and fifty lancers, which would form a much more considerable force. See Procès, i. 331. "When I use the expression *battalion*," says the Staff-Officer in another place, "I mean from 220 to 240 men, in the outside, except the Swiss battalions, which were 400 men," p. 48. So that the column, instead of 1050 men, as enumerated by M. de Chamans, would, according to this account, consist only of about 520 or 540 men (there being one hundred men in each squadron of lancers). But how are the numbers here assigned to the battalion to be reconciled with a preceding statement (at p. 4), where the eight battalions forming the three regiments of guards (of which only one was a Swiss regiment) are made to amount to 3800 men? These apparent inconsistencies are the more deserving of notice, inasmuch as the translator of 'The Military Events of the Revolution' has, in some remarks which he has appended to the original, taken an opportunity of exposing the alleged exaggerations of another writer (M. Gallois) as to the numbers of this very column, on the authority of the Staff-Officer's account. See p. 118.

† Procès, i. 331.

‡ Id. p. 318, Evidence of the Viscomte de Virieu.



which, not far from the Porte St. Denis, it found a barricade formed of boards and other materials. "The company of *voltigeurs*," says M. de Chamans, "which formed my vanguard, proceeded forward at a quick pace to overthrow this barricade, and to open a passage for the column; but as soon as it began this operation, it was assailed by several shots from the Porte St. Denis and the corners of the streets opening into the boulevard beyond it. The *voltigeurs* answered this fire. There was nobody in the streets; we could not see the persons who fired at us; the shots came principally from the Porte St. Denis, and it was quite impossible to address the legal summons to the people. I continued my march towards the Place de la Bastille, under a fire from both the right and left\*." The Staff-Officer states, that in the attack which was made upon the column at this point the adjutant-major of the lancers fell from his horse, severely wounded by a shot fired by a person who escaped among the crowd. A detachment, he also informs us, was left on the departure of the column to await the arrival of the battalion which was to come, as before mentioned, from the Marché des Innocens †.

It appears that at an early hour in the morning a crowd of people, among whom were many individuals in the uniform of the National Guard, had assembled on the boulevards in this neighbourhood. A few of them only were armed with muskets or bayonets—most of them having nothing but thick sticks or long poles. It seems to have been about eight o'clock that a strong patrol of cuirassiers came riding up to them at a gallop along the Boulevard St. Denis, evidently for the purpose of attempting to disperse them. They were actively engaged at the

\* Id. p. 331.

† Military Events, p. 25.





PORTES ST. ANNE

moment in tearing up the paving stones and conveying them to the top of the Porte St. Denis. Instead of flying before the charge of the cuirassiers, they boldly stood their ground, we are told, and thrusting at the horsemen with their long poles threw them from their saddles almost the first instant of the encounter. They then seized the arms of their vanquished enemies—of whom it is not stated that even one escaped. Thus improved in their equipments, the popular forces now resolved to attempt something in the way of offensive operations. About nine o'clock, accordingly, they proceeded to the guard-house on the Boulevard de Bonne Nouvelle, where about twenty soldiers of the line were stationed. These men surrendered their arms at the first summons (the commanding officer alone having attempted any resistance), and were forthwith marched to the barracks in the Rue Poissonière, under an escort of the people, and amid cries of "*Vive la charte!*" "*The line for ever!*" The guard-house was then demolished; and a barricade, formed of its materials, erected across the boulevard. This was doubtless the barricade which M. de St. Chamans mentions in his evidence. Before the detachment conducted by that officer arrived, several parties of gendarmes and lancers, it is asserted, were disarmed here by the people in the same manner as the patrol of cuirassiers had been\*.

When the Guards came up, they were received, as has been stated, by a brisk fire, which proceeded in great part from the persons stationed over the gate, who also hurled stones at the troops in great numbers and with considerable effect. The plate which we have given presents a view of the conflict which took place here at the moment of its greatest fury. But it was a late hour before the firing had entirely

\* *Ambs*, pp. 148-151 and 180.

ceased at this point. The mass of the people seem to have eventually retired before the Guards as far as the Porte St. Martin; but the detachment which was left on the ground is said to have continued to fire upon every person who appeared in sight till nearly seven o'clock in the evening. When Colonel Pleinselve came up with his detachment, there were still a few individuals posted on the top of the gate; but a corporal and four privates ascended and dislodged them\*.

M. de St. Chamans, in his evidence, gives us no farther particulars of his march till he arrived at the Place de la Bastille. The Staff-Officer, however, informs us that he was assailed by a sharp firing near the Porte St. Martin—on which he counter-marched his cavalry behind the infantry, which, thus unmasked, fired by platoons. “The artillery,” it is added, “fired also two rounds, and the column broke through the barricade which the people had just begun to erect across the Boulevard.” Here, as well as at the Porte St. Denis, there had been some sharp fighting between the people and a party of the cuirassiers from the barraeks of the Célestins at an earlier hour of the day. The Baron de Lamothe Langon has published a letter (which seems, however, to have been originally addressed to the editor of some newspaper), from a M. Dubourg, “Ancien Capitaine” as he calls himself, in which the writer gives us an account of this action. While standing near the gate he saw a body of about a hundred and fifty of the people coming down the street towards the Boulevards, wretchedly armed and headed by a very young man. As an old soldier M. Dubourg deemed it his duty to caution this weak force against advancing in face of the cuirassiers and gendarmes, both horse and foot, who were drawn up on the

\* Military Events, p. 31.

Boulevard and in the Rue du Faubourg St. Martin. But the youthful leader of the band was not to be deterred from proceeding on his march. "Like yourself," said he, (M. Dubourg had lost an arm at Waterloo), "we will brave death in the cause of liberty." He and his followers then marched forward, the drum beating a charge, and, pointing their bayonets, threw themselves upon the cuirassiers. They were received by a fire, which killed a considerable number of them. The cuirassiers then made a charge in their turn; but it had not much effect in shaking the popular array. In fact the latter very soon had completely the best of it—when "the heroes," he adds, "in their turn, though without any other arms than swords and bayonets, killed and wounded a good many of their opponents; others, seeing certain death before them, surrendered. The leader of the victorious band and such of his men as survived then mounted the horses which had thus been deprived of their riders, and pursued the rest of the regiment as far as the Quai des Célestins." The whole of this passed, the writer declares, in the twinkling of an eye. He afterwards learned that the young hero under whose conduct this brilliant affair had been achieved was a M. Augustin Thomas, a considerable hair-cloth manufacturer, at No. 28 of the Rue des Vinaigriers, Faubourg St. Martin\*. We had the pleasure of several conversations with M. Thomas, who appeared as intelligent as he was brave. The conflict at the Porte St. Denis was principally maintained by him during the day;—but he had the advantage of being at the head of his own workmen, by whom he was faithfully supported. M. Thomas, at the time we saw him, had just been elected a lieutenant of the National Guards †.

Very soon after the troops under the command of

\* Une Semaine, &c. pp. 213—217.

† S. T.

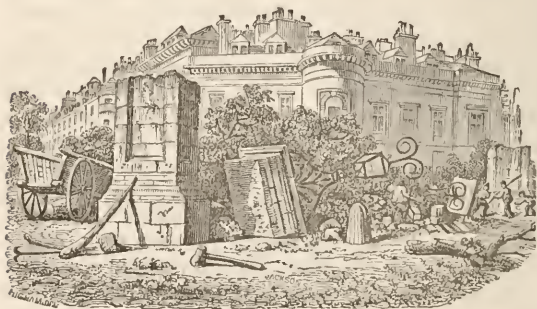
the Count de St. Chamans had passed the Porte St. Martin, the erection of a series of barricades along the Boulevards in their rear was commenced by the people on a much more formidable scale than any which had yet appeared in other parts of the city. A carpenter of the name of Ambrose Menoret is said to have been the individual who first suggested the plan of raising this succession of defences, and pointed out the manner in which they should be constructed. Menoret had in the morning been the leader of the band which captured the guard-house of Bonne Nouvelle—and during the few hours which had elapsed since that exploit, he and a number of his followers had been employed in other enterprizes of a similar nature, which were conducted with equal success. They had proceeded, for instance, beyond the barriers to the village of Belleville, the mayor of which they had prevailed upon to set up the tricolour; and they had also gone to the theatre in the *Jardin* there, and compelled the proprietors to deliver up to them the different weapons in their armoury. On his return to the neighbourhood of the Porte St. Martin, M. Menoret found the fighting which has been described going on between the people and the Royal Guards. When the latter had at last left this part of the Boulevards, the happy idea occurred to him of entirely cutting off their communication with the forces stationed at the other extremity of that line of road. Proceeding with all haste to his workshop in the Rue Faubourg du Temple, he there provided himself with the necessary tools, and at the same time collected some additional associates, at whose head he returned to the Boulevards. The work of cutting down the trees was immediately begun. Many of the noblest of those which had ornamented this magnificent road since the days of Louis le Grand,



now fell under the axe—to be put to a use little dreamed of by that despotic monarch when he planted them. The largest trees were of course chosen as calculated to form the most insurmountable barriers to the progress of the troops. The practised skill and dexterity of M. Menoret enabled those engaged under his directions to perform their work both with an expedition and in a style of completeness which they could not otherwise have attained. In the course of a few hours a great progress was made in thus rendering the northern Boulevards impassable. About six o'clock one of the persons employed in this task was killed by a ball which struck him on the head, and which had been fired, we suppose, by one of the party left by M. de St. Chamans in the vicinity of the Porte St. Denis. On this, we are told, M. Menoret, throwing down his axe, advanced to the soldiers, and endeavoured to persuade them to come over to the popular side. But they belonged to the Guards, and his exhortations were unavailing. He then returned to his labours, which were pursued with such diligence that by the approach of night the whole line of the Boulevards, from the Rue du Temple in the east to the Rue de Richelieu in the west, was covered at short intervals with erections opposing an insurmountable barrier to the passage of troops\*. These formidable works were also supplied with materials from the premises of Mr. Creey, an eminent English architect engaged in the building of a magnificent square in the Rue St. Lazare. The band of men who came to demand his tools and his timber, took off scaffold-poles, deal battens, crow-bars, pick-axes, and every article which could possibly be useful to them. Such, however, was the organization of this party, and so scrupulous their honesty, that everything, to the minutest piece of wood, was

\* *Ambs*, pp. 180—181.

restored to Mr. Crecy ;—and he assured us that he did not estimate the damage at the value of five shillings. These barricades were erected amidst the greatest popular enthusiasm. In one instance the tricolour was planted on a barricade by a female\*.



We will now accompany M. de St. Chamans and the column under his command to the Place de la Bastille. M. Gallois gives us the most clear and graphic account of what had been taking place since morning in this quarter of the town. He was at his window, he tells us, by four o'clock—his son having already gone forth to learn what was passing in the more central parts of the capital. As he looked out on the Boulevards he was struck by the quiet, unusual even at that early hour, which every where prevailed. The public vehicles of various descriptions which were wont to convey passengers between the opposite extremities of the city had ceased to ply:—with the exception of a cabriolet

\* S. T. We take this occasion of returning our thanks to Mr. Crecy for his zealous and disinterested assistance in enabling us to collect the materials for this volume, particularly with regard to the illustrations,

driving now and then towards the barriers, not a carriage was to be seen. The people, however, gradually made their appearance; and before six the Boulevard was covered with a throng composed principally of the labouring classes. Only some of them were armed; the rest were clamorous in their demands to be similarly equipped. On the suggestion of some one, a great many of them suddenly rushed to the Boulevard du Temple, where it was said that several theatrical establishments were distributing their weapons among the people; but on their arrival they found that they were too late; the stores of the several armories had been all given away. They returned renewing their former cries—with which many of them mixed others for *leaders* and a *provisional government*. Those, however, who had muskets at last set out towards the heart of the town; and many of the rest accompanied them, although armed only with sticks and pikes. M. Gallois assures us that, mixed with the workmen who thus left the Boulevard St. Antoine to join the fight in the interior of Paris, he saw many well-dressed individuals, and young men of a superior class. Most of these were armed both with muskets and swords, and also carried cartridge-boxes\*.

From this time to eleven o'clock numbers of people continued to pass under M. Gallois's window; but none of the groups he saw presented anything resembling the notion he had formed of the terrible Faubourg St. Antoine. From that hour till noon several patrols, consisting of a hundred men each, marched in succession along the Boulevard, so completely occupying the middle of the road that they forced the people to keep on the side-paths, where however they did not cease from their cries of *Vive la Charte! Vive la Liberté!* In a short time

\* La dernière Semaine de Juillet, 1830, p. 19.

after this, some persons who came from the centre of the town were heard calling out "*The Line for ever! Down with the King!*" As yet, however, no firing had been heard. But about one o'clock several discharges of musketry announced that there was fighting going on no farther off than the Boulevard St. Martin. "I was all ear," continues M. Gallois; "the people, armed and unarmed, rushed to the quarter whence the firing was heard. The sound of cannon now fell upon our ears, but from a greater distance. They were fighting, then, at different points! Meanwhile the firing gradually approached the Boulevard St. Antoine; line and platoon discharges were distinctly heard. This continued for nearly an hour\*."

At last the firing is heard close at hand. The column conducted by M. de St. Chamans had now reached the Boulevard St. Antoine. "A great movement," says M. Gallois, "takes place on the side-paths, where there are still crowds of workmen. A cry is raised of *Shut your windows*; and the same instant a large body of troops comes forward at a quick step, marching in close columns, across the whole breadth of the Boulevard. Some soldiers disposed as sharpshooters precede them by twenty paces; these sharpshooters fire in the air and frequently at the windows, which they are anxious should not remain open, for fear of people firing from them upon the troops. Unfortunately the window-blinds of my chamber are open and fixed against the wall, and I am not able to rise to shut them. I see myself therefore exposed to the balls even in my chamber; and a soldier of the Guards, who mistakes my crutches for *fusils de rempart*, threatens me. I make half a turn on the castors, and conceal myself behind the wall, conceiving

\* La dernière Semaine de Juillet, 1830, p. 21.

that it would be doubly vexations to get killed so foolishly\*.

M. Gallois estimates the strength of this column of the Guards at 2,000 men; which, as we have already noticed, is nearly four times the number assigned to it by the Staff Officer. According to M. de St. Chamans, however, who would be the best authority if we could be certain that his evidence was correctly reported, it consisted of about 1,050 men. That officer also states, that when he arrived on the Place de la Bastille, he found some troops there who were not under his orders. These were probably some of the cuirassiers from the barracks of the Célestins. M. Gallois describes the column as consisting of, first, a regiment of infantry, then a squadron of lancers, then infantry again, and some cuirassiers. The dust, however, and the position which he had been obliged to take, did not permit him to see them very distinctly.

According to this writer, the troops had no sooner taken up their position on the Place, than they began to fire upon the people; discharges from files and from platoons, he says, succeeded each other almost without intermission; and the cannon resounded for three or four minutes. The people returned this fire, and several individuals were killed on both sides. But the citizens were soon forced to retire, and were pursued by the soldiers as far as the Rue de Reuilly, which meets the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine a considerable distance to the east of the Place de la Bastille. M. Gallois afterwards learned that the firing had been particularly brisk a little to the west of the Rue de Charonne—that many victims had fallen on this spot—that the houses forming the corner where the fountain is, remained full of holes made by the balls, and that scarcely

\* *La dernière Semaine de Juillet, 1830, p. 23.*

a pane of glass remained in the windows. The people had renewed their resistance here; and, while the crowd fired upon the troops from the street, the inhabitants threw down stones, pieces of wood, tiles, and whatever else they could lay hold of, upon them from the windows\*.

M. de St. Chamans acknowledges that on entering the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine he was received with a sharp fire from the windows of the houses; and he was opposed, he tells us, by several barricades. He at last, however, succeeded in establishing his men in the street. "The fire of the musketry," he continues, "having entirely ceased, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, came out in crowds from the houses, and mixed with the troops. I spoke to several groups of them, exhorting them to remain quiet, and to return to their usual occupations, when a woman came up to me, and said that it was not easy to remain quiet when people were without money, without employment, and without bread to give to their children. I gave her a five-franc piece; and then a great many women, and men too, having surrounded me, and addressing me in similar language, I distributed among them all the money I had about me †." The Staff Officer asserts that upon this the people called out "*Vive le Roi!*" which some of them may possibly have done, although M. de St. Chamans does not notice the circumstance. "These cries were, however, mingled," our author adds, "with those of *Vive la Charte! Down with the ministers ‡!*"

The Count de St. Chamans, as we have seen, speaks of his distribution of money among the people as having taken place after the firing had ceased and the troops had taken up their ground in the

\* La dernière Semaine de Juillet, 1830, p. 24.

† Procès, i. 332.

‡ Military Events, p. 26.



Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine. In this particular his evidence seems to contradict the account of the Staff Officer; who, after having mentioned the fact in question, proceeds to relate that the General caused the *Place* to be cleared to enable him to deploy the troops, and that the crowd upon this fell back upon the streets St. Antoine, du Faubourg, de la Roquette, and along the canal. "This movement of the people," he goes on to say, "was effected half by persuasion, half by force; the General distributing money, and the soldiers pushing back the people by degrees. A barricade had been raised at the end of the Rue St. Antoine; a detachment of infantry which approached it was received by a volley, which wounded one officer and several men. This firing served as a signal to the crowd, which had just evacuated the *Place*, to fire from all the corners of the streets before-mentioned on the column, which returned the fire, and maintained its position without any considerable loss\*." From the evidence of M. de Chamans, the fact appears to be that, after the troops had taken their ground in the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, they remained in their position unmolested till half-past three; when, as they were about to return to the *Place*, a sharp fire was again opened upon them from the windows of the same houses from which they had been assailed on first entering the street †.

The Baron de Lamothe Langon particularises the houses numbered 79 and 90 ‡ of the Rue St. Antoine as distinguished for the quantities of projectiles of all descriptions which were thrown down from their windows upon the troops, and the destructive conflict which was waged immediately in front of them. A bomb, he says, fell down the chimney of

\* Military Events, p. 26.

† Proces, i. 332.

‡ Perhaps printed by mistake for 80.



No. 75 in the same street, which was immediately suspended from one of the windows of the third story, surmounted by a tri-colour, and bearing the inscription, "Charles X. to his people\*." This, we may remark, was a favourite piece of popular wit during the three days. A large bullet is mentioned in some of the accounts as having been attached to a lantern in the Faubourg St. Antoine with this inscription under it; "The touching words of the good King Charles X. to his people †." Another was exhibited on the Quay de Grève, at the corner of the Rue des Barres, suspended by a tri-coloured riband, and surmounted by a large cockade, under which was written "Prune de Monsieur," *Monsieur's Plum*,—the name by which a particular species of that fruit is known in France ‡. So also to the statue of Henry IV. on the Pont Neuf, some one attached the following inscription, "Henry IV. gave his subjects bread; Charles X. sends balls to his §." Balls (or balles), we presume, is the Parisian designation for a particular description of bread. M. Gallois states that the cannons were several times discharged in the Rue St. Antoine between two and three o'clock, and that the marks of the bullets were to be seen, when he wrote, on many of the houses, especially on the one at the corner of the Rue St. Paul. The troops, he says, advanced only as far as the Place Beandoyer and then returned.

The house in the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, immediately facing the Rue de Charonne, is also noticed in the popular narratives as having suffered much in the course of this action. It is said to have been three times successively struck by a discharge of artillery. The first of the three discharges, it is asserted, swept away one large roof completely;

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 212.

† Imbert, p. 130.

‡ Id. p. 143.

§ Id. p. 144.

the second carried off the ridge of another ; and the third went through a wall which sustained a heavy weight of chimneys. Some traces of this devastation were visible in August 1830 ; as the stack of chimneys had evidently been just rebuilt, and the roof extensively repaired\*.

On relinquishing his position in the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, M. de St. Chamans returned to the Place de la Bastille. He now learned that it was impossible to get back by the northern Boulevards, in consequence of the barricades with which they had been covered since he had left them only a few hours ago ; and, upon resolving to attempt a passage to the Hotel de Ville by the Rue St. Antoine, he found this street also strongly barricaded, while a most destructive fire was at the same time opened upon him from the windows of the houses. By this time, too, the infantry had used all their ammunition—and no answer had arrived to an application for more, which had been forwarded some hours ago to head-quarters. This seems to be the firing which M. Gallois speaks of as having taken place about five o'clock. It lasted, he says, for more than three-quarters of an hour. The cannon-balls struck down the roofs and chimneys of several of the houses—particularly injuring that with the sign of the *Soldat Cultivateur*, (*the Soldier turned Husbandman*). About thirty or forty of the people, it is added, lost their lives during this short action, besides a great many more who were wounded ; but no dependance is to be placed on these enumerations.

Finding his position, from the failure of his ammunition, no longer tenable, and every other road shut up, M. de St. Chamans at last determined to endeavour to retire over the Pont d'Austerlitz, and then to make his way round to the Tuileries by

the southern Boulevards. Before setting out, however, he despatched to the Hôtel de Ville the party of cuirassiers, whose arrival there we mentioned in our last chapter, to inform the troops sent to occupy that station that it was not in his power to join them. He then directed his march upon the bridge, the passage of which he effected after encountering a slight resistance. No molestation was offered to the troops during the rest of their progress. They rested for some time on the esplanade of the Hôtel des Invalides; and then proceeded to the Place Louis XV., where they arrived between ten and eleven at night\*.

No more troops of any description were seen in the Place de la Bastille or the neighbourhood after the departure of this column; there remained only the guard usually stationed at the post—which, it would appear, had been left unmolested when most of the others throughout the city had been attacked and carried by the people in the morning. M. Gallois informs us, however, that a number of citizens now united themselves into a body, and compelled the few soldiers of the line who were found here to retire, without doing them any harm. “These citizens,” he continues, “kept possession of the post till eight or nine o’clock; but about this time some workmen returning from the centre of Paris set this guardhouse on fire, and, as it was only built of painted wood, it was consumed in a few minutes. I remarked with pleasure that these same men, who broke to pieces and committed to the flames with so much fury the guardhouse of the military, took the greatest care of a small hut adjoining it in which a poor woman sold fried potatoes; it was preserved unharmed. But while they spared this shop on the Boulevard St. Antoine,

\* Procès, i, 333.

the exhibition of wax-work known by the name of *Curtius*, on the Boulevard du Temple, experienced harsher treatment, on account of the busts of the royal family which it contained. The images of Charles X, the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, the Duchess de Berri, Mademoiselle and the Duke de Bordeaux, had been all broken to pieces, as well as all the Popes and other holy personages by whom the royal family were surrounded. Every workman carried off a fragment, crying out *Down with Charles X! Down with the Bourbons! Down with the family who are the enemies of our glory and of our liberties!* The evening closed in our district with the falling of a lamp, which was broken with stones by some sufficiently ill-looking labouring men, the only individuals of their class in whom I had as yet seen anything to displease me. They had the appearance of being completely intoxicated, and it is probable that they came from the public house, not from the field of battle\*.”

\* La dernière Semaine de Juillet, 1830, p. 27.





## CHAPTER X.

WE have now conducted the reader over the several parts of the town which formed the chief points of this day's contest. But many other localities besides those which we have mentioned are enumerated in the different accounts as having also been each the scene of some exploit of popular valour, or of some action between the insurgents and the military. We regret that from the extreme vagueness and confusion which pervade these statements, it is quite impossible to reduce their amount to anything like a regular or continuous narrative; but we shall endeavour at least, in the following pages, to collect, and in some degree to arrange, the more important incidents which we find scattered over the various histories. The information, however, with which these compilations furnish us is almost universally so imperfect, and in many cases so self-contradictory and unintelligible,

that we cannot offer to the reader the notices which we are now about to lay before him with the same confidence in their correctness which we feel in regard to the sketch of the greater movements of this day which we have just concluded.

A sharp fire is represented in several of the accounts to have been maintained for a long time in the course of this day between some soldiers occupying the Louvre or the quays in front of it, and a body of the inhabitants and the National Guards stationed on the opposite bank of the river. The combatants would even appear to have met on the Pont des Arts, which is described as having been the scene of great slaughter\*." "The gate of the Louvre," says one writer, "opposite to the Institute and the Pont des Arts was closed, a party of Swiss guarded it, and a piece of artillery was placed before it, which, directed upon the multitudes assembled near and upon the steps of the Institute, was discharged with murderous effect †." The marks of many balls upon the gateway of the Institute afford a satisfactory evidence of the violence of the contest ‡. The range of the fighting seems also to have embraced the Pont Neuf, and the Quai des Orfèvres, in the Ile de la Cité, to the east of it. These last mentioned stations are said to have been covered with soldiers, who were prevented, however, from advancing into the Faubourg St. Germain by the bravery of the citizens of that quarter §. The Hôtel of the Prefect of Police, which stands on the Quai des Orfèvres, had been attacked by an armed multitude at an early hour in the morning. Galleton, the Commissary, states on the trial of the ministers, that having seen these crowds on their way about nine o'clock, he

\* *Evènements de Paris*, p. 32.

† Narrative, published by Galignani, p. 30.

‡ S. T. § Narrative, published by Galignani, p. 30.

ran to give information of the circumstance to M. Mangin, who thereupon ordered a detachment of gendarmerie to go out to meet them and drive them back. The people, however, received the detachment on its appearance with a discharge of their fire-arms, which killed two officers—the brigadier and the quarter-master. The gendarmes on this seem to have retired; for we hear immediately after of the post of the Châtelet having been disarmed by the popular forces, without any resistance being attempted\*. The plate which we have given presents a view of the fight which was carried on, as just mentioned, later in the day in the vicinity of the Pont des Arts and the Institute. The people in scattered groups are seen firing across the river from the open space adjoining the western pavilion of that building, while a denser body of them, with a tricoloured banner waving in their front, are boldly advancing in the face of the enemy's guns to attempt the passage of the bridge.

Some firing seems also to have taken place at a still later hour in other parts of the precincts of the Louvre. Dr. Delacoux, one of the witnesses on the trial, states that about six o'clock in the evening he saw a strong detachment of the Royal Guard form into a square on the *Place* to the east of that palace, and then fire repeatedly at the windows of the houses opposite, although no provocation had been given them by the inhabitants. As the discharges were made in all directions, the witness was obliged, in order to avoid them, to shelter himself behind the water-cask at the station of the hackney-coaches, and to remain there for nearly half an hour †. Some of the accounts say that the firing scarcely ceased in this vicinity

\* Procès, i. 263, ii. 152.

† *Ib.* ii. 98.



during the night\*. Others mention the Place du Carrousel as having been during the whole or part of the day the scene of a doubtful contest†. The streets of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, La Sonnerie, and Le Veau-qui-tête, were also the scenes of somewhat serious affairs between the people and the Swiss.

The conflict is also represented as having raged with great fury along nearly the whole line of the Rue St. Honoré, and in various of the cross-streets on both sides of that great thoroughfare. Detachments both of the gendarmerie and of the Guards were stationed, it is asserted, the whole day, at the Palais Royal; but the former never fired upon the people. The Guards, however, placed themselves behind the pillars of the palace and at the corner of the Rue St. Honoré, so as to have every person who passed within range of their muskets—and did not allow any one to escape whom they suspected to have been engaged in the fight. "A young man," says one of the accounts, "whom they stopped, was found armed with a pistol and a knife. He must be shot, exclaimed several of the soldiers, at the same time making ready to fire; but just as the unfortunate man was thus about to perish, the commanding officer interfered and prevented his execution: he was conducted to the guardhouse. More than a hundred persons were already locked up there—and it was not yet four o'clock. At three o'clock it was almost impossible to pass the place without receiving a ball. However, one individual, of incredible hardihood and courage, was determined to avenge his brethren; he collected some ammunition, placed himself in the entrance-passage of a house situated in the Rue St. Honoré, between the Rue de la Bibliothèque and the Rue

\* Narrative, published by Galignani, p. 34.

† Evénemens de Paris, p. 33.

du Coq, with a fowling-piece in his hand; and there, seizing the moment when the Royal Guards stood in the middle of the *Place*, he took his aim and fired with marvellous address. The commanding officer, not being able to divine whence the shots proceeded, marched forward two of his companies, and ordered them to fire by files into the Rue de Valois. In the evening the soldiers made a forcible entry into many of the houses of the *Place*, and took military possession of all the floors\*.”

In the Rue St. Honoré, according to another authority, the combat began about three in the afternoon. The people had posted themselves at the corners of all the short streets from the church of St. Roch to the Rue de l'Arbre Sec; from which positions, as soon as they had discharged their pieces at the compact array of the military in the middle of the street, they withdrew behind the houses, and were nearly beyond the reach of the enemy's fire. The soldiers, thus harassed, with difficulty maintained their ground, and produced very little effect by any efforts which they made to repel their assailants. Every apartment also in the houses along both sides of the street was provided with large quantities of paving-stones, brick-bats, and other such missiles, ready to be thrown down upon their heads if they had ventured to leave the open ground which they occupied in the *Place du Palais* and to attempt to dislodge the people by attacking them at close quarters†. Nor, it would appear, were these formidable means of defence, and others of a similar description, found altogether useless. M. Pilloy, one of the witnesses on the

\* Laumier, p. 69. See also *Evènements de Paris*, p. 33; and Lamothe Langon, p. 254.

† Narrative (Galignani), p. 31.



J. Henshall

CITY OF ST. KOCH.

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trial, mentions that, after a volley fired by the soldiers upon the people in this street, he saw numbers of flowerpots thrown down upon them from the windows \*. Discharges of a still more potent description were employed in other instances. "One patriotic master-manufacturer of aqua-fortis," says Mr. Tynte, "finding he could procure no weapons for himself or workmen, brought up a detachment armed with jars containing these 'strong waters,' which were hurled with frightful effect in the faces of a party of the Guards, who threw down their arms, which were speedily seized upon by the aqua-fortis brigade †."

A good deal of fighting is recorded to have occurred beyond the Boulevards in the Rue du Faubourg Montmartre and the neighbouring streets. A feeble old man, it is related, with a wooden leg had by some means or other got possession of a musket which had been taken from one of the soldiers, and was proceeding in great spirits to join the combatants, when he was met by two young citizens, who, reminding him of his age and his infirmities, insisted upon his resigning to them his weapon, which they were likely to use with so much more effect than he could. On his obstinately refusing to part with it, they took it from him by force. The poor old man, says the story, now wrung his hands in the deepest affliction, and would admit of no consolation. Even an offer of pistols which was made to him had no effect in reconciling him to the deprivation of his gun. He went limping away in quest of another such weapon as he had lost ‡. These extraordinary events inspired the weakness of sex as well as that of age with patriotic enthusiasm and manly courage. In the Rue des

\* Procès, i. 232.

† Sketch, p. 48.

‡ Evénemens de Paris, p. 102.

Martyrs in this vicinity, an individual, who was armed with a sword and pistols, and fighting gallantly, was discovered to be a female. When those around represented to her the danger to which she exposed herself, and would have had her return home, No, said the heroine; I have no children; here is my husband, all whose feelings are mine; I am beside him, and with him, if need be, I will die\*. In another of those streets, the Rue du Jour, where a poor fellow had fallen to the ground severely wounded, and lay unheeded by his comrades, all whose thoughts were in the fight, a woman is recorded to have come out of an alley, and, making her way through the bullets which were flying in all directions, to have taken up the man in her arms, and carried him off with her to her house †.

Successful attacks were made by the people in the course of this day upon the barracks in several parts of the town. M. Marchal, already mentioned, states in his evidence given on the trial of the ministers, that, having left his house at an early hour this morning without arms and with no intention of taking part in the insurrection, he found himself ere long in the midst of a multitude of workmen who were proceeding towards the Grève, in search, as it appeared to him, of employment. He and they together, however, soon encountered a body of the royal troops, whom they engaged, and by whose fire many of them were wounded. "After this," says the witness, "we directed our march upon the barracks of Ave Maria, where the arms of the military were delivered up to us; and then upon those of the Cuirassiers (at the Célestins), which we also carried. I saw no public officer at any of these places. When I first found

\* Evènements de Paris, p. 81.

† Id. p. 94.







Engraved by

BARRIÈRE ST MARTIN,  
28<sup>th</sup> JULY 1830.

Robt. Fenner & Co

myself among the people they had no arms, and the first which they obtained possession of were those taken at the barracks of Ave Maria." All this seems to have passed at an early hour in the morning\*. We read also of an attack made in the earlier part of the day upon the barracks occupied by a regiment of the line in the Rue du Foin (Faubourg St. Germain); on which occasion the assailants, as usual, armed themselves after their exploit with the muskets of the soldiers†; but as this affair is stated to have been accomplished under the conduct of some pupils of the Polytechnic School, none of whom appear to have joined the insurrection till the morning of the 29th, it is not improbable that it may not have taken place this day at all. Another of these barracks, of which the citizens are stated to have made themselves masters in the course of this morning, is that called La Nouvelle France in the Faubourg Poissonière, the military occupying which are said of their own accord to have delivered as many muskets to the popular forces as sufficed to equip eight hundred individuals‡. But one of the most daring of these attacks seems to have been that made upon the barracks of the gendarmerie in the Rue Faubourg St. Martin. Here the people were in the first instance repulsed; but, having renewed their attempt with redoubled vigour, they eventually succeeded in making themselves masters of the place. Enraged by the opposition they had met with, they now stripped the building of every thing it contained, and, piling the different articles into a heap in the street, made a bonfire of them. No individual appropriated anything; even the money and plate which were found were committed to the flames§. It is impossible to

\* Procès, i. 221.

† Laugier, p. 58.

‡ Imbert, p. 77.

§ Evénemens de Paris, p. 34.

imagine a more complete sack than was sustained by this barrack. When we saw it, there was scarcely a whole window in the building, and the interior was literally a ruin\*.

These brief details embrace, we believe, all the minor or insulated military events which have been ascribed to this day, with the exception of those which there is the clearest evidence did not take place till the day following. The reader has now therefore as complete a view as our materials enable us to furnish of the extraordinary movements which had for so many hours filled every part of the French capital with the bustle of congregating multitudes, the tread of armed squadrons, the war-cries of meeting bands, the noise and smoke of musketry and cannon, the groans of wounded and dying men, and all the other horrors that make up the tumult and uproar of conflict. It might almost be said that the battle raged in every street throughout the whole division of the town to the north of the river; for from the Quays to the Boulevards—and from the Champs Elysées in the west, far into the Faubourg St. Antoine in the east, there was hardly a spot which for a great part of the day was not either the actual scene of hostilities or at least within hearing—almost within sight—of some portion of the work of slaughter. Of the grown-up male inhabitants of every street a large proportion certainly were actually engaged from morning till night, either in fighting or in some one of the other not less laborious or less hazardous duties which the crisis demanded. Nay, even children, we have seen, in many instances, and individuals of the weaker sex, came forward to take their share in the toils and dangers of the struggle. Nor were those who remained at home idle, or uselessly employed. Many were occupied in administer-

\* S. T.

ing refreshment to the wearied combatants, or in dressing and binding up their honourable wounds. The doors of the houses in the streets where any fighting was going on, were generally kept open by the inmates, in order to afford a ready refuge to those engaged on the popular side in case of their being hard-pressed by their opponents. Other persons—and women also were to be seen assisting in this operation—employed themselves in running bullets for the use of the combatants. The wife of a wine-seller at the Porte St. Denis particularly distinguished herself by her zeal and activity in this manufacture, while her husband was absent fighting; and many of the women in the neighbourhood brought her their spoons to be thus converted into ammunition\*. An English type-founder at Paris employed his workmen for two days in casting balls instead of letters. Wherever, also, the battle was carried on in any of the narrower streets, the people in the houses contributed as effectually to the annoyance of the royal troops as the multitudes by whom they were surrounded or opposed on the ground. Not only did the windows in such a case afford the best stations for the skilful marksman with his musket—but those who could not use that weapon, might yet from the same position direct against the enemy other instruments of destruction almost equally formidable. Not only stones, broken bottles, and heavy articles of furniture were in this manner everywhere hurled down upon the soldiers, but in some instances they were scalded by streams of boiling water and oil †. We were assured upon good authority that a young lady and her maid actually thrust out their piano-forte upon the heads of the devoted troops who were passing under their *salon* ‡.

\* Ambs, p. 153.

† Tynte, p. 46.

‡ S. T.

The result of this day's fighting was over all the town decidedly in favour of the insurgents. The military had been forced to relinquish every one of the positions which they had attempted to occupy, with the exception of those in the immediate vicinity of the Tuileries and the Louvre; even the Hôtel de Ville, in possession of which they had been left when night came to interrupt the contest, they were glad to find an opportunity of abandoning almost immediately after. And the people well deserved this success by the admirable skill with which their plans were arranged, as well as by the resolution and intrepidity with which they every where advanced to and maintained the contest. The Staff-Officer acknowledges that the energy which they displayed will not admit of being controverted; "Every account from individual officers," he says, "and every official report, concur in establishing the fact." And, while he contends that the kind of attack and defence which was most effectual in their hands was that which was attended with the least danger—namely, from the windows; and that the open attacks made by them in masses could only be mere failures—as, for example, those which they directed against the Hôtel de Ville, which they were never able to retake, although they made simultaneous efforts for that purpose on every side—fresh assailants being always ready to relieve those that were either wounded or wearied\*.

The state of Paris during this and the preceding day is pictured with great liveliness in some letters which have appeared in various publications, written at the time, or soon after, by persons who were on the spot, and in the midst of the scenes and events which they describe. One from a young lady, dated

\* Military Events, p. 44.

the 2nd of August\*, relates that she and her friends having arrived by the diligence on Tuesday evening, were first set down in the Rue Nôtre Dame des Victoires, from whence they proceeded to Lawson's Hotel in the Rue St. Honoré, to remain there for the night. "The first thing that alarmed me," continues the writer, "was our being stopped by soldiers (in Rue Croix des Petits Champs). With great difficulty we got through the crowds; and when we came within sight of the hotel, we were obliged to alight on account of the barricadoes in the streets. I don't think I ever suffered so much from fright as at that moment. We were hurried into a place which certainly I thought a prison. When we got in, the people were all in such a state of alarm they could scarcely speak. We, however, soon learned that the soldiers had fired on the house; killed one young gentleman, and very severely wounded two of the waiters." This outrage, which had happened only a quarter of an hour before, had been occasioned by some persons having gone to the top of the house and thrown down stones upon the soldiers. On the Wednesday the fair letter-writer says she was thrown into such a state by the cannonade as to be for some time insensible; but they could hear the balls whizzing past the windows; and some spent balls fell in the rooms. A correspondent of the *Times* was accidentally a witness of a furious attack made to-day by the royal troops upon the people in this street. Having come to town from the country in the morning, he had occasion, in the course of the afternoon, to go to the post-office. On my way thither," he says, "in walking up the Rue du Marché St. Honoré, I observed at the upper end of the market-place,

\* Published in the *Times* of August 7th, 1830.



through the intervals of the small groups of people who were standing in the street, the glancing of arms ; and in an instant afterwards I perceived that the street was stopped up by a party of the Royal Guard, who had formed themselves across it. By this time I was within less than thirty yards of the front of the platoon. A number of individuals, perhaps not more than twenty, were still between me and the soldiery, as unconscious, as I was, of immediate danger. I heard the word '*feu*' given. I saw the line of pieces levelled ; but even then, although there was no time for flight, the idea of danger did not occur to me from the perfectly quiet and inoffensive appearance of the people in the market-place, exposed to the fire. My first impression on hearing the volley, which was given with the utmost precision, and on finding myself untouched, was that the arms of the men had not been shotted, and that the only object of the military was to produce intimidation. In another instant, however, I was sadly disabused of this too charitable supposition. Two men fell close by me, the one gasping in agony, the other quite dead ; and on looking around me, it was matter of great surprise that these two were the only victims of this cold-blooded and atrocious piece of violence. With the others who escaped, I retired into the adjoining booths of the market-place. The man who was killed proved to be a gardener, frequenting the market ; the other was a stranger ; but as he had staggered a step or two towards the side of the street opposite to that to which I had retired, I heard no more of him\*." Mr. Parkes, whose narrative we have already quoted, had also come to town early this morning. He saw a great part of the fight at the Hôtel de Ville from

\* *Times* of August 3rd, 1830.



the south side of the river. "As the artillery," he says, "was coming up on my side of the river to endeavour, with their cannon, to clear the Place de Grève, I crossed over by the Pont St. Michel, creeping down along the balustrades of the bridge, and I luckily got over without mischief. The balls whistled over me like hail-stones. From thence I was obliged to get into the narrow streets, where I was repeatedly put into requisition to help to build up barricades with the paving-stones, and was sometimes in great danger; one poor fellow fell upon me killed by a ball in the forehead. At last I got out, as I thought, of the mess, along the Rue St. Germain l'Auxerrois, in front of the grand façade of the Louvre. In walking quietly along there, as there was no fighting, suddenly a garde national fell close to me from a shot from the windows of the Louvre." Mr. Parkes afterwards states that in proceeding along the Rues du Mail, Fossés-Montmartre, Montorgueil, &c., he saw heaps of dead and wounded; "in fact," he adds, "there was scarcely a street in the centre of the town in which the gutters were not running with blood\*."

But the most curious of these communications which has fallen under our notice is one which Mr. Hone has given us in his *Annals of this Revolution*—written, as it appears, by a person who had arrived for the first time in the French metropolis from Calais on the day of the publication of the ordinances, along with a friend—both ignorant of the language of the country. All that our two travellers seem to have done on the 26th was to take a warm-bath, and secure lodgings in a street on the south side of the river near the quays facing the Louvre—and lastly, to walk through some of the streets before going to bed. On Tuesday, they sallied forth again, and saw more

\* Letter, pp. 7 and 8.

of the city. "We were rather disappointed," says the writer, "by not finding the gaiety and light-heartedness we expected; there appeared bustle and anxiety rather than amusement and absence of care." About two o'clock they returned home to dinner. "After dinner," the letter proceeds, "we went to walk in the gardens of the Tuileries, and spent some time in admiring the novelty of the style. A bustle at one end attracted our attention; and we hastened to discover the matter. Near some new buildings, in a state of progress, were a set of men destroying the pipes for water, and, at the end of this building, heaping up piles of stones, and making a breast-high barrier across the street. This was in the Rue St. Honoré. Not understanding the language, and unwilling to expose our ignorance by asking questions, we remained a short time looking on, and then thought it advisable to retire. There was the appearance of increasing tumult, and we moved away until we came to a large church. We stood on the steps three or four minutes, busy in conjecturing the cause of what we had seen, when a loud shout arose; and, on looking towards the barrier we saw a body of cavalry approaching it; and then we perceived the purpose for which it had been thrown up. The troop of horse was met with such a shower of stones and other missiles as quickly caused it to waver. Infantry advanced from behind, and, when at the barrier, fired; and in a moment the crowd was dispersed. We were within twenty yards; and, hastily quitting the dangerous position we had unwittingly taken up, we hurried across the street, and found shelter in a druggist's opposite. The firing continued for a short time, and then the soldiers occupied the place we had quitted. We were still ignorant of what was the matter; for the druggist was in a dreadful state of excitement, and, when the

soldiers appeared opposite his house, he had ordered a dead silence to be kept. They marched off to secure the advantage they had gained, and the door was once more opened. I should have stated that the shops were all closed, and our getting shelter was providential in the extreme. As soon as the soldiers had left, the man of the house approached Tom, and, taking him by the shoulder, told him in English 'that he could not permit his stay there; that his house was not provided' (against a siege I suppose), 'and that he could not harbour us.' We were obliged to leave the house; and, as tumult and musketry mingled their discordant sounds behind us, we hurried forward, not knowing whither we went, or how we could return. Our uncertainty and personal danger resulted from our ignorance of French, and consequently of any cause existing for disturbance. We had convincing proofs that child's-play was not the order of the day. Before we went ten yards, three men passed us covered with blood. One was of Herculean frame and colossal stature. He staggered towards us, exclaimed something in French, and dropped. He had been shot in the head; and a finer body I never beheld. The other two hastened to the druggist's shop we had quitted. After making a circuit, we turned down a street, presuming it might lead us to the river. At the end a crowd was collected round a man, who had been shot through the breast, and was receiving assistance."

The barricade noticed in this passage was probably that erected at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, which was carried, it may be recollected, by the detachment under the command of M. Puybusque, exactly in the manner here described. The two friends at last regained their hotel, not a little perplexed, it may well be supposed, by what they

had witnessed in the course of their walk, and wondering if such scenes of violence were really a fair sample of the ordinary state of things in the streets of Paris. When they got home, they immediately inquired of the people in the house if anything unusual had occurred; but either they could not make themselves understood, or perhaps could not understand what was said to them, for they learned nothing. They were obliged to go to bed, therefore, after having been in the very midst of the revolution, without knowing that anything of the kind was going on; but they resolved to go to Galignani's in the morning, where they hoped to meet with some person from whom they might obtain an explanation of the mystery.

On Wednesday, accordingly, they set out after breakfast. "Paris," continues the writer, "was in a frightful state of agitation. We passed through files of soldiers at the Pont Neuf. Within forty or fifty yards a huge barrier was thrown up. Paris is paved with square stones like those in Cheapside, but larger. These had been torn up and heaped together. Here there was an immense concourse of people, armed in every manner they could devise. We passed through the crowd and reached Galignani's (in the Rue Vivienne); and there learned, for the first time, that a great people were fighting for their liberties, and that 'war to the knife' had been determined on. Scarcely had we entered Galignani's when the attack commenced—this was about eleven o'clock. The firing continued all day, and with frightful exactness. Cannon had not been used on Tuesday. To-day they played a chief part. Some gentlemen at Galignani's seemed much alarmed. One of them mentioned that he had applied for a passport, and was refused. The mails also had been stopped. The conflict continued all day; and I

*Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®*

witnessed many marks of its effects. Wounded men were carried along; and I remarked that they were unaccompanied except by those who bore them. The bearers were generally two: the unfortunate man was laid on a sort of litter, made of two long poles, resting on the shoulders of the two men, and the sufferer was borne gently, but quickly. At the end of the Rue Vivienne is the Bourse, a noble building answering to our Exchange. At this place I beheld a citizen bear the dead body of a woman on his shoulder, and cast it amongst the people collected to hear the news. He spoke in French a few words, which were answered by a loud and continued shout, and the people hurried from the spot. I, with a few others, remained to gaze on the lifeless body. She was about forty years of age, and had been shot by one of the Swiss guards. \* \* \* I made many excursions from Galignani's during the day, and never without seeing something indicatory of warfare. We returned home about five o'clock, and about seven went to the quay. On the opposite side of the river, near the Louvre, were the King's troops, and on our quay were the citizens and National Guard. They were loading, firing, and falling\*."

A respectable inhabitant of Coventry, of the name of Gin, in the same manner arrived at Paris on the Monday when the ordinances were published. He came to see sights, and knew not a word of French. On the Tuesday morning he sallied forth with a guide. The streets seemed to wear an odd appearance; but he thought the bustle was the custom of the country, and he proceeded from one object of attraction to another, till, late in the afternoon, he found himself shut up in the garden of the Luxembourg, which the soldiers on duty thought it right to

\* Hone's Annals of the Revolution in France, pp. 56—58.

defend against the mob without. He at last escaped; but his guide did not dare to return by the usual route, but took him round the Faubourg St. Germain, and across the Pont Louis Seize to the Boulevards. Here, worn out with fatigue, he rushed into a wine-shop. In the parlour-window, looking upon the Boulevards, were two men with muskets. After a minute or two one fired; our Englishman rushed out of the house and saw a soldier lie dead. He then thought it best to retreat, and having happily reached his hotel, saw no more of the Revolution\*.

Count Tasistro, whose manuscript account we have already quoted, left his hotel this morning at half past eight, accompanied by his two friends, Captain M. and Mr. O., when they all three directed their steps towards the Hôtel de Ville. They were a good deal impeded in their progress by the barricades, which compelled them to leave the more public thoroughfares, and thread their way through the alleys and back-streets; but they at last reached the Place de Grève without having met with any accident. They seem to have arrived about the time when the popular forces first effected their irruption into the building, and expelled the gendarmes by whom it was occupied; but they witnessed only a small part of the contest. Guns were several times offered to them by the people in the course of the attack; but they declined accepting them. "On our way thither," says the Count, whose political bias we have already alluded to, "a wretch whose appearance and looks bore no similitude to those of the ordinary inhabitants of this world, passed us, holding in his right hand a magnificent sword, which had probably been taken from some disabled General. M. no sooner perceived the weapon than he was seized with the whim of getting possession

\* S. T.



of it; and, having thrust his fingers into his waistcoat pocket, and taken out a double Napoleon, he hallooed out to the man, and offered him the tempting coin in exchange for the article. The latter, however, indignant at such an affront, drew himself up to his full height, and throwing first an eager look on the glittering scabbard which he held in his hand, and then a contemptuous glance at the gold which was proffered to him, '*Moi vendre mon épée?*' (Sell my sword?) said he: 'let me tell you that three royalists have already felt the temper of its blade, and I would not part with it for all the money in the world.' My friend, who had no notion of, and a thorough contempt for, such nonsensical humbug, unable to conceive that a low mendicant like this, whose whole suit of clothes was not worth five sous, could really be serious, and convinced that his sole purpose was to enhance the value of the weapon, drew from his pocket another double Napoleon, and offered both pieces for its acquisition; but the incorruptible citizen only laughed him to scorn, and, having once more surveyed him from top to toe, stubbornly answered that neither four, nor twenty, nor even a hundred Napoleons should tempt him to part with his 'dear friend.' 'But if you wish to fight,' added he, with a grim expression of countenance that forcibly depicted the horrid fancy passing across his patriotic mind, 'If you wish to fight, we shall procure you a sword, and that instantly too.' So saying, without more ado, he rushed forward like a man suddenly inspired; and we soon discovered that the unfortunate object who had attracted his attention was a military officer, who was making the best of his way towards the Tuileries. Our patriot soon put a stop to his career: having overtaken him unperceived, he drew out a pocket-pistol, which at first had escaped our notice, and shot him dead on



the spot. As soon as our new acquaintance had thus despatched his victim, he unbuckled the sword from the dead body, and, running back, presented it to my friend, saying, '*Maintenant criez Vive la Charte,*' (now cry the Charter for ever). '*Vive la Liberté,*' added I immediately, terrified lest M.'s hot temper might get us into some unfortunate scrape—on which the hero of the sword, quite proud of his exploit, immediately ran off in quest of other victims."

Count Tasistro sees nothing in this incident but an example of the violence and brutality of the civic combatants. It will probably be thought by most of our readers to afford at least an equally striking illustration of the manner in which the minds of many were exalted by the cause for which they fought, above all selfish and ignoble considerations, and filled, to the exclusion of whatever feelings regarded merely their individual interests, with the ennobling inspiration of patriotism and public virtue.

The Count and his companions at last reached the Boulevards. "Here," says he, "confusion had done its worst; all the hackney coaches had been overturned in the middle of the street to strengthen the barricades; private carriages also had been seized for the same purpose; and many houses had been emptied of their furniture, that it might also contribute to the formation of these defences. We made our way from the Boulevard des Italiens to the Porte St. Denis; now following a platoon of the National Guards, now hiding ourselves behind the trees. After some time, however, we found ourselves exposed to the hottest of the fray without either a tree or any other covert at hand to shelter us. It became necessary for us therefore to make our escape from the spot with as much expedition as possible. The confusion was so great that to keep

together was quite out of the question; so, leaving my companions to shift for themselves, I darted across the Boulevards, and the next moment found myself in the Rue du Faubourg St. Martin among a party of the Royal Guards. They were in great confusion—and, overpowered by the numbers of their opponents, as well as thrown into despair by the report which was by this time spread that the regiments of the line had gone over to the people, they were beginning to give up any attempt at farther resistance. I saw many of them, in their eagerness to escape the fury of their enemies, fly into those houses of which the doors were open, where, however, they were received by armed bands that lay in waiting for them, and immediately murdered without a struggle. Others succeeded in forcing their way up to the second or third story of the house; but, finding no shelter there, rushed to the window, and, having first thrown out their guns, caps, and other accoutrements into the street, in the madness of their despair, immediately after leaped down themselves.

“ It was now about five o'clock—and I was stumbling over the dead and the wounded, in my eagerness to reach some place of safety, and not particularly delighted with my desolate situation; when I heard my name pronounced over my head, and, looking up, I saw my friend O. at a window in the third story of a respectable house. I immediately made a desperate dash, to avoid being crushed to pieces by some of the heavy missiles that were every moment coming down from the different windows; and was fortunate enough to get safe into the gateway. I found my friend with his left arm in a sling; and upon inquiring what had befallen him, I was informed that, as he was crossing the street to escape the storm of stones and other missiles, he had per-

ceived an old man, whom from his appearance he took to be a shoemaker, holding in his hand a drawn sword uplifted over the head of an officer of distinction, who was at the moment giving orders to his men for a general retreat, little aware of the danger that was impending behind him. O. no sooner saw this, than he rushed between the citizen and the officer, and was just in time to save the head of the latter from being split in two, but not to parry off the blow altogether. It fell in part upon his own arm, and inflicted a wound of some depth. He did not stay, however, to quarrel with the perpetrator; but darting across the heaps of dead, took refuge in the house where I found him. Here a handsome lady, who took him for a victim of the 'furious royalists,' kindly bound up his wound.

"When the clock struck seven, this street was nearly cleared of the combatants on both sides; and my friend and I, after having returned thanks to our hostess for her kind offices, sallied forth in quest of M. Nor were we long employed in the search. For, passing Tortoni's (on the Boulevard des Italiens), and seeing the house open, we recollected that we had partaken of no refreshments since seven in the morning. So in we walked; and to our surprise and delight found our friend seated at one of the tables. As soon as our mutual greetings were over, we ordered something to eat; but scarcely had it been placed before us, when I suddenly heard something strike against the glass on my left, and at the same instant O. exclaimed; 'By the powers, Count, you are floored; bad luck to the scoundrels! Are you wounded?' 'Wounded,' said I, who had felt nothing; 'if I am I shall grow prodigiously valourous for the future; for I don't feel at all inconvenienced by the accident.' On taking off my hat, however, I found that a musket-ball had passed

through it, without touching my head. After this 'hairbreadth-'scape' I proposed retracing our steps homewards, to which suggestion not a dissenting voice was heard."



## CHAPTER XI.

IN order to complete our history of this memorable day, it is necessary that we should now proceed to notice some other occurrences, which did not take place in the streets, but yet influenced and formed part of the progress of the Revolution. We will begin by a few details respecting the proceedings of the creators and directors of the storm in which the French capital was now involved—the ministers, and their agent, the commander-in-chief.

This was one of the mornings on which it had been customary to hold a council; but his Majesty was apprised that, in consequence of the state of affairs in Paris, the ministers could not to-day proceed to St. Cloud for that purpose\*. This intimation was probably conveyed by M. de Polignac, who, as already mentioned, was seen here by the Viscount de Champagne at an early hour in the morning †. M. de Peyronnet also repaired hither later in the day. The Count de Chabrol-Volvic, the Prefect of the Seine, had visited this minister at his hôtel between seven and eight o'clock, to inform him of the commotion which already filled the

\* Montbel, *Protestation*, p. 11.

† *Procès*, i. 315; Evidence of M. de Champagne. It is to be remarked, however, that Polignac, in his examination before the Commission of the Peers, states that he has no recollection of having seen the Viscount at this time, and indeed that he is almost certain he did not. The conversation, he says, of which M. de Champagne had given an account, took place at the Tuileries on the night between Wednesday and Thursday,—*Id.* p. 166.

streets. He did not then appear to have any very correct knowledge of the condition in which things were; and expressed some surprise that he had neither seen the Prefect of Police, nor received any report from him. On the Count de Chabrol pressing upon him the necessity of sending a sufficient force to the Hôtel de Ville, to protect it from being seized by a coup-de-main, he took a note of the suggestion. When the Count left him, his carriage stood ready to take him out\*. M. de Peyronnet, according to his own account, having up to eleven o'clock received no communication whatever from any quarter, left his hotel at that hour for St. Cloud, dressed as a minister, and having his portfolio with him, in the belief that the council would be held as usual. He remained for a long time; but, only one other minister having made his appearance, no council assembled †.

Marshal Marmont this morning informed the Baron de Glandevès, the Governor of the Tuileries, that the ministers, not considering themselves safe in their several hôtels, intended to transfer themselves to the palace, and expressed his desire that apartments should be prepared for their reception ‡. M. de Montbel in his pamphlet denies that this resolution was taken by himself and his colleagues from the motive here alleged: they repaired to the palace, he says, to fulfil their duties there, not to seek an asylum; and he remarks that it could hardly have been fear which made himself, for example, quit his usual residence, seeing that he left his family behind him. To the Tuileries at all

\* Procès, i. p. 298; Evidence of the Count de Chabrol-Volvic.

† Id. p. 174; Examination by Commission of Peers. In his examination on the trial M. de Peyronnet says it was at noon that he set out for St. Cloud.—Id. ii. 121.

‡ Id. i. 266; Evidence of M. de Glandevès.

events, frightened or not frightened, their Excellencies went. M. de Montbel asserts that they repaired thither, from the hôtel of the minister of foreign affairs, in a body. Polignac's statement is that he set out by himself from his hôtel about one in the afternoon, and that his colleagues afterwards arrived in succession\*. M. de Glandevès says that to the best of his recollection they came about noon—all together, with the exception of MM. de Peyronnet and Capelle †. They arrived, according to M. de Guise, very shortly after Marmont's return from his visit, formerly mentioned, to the Premier for the purpose of receiving from his hands the ordinance declaring the city in a state of siege—and in such a manner that this witness cannot well say whether they came together or in succession ‡.

The evidence taken on the trial of the ministers supplies us with some very curious notices of interviews which various individuals had in the course of the day with the new occupants of the royal domicile. Lieutenant-General Tromelin, who had arrived in Paris only the day before, on learning this morning the course that events had taken, believed it to be his duty to offer his services to the King; and he accordingly repaired for that purpose to headquarters. He found the Marshal, as he expresses it, penetrated with the gravity of the circumstances in which they were involved. "The fatality which pursues me," he said to M. Tromelin, "is such that I am necessitated to employ rigorous measures. If I succeed, my fellow-citizens will never pardon me. If I fail, I shall probably receive only ingratitude for my services and my devotion." M. Tromelin also saw the Premier on this occasion, who did not, however, appear to take nearly so serious a view of the case as the Marshal. He conceived the dis-

\* Procès, i. p. 161.

† Id. ii. 204.

‡ Id. i. 250.



turbances to be merely of the same character with the riots which had taken place the previous October in the Rue St. Denis; and expressed his conviction that the show of a few troops would be sufficient to restore order. M. Tromelin confesses that his own opinion was very different\*.

The General had not concluded his visit, when M. Arago, the distinguished member of the Academy of Sciences, and already mentioned as being in habits of intimacy with Marmont, made his appearance in the palace. On being informed in the morning that the city had been declared in a state of siege, and that the Marshal was appointed Military Governor, M. Arago left his house to ascertain personally the state in which the town was. "I perambulated," he says, "a great many quarters; and it appeared to me very clear that the insurrection was much more serious than was generally believed." Having heard individuals in various groups expressing in strong terms a hope that the Marshal would profit of the opportunity which his present situation afforded him to re-establish his character (*se réhabiliter*), it occurred to him, although he did not attach the same meaning to that phrase as the persons who employed it, that he ought to go to the Marshal, and endeavour to make him understand that not even his honour as a soldier required him to place himself in opposition to the liberties of his country. There was some risk, in the state in which the streets were, in attempting to find access to the Tuileries; and the step was one on other accounts not to be resolved on without a little hesitation. But a letter which M. Arago received about half-past one in the afternoon from a friend whose views and wishes with regard to the Marshal coincided with his own, determined him to overcome his appre-

\* Procès, ii, 212.

hensions and his scruples; and, taking his son with him, he immediately set out for the palace. He arrived about two o'clock, and experienced, he says, some regret when he perceived on entering the first saloon that the persons by whom it was occupied were not at all military men. Among others by whom he found himself surrounded, were a M. de Flavigny, belonging to the Foreign Office, and another gentleman, whom he understood to be Prince Polignac's Secretary. He also saw some editors of newspapers. However, by the attention of the aides-de-camp, he was quickly ushered into the room where the Marshal was—a saloon looking out upon the Place du Carrousel. It contained a great many officers, few of them however in uniform. Of these gentlemen, most, he says, were in a very *exalted* (*fort exaltée*), and, in his opinion, not a very reasonable, state of mind. Others, however,—and he particularizes General Tromelin—appeared to him to take a perfectly correct view of the circumstances of the case, and offered very sound advice.

Taking the Marshal aside he entered at once upon the business about which he had come. "I addressed him," says he, "both in my own name and in that of his best friends; I tried to make him perceive that the principle of passive obedience could not concern a Marshal of France, above all in times of revolution; I insisted on the incontestable right which the people of Paris had to resort to force when the government attempted to despoil them of their rights by means which nothing could render legitimate. Finally I proposed to him that he should go without delay to St. Cloud, and declare to the King that it was impossible for him to retain the command of the troops, unless the ordinances should be withdrawn, and the ministry dismissed." The Academician's harangue, however, produced no

effect. "The Marshal," continued M. Arago, "permitted me to explain my ideas; but I perceived in his whole air the expression of an evident dissatisfaction." M. Arago thinks his opinions were not changed, and that in his heart he reprobated the conduct of the court; but still an indefinable sentiment of military honour made him shrink from anything like concession so long as the people continued in arms. "I believe too," the witness adds on his second examination, "that he felt some regret, I will even say some shame, that the best troops in Europe should be beaten in almost every quarter of Paris by a population taken quite unprepared. I was, perhaps, about to bring him to a determination, when a circumstance occurred which revived in his mind, in all its force, the point of military honour. An aide-de-camp of General Quinsonas brought information that the General could no longer maintain his position in the *Marché des Innocens*." On receiving this intelligence the Marshal seems to have let M. Arago understand that he did not consider he had any farther time to spend in listening to his representations. And indeed the moment in which he could with propriety have followed the course now pointed out to him, was perhaps past. He might have declined his present command when it was first offered to him; but, having accepted the appointment, he was no longer at liberty to betray the cause which he had so undertaken to maintain. M. Arago, however, still attempted to continue his appeal—when he was finally stopped by the announcement that several Members of the Chamber of Deputies had arrived, and wished to be introduced to the presence of the Marshal. "I immediately," he proceeds, "left the apartment, along with all the officers who were present, and passed into the billiard saloon. I there learned that the ministers occupied

a contiguous saloon on the same floor, the windows of which looked out upon the Rue de Rivoli. Four of them—MM. de Polignac, d'Haussez, Guernon de Ranville, and Montbel—none of whom I knew even by sight, came and walked there in succession. M. Delarue, one of the Marshal's aides-de-camp, pointed them out to me."

In the course of a short time the Deputies retired; and M. Arago hoped to have an opportunity of renewing his conversation with the Marshal. But all his time was occupied in hearing the reports of the officers of his staff, who were constantly bringing him accounts of what was going on in the different quarters of the city. M. Arago, therefore, after waiting a considerable time, determined to take his departure; but before going he requested M. Delarue to say to the Marshal that he should return to-morrow to renew his solicitations, if he should not then be too late, in other words,—*if the troops of the line should not have taken part with the people.* "The impression," continues the witness, "which this phrase produced, showed me that I had touched upon a danger which had not entered into their thoughts. I explained myself farther, mentioning different parts of the town in which I had seen, about noon, considerable parties of the military fraternizing with the armed citizens. M. Delarue thought that this unexpected news would make some impression on the mind of M. de Polignac. He pressed me eagerly to communicate it to the Prince. But I thought I ought not to yield to his entreaty; because, having myself pointed out the dismissal of the ministers as a measure without which any arrangement would be impossible, there seemed an awkwardness in my having any direct communication with them;—besides I wished to reserve to myself the right of saying boldly, in case of

need, that, if I had seen the ministers—if, contrary to my wish, I had found myself in the same house with them,—I at least had not addressed to them a single word. M. Delarue then, with my consent, went into the next apartment to communicate my information to the Marshal; the latter hastened to impart it to M. de Polignac; but it was far from producing the effect which was expected; for M. Delarue returning exclaimed with an accent of the deepest sorrow, “We are lost! our prime minister does not understand the French! When the Marshal informed him, on your intimation, that the troops were passing over to the side of the people, he replied, Oh then, the troops also must be fired upon.” From that moment it was manifest to me that, notwithstanding the state of siege, the Marshal was commander only in name, and I withdrew. It was then past four o’clock\*.”

The deputies who arrived at the palace, while M. Arago was there, to seek an interview with the Marshal, were MM. Lafitte, Périer, Gerard, Lobau, and Mauguin. The liberal members of the Chamber then in Paris had met in the morning at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau; and after some deliberation, the five gentlemen who have been mentioned were deputed to repair in the name of the meeting to the Commander-in-chief, in order to try if it were possible to bring about a cessation of the contest. We have, in the evidence taken on the trial, separate accounts of what took place at this interview from each of the individuals composing the deputation. M. Lafitte was appointed to speak for himself and the others. They reached the palace, he says, about

\* See deposition of M. Arago before the Commission of the Peers, Procès, i. 237—242; and Evidence of the same on the Trial, Id. ii. 181—184. We have collected in [the text the principal particulars mentioned in both statements.

half past two; and were received with great attention and apparent pleasure by the persons whom they first met. When they were introduced (which they were immediately) into the apartment of the Duke of Ragusa, they found him alone. A conversation then commenced somewhat in the same tenor with that which had just passed between the Duke and M. Arago. To M. Lafitte's representations of the frightful state of the capital, and the dangers which threatened the throne itself, he replied in such a manner as to show that he felt deeply the truth of every thing that was stated; but that he was no less convinced it was his duty to obey the orders which he had received, and which he said were quite positive. When it was demanded that the ministers should be dismissed and the ordinances withdrawn, as the indispensable grounds of pacification, he answered that the only way in which he believed it possible that the effusion of blood could be stopped was for the Deputies, by their influence with the people, to persuade them in the first instance to return to obedience. "He manifested," says M. Lafitte, "extremely honorable feelings in speaking to us of the difficulty of his position, and of what he regarded as a fatality attendant upon his life; he told us that he participated in our sentiments, but that he was enchained by his duty. I asked him if he had no certain and ready means of informing the King of the state of affairs, and of the step which we had taken. The Duke replied that he charged himself with that commission most cordially, and desired its success with all his heart; but he did not conceal from us that he had no hope that any favorable result would follow. He added that he would forward to me the answer he received, as soon as it reached him."

They were still conversing, when an officer entered

the room, and presented a note to the Marshal, at the same time whispering something in his ear. On this the Marshal asked the Deputies if they had any objection to see M. de Polignac. They answered they had none whatever—when the Marshal immediately left them and went into the adjoining apartment. He remained away about ten minutes, and on his return stated that he had communicated their propositions to the Prince, and also detailed to him faithfully the conversation they had had together; and that M. de Polignac had said it was useless for him to see them. The Deputies then withdrew. “There were a great many officers,” says M. Lafitte, “in the apartments through which we passed. I ought to state that, when we entered their countenances appeared full of hope, but that now, as we were departing, they expressed a vivid feeling of disquietude.” Before they had left the palace, one of these officers, M. de Larochejaquelin, came to them to say that M. de Polignac desired to see them. M. Arago, who was present, says they were at this time almost at the bottom of the stairs. M. Lafitte replied that there was probably some mistake, inasmuch as the Prince had already intimated that he thought it useless to receive them. The officer, however, insisted upon their stopping, saying that he was sure M. de Polignac had the greatest desire to see them, and that he would go and let him know they were coming to him. He returned, however, in a few moments, and said that the Prince, having been informed by the Duke of Ragusa of the object of their mission, did not deem it necessary to see them. “We then left the palace,” says M. Lafitte, “and waited all day for the answer which had been promised us. At ten o’clock at night I was still waiting in expectation of it, at the house of M. Andry de Puyraveau; but nothing arrived, and it was this circumstance more

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than anything else which determined me to throw myself into the movement. I will add that, in all the intercourse we had with the Marshal, he appeared to us to be merely an instrument, and to be only acting in obedience to a rigorous duty. When he went in to M. de Polignac, we had no reason to believe that that minister was then sitting in council with his colleagues\*.”

Such are nearly all the details in the Narrative of M. Lafitte, as we collect them both from his deposition before the Commission of the Peers, and his evidence on the trial. The statements of his colleagues do not add many particulars of importance. The Marshal, M. Périer says, expressed himself pleased on being informed of the mission on which they had come. They complained particularly of no intimation having been given to the inhabitants of the city being placed in a state of siege; and the Marshal seemed surprised on being informed that the necessary measures for that purpose had not been taken. The Deputies contended that the citizens had in fact only acted in self-defence; but, as for themselves, they said, they at any rate had taken no part in instigating the movement, which had been merely the spontaneous result of the indignation excited by the ordinances, and therefore could not be appeased till they should be withdrawn. M. Périer seems to have understood that the other ministers were assembled along with M. Polignac in the room to which the Marshal withdrew, to communicate to him the proposals of the Deputation †. M. Manguin states that at the meeting which took place at M. Audry de Puyraveau's, it was at first proposed to send the Deputation at once to his Majesty at St. Cloud; but that this idea was given up, from the apprehension that

\* Procès, i. 281—283, and ii. 167—169.

† Id. i. 268—270.

they probably would not be received. The answer brought by the Marshal from M. de Polignac, he says, was that he deemed it important above all to maintain perfect good faith and to deceive nobody,—that the ordinances would not be withdrawn, and that therefore it was useless for him to see the Deputies. On this reply being announced, M. Lafitte remarked that the question so put could only be decided by the chance of arms\*. The depositions of Generals Gerard and Lobau contain no additional facts †. M. Arago tells us that on M. de la Rochejaquelin returning from Prince Polignac to say that he considered it useless to see the Deputies, one of them testified his surprise by an exclamation, the full import of which was sufficiently intelligible to most of the persons present ‡.

In his answers to the interrogatories of the Commission of the Chamber of Peers, M. de Polignac gives us his own explanation of the motives from which he acted in declining to admit the Deputies to an audience. The Marshal, he says, merely informed him that these gentlemen—of whom, with the exception of M. Lafitte and M. Casimir Périer, the names were not even mentioned to him—had come to declare that it would be absolutely necessary to withdraw the ordinances; on which he answered that this was more than he could do of his own authority, but that he would write to the King upon the subject. He had before this desired an officer of his staff to let him know as soon as the Deputies should have left the Marshal; and it was this order in fact, which M. de la Rochejaquelin acted upon when he stopped them on the staircase. He still hesitated for an instant whether he should not see them; but on reflecting that he had no other assu-

\* Procès, i. 272, 273.

† Id. i. 284, ii. 154, and i. 257.

‡ Id. i. 241.

rance to give them, except what he had already communicated through the Marshal, he deemed it best to allow them to take their departure. His colleagues knew as well as he what had passed in the Marshal's apartment; but he did not consult them in determining not to receive the deputation\*. Afterwards, in his examination by the Court, he says that, happening in going out of his apartment to meet the officer who had previously been ordered to bring these gentlemen to him, he again desired him to request that they would wait. It appears to have been upon this that M. de la Rochejacquelin immediately went up, as has been related, to M. Lafitte and his companions, and stopped them as they were about to leave the palace. "I still hesitated, however," says the Prince, "to speak to them; perceiving that I had nothing more to say than what had been already stated by the Marshal. A feeling of embarrassment seized me, and I thought I ought not to see them merely in order to repeat what they had been already told †."

It does not appear that the colleagues of M. Polignac were present when the Deputies presented themselves. Indeed, M. de Polignac himself seems to admit that he never thought of asking the advice of his colleagues, either on this occasion or in regard to any other matter after they assembled in the Tuileries. He and they appear to have agreed in considering their functions at an end, from the moment of the issue of the ordinance declaring the city in a state of siege. That ordinance, they argue, concentrated all the powers of the administration—in so far at least as Paris was concerned—in the hands of Marshal Marmont; and accordingly, no council, they affirm, was held after that which met on Tuesday evening.

\* Procès, i. 162, 163.

† Id. ii. 114: see also p. 156.

Each merely expressed his opinion occasionally as a private individual\*. No regular intelligence was ever brought to them of passing events; each was obliged to be contented with merely such vague and general reports as chanced to reach him†. It appears, however, from the evidence of the Baron de Glandevès that they did not live in the palace exactly as so many separate lodgers. They remained constantly, he says, in an apartment adjoining that of the Marshal. Who had the direction of affairs, or what intercourse the parties had with each other, he does not know; but the ministers were almost always together. The part of the palace which they occupied was the Pavilion of Mademoiselle‡. M. de Polignac affirms that the only communications he or they had with the Marshal, were such as might naturally be supposed to take place between persons anxious to learn how events were proceeding and the individual who presided over all§. They retired to rest, according to M. de Guise, about eleven||; but M. de Peyronnet informs us that, in his own case at least, the hours passed heavily during the time he was in bed, and that he did not sleep¶.

Immediately after the Deputies had left the palace, Prince Polignac wrote to the King to inform him of their visit. His note, he says, was very short, merely a word\*\*. Like the other proceedings of the Premier, this communication also was made without any consultation with his colleagues, who all seem to have been very well satisfied that the correspondence of the Cabinet with his Majesty should be carried on solely through the President of the

\* Protestation, i. 145, 161, 162, 167, 175, 177, 184, 196, &c.

† Id. i. 177; Examination of Peyronnet.

‡ Protestation, i. 266. § Id. ii. 174. || Id. i. 251.

¶ Id. ii. 122. \*\* Id. i. 163.

Council, even although they were not permitted to see a line of it. For the present however, Marshal Marmont was the person to whom the duty was considered properly to belong, of forwarding regular information to St. Cloud respecting the course of events in the capital. The Marshal, as we have stated in a former chapter, had already written once to his Majesty at an early hour of the day, urging in very strong terms the advisableness of instantly entering into terms with the insurgents. At three in the afternoon M. de Guise by his order sat down to write again, and had nearly concluded a hasty account of the movements which had been executed by the different divisions of the troops, when the arrival of the Deputies was announced. After their departure the letter was finished, and was immediately despatched to St. Cloud by Colonel Komierowski. M. de Guise, in giving his evidence on the trial, laid before the Court a copy of this letter. It is dated "half-past three"—and begins, as we have said, by a notice of the several military operations of the day. In spite of all his efforts and those of his officers, the Marshal intimates that the streets continue everywhere occupied by multitudes of the insurgents, who nearly render any communication impossible between the several posts and head-quarters; and that, besides this, the troops, in whatever direction they attempt to move, are so assailed by the fire of the inhabitants from the windows, as to be obliged literally to fight their way at every step. "They run no risk," he adds, "of being forced to evacuate their positions; but I cannot hide from you that the situation of affairs becomes more and more serious." The concluding paragraph is as follows: "Just when I was about to fold up my letter, MM. Casimir Périer, Lafitte, Mauguin, General Gerard, and General Lobau presented themselves. They came, they

said, to ask me to make the firing cease. I replied that I had the same prayer to make to them; but they demanded as the condition of their co-operation that I should promise the recall of the ordinances. I answered that, having no political power, I could make no engagement with regard to that point. After a somewhat prolonged conversation, they limited their demands to a request that I would give an account of the step they had taken to your Majesty.— I think that it is of urgency that your Majesty should take advantage without delay of the overtures which they have made\*.”

It may be remembered that among the acts of the authorities on Tuesday, we mentioned the issue of orders of arrest against the forty-four journalists who had signed the protest, and the printer of the *National*, in which paper it had first appeared. M. de Montbel assures us that these warrants were deliberated upon at the *hôtel* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, where he and his colleagues appear to have been assembled; and that they were thence directed and transmitted to the competent authority †. We find M. de Polignac on his trial, however, expressly denying that such was the case. Being asked in the course of his examination by the Commission of the Peers, if he knew of the protest on the 27th, he acknowledges that he read it that day in the journals; but no order, he affirms, was deliberated upon in the council for arresting the subscribers, nor did he even mention anything of the kind as an individual to the King's Procurator ‡. When afterwards questioned as to whether he did not on the morning of Wednesday repeat the order for the execution of these warrants to an officer of police who came to state to him the difficulty of making the attempt, he

\* Protestation, i. 254.

† *Id.* pp. 9, 10.

‡ *Id.* i. 157.

replies that he saw no officer and gave no order of the kind; and then he adds, "I am even ignorant of the names of the individuals against whom it is said the warrants were issued\*." M. de Peyronnet is equally decided in maintaining that the warrants in question never were deliberated upon in any cabinet council; and that, as for himself, he never even heard of their existence before the subject was mentioned on the trial †. M. de Ranville asserts that it was no business of the cabinet to interfere in affairs of this nature; and that, if any such warrants were issued, it must have been by the competent authority, on the requisition of the particular branch of the administration to which the regulation of such matters belonged; for so, we suppose, the phrase "*sur le réquisitoire du ministère public*" is to be interpreted ‡. The correct account of the transaction appears to be given in the evidence of M. Billot, the King's procurator. Having repaired, this gentleman tells us, to his court (the Tribunal du Première Instance) on the 27th, he was spoken to by various individuals on the subject of the protest in the National, which had appeared that morning without the authorization appointed by the ordinances, and therefore, as he seems to have felt, illegally. "I procured the article," says he; "it was subscribed by forty-four individuals. So great a number of signatures increased the culpability of the publication. My conscience, I will say more, my affection for the government, then pointed out to me my duty. I issued (*décernai*) forty-five warrants; I carried them to the Prefect of Police, who gave them in charge to M. Leerosnier, chief of division, in order that they might be executed. M. Lecrosnier reminded us that it was then rather late—and that it would be necessary first to ascertain the residences of the in-



dividuals named. On the other hand, the state in which the town was rendered their execution at that moment almost impossible; and we agreed to wait till the next day\*." In his evidence given before the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Billot states that it was a Judge of Instruction who actually issued the warrants, on his requisition †— and, with this correction, his account agrees with that given by M. Mangin in the letter from Berne, to which we have already referred ‡. M. Billot, however, in his first examination, admits that he did hold some conversation about the protest with the Keeper of the Seals; but then he adds that his opinion with respect to the illegality of the article had been already formed, and his mind made up as to the course to be taken with its authors. He is very indignant that it should be supposed that any suggestion of the Premier's could have influenced his conduct in this affair §.

On learning about noon on Wednesday that the city had been declared in a state of siege, some doubts, M. Billot informs us, arose in his mind as to whether he had any longer authority to order the execution of these warrants. In consequence, he went to the hôtel of the Prefect of Police, and withdrew them. On the Monday following he destroyed them in concert with the Judge of Instruction by whom they had been signed ||. M. Lecrosnier says that it was two or three days after he had received the warrants when, being at M. Billot's office, he was asked by that gentleman to give them back to him. They were sent to him accordingly by the officer into whose hands they had been put to be executed ¶.

The investigation of the history of these warrants

\* Protestation, ii. 157, 158. † Id. i. 213. ‡ Id. ii. 137.

§ Id. i. 214. || Id. ii. 158. ¶ Id. ii. 160, and i. 209.

appears to have cost the conductors of the trial a great deal of trouble, in consequence partly of certain misapprehensions as to the circumstances of the case. The exact number, for instance, of the individuals against whom they were directed was for some time misunderstood. The chief difficulty experienced in tracing the origin and fate of these warrants, however, was occasioned by their being confounded with another set of orders of a similar description, which turn out to have been issued on the morning of Wednesday against certain other public characters of higher note. It appears from the evidence of the Viscount de Foucault that in the early part of this day that gentleman, a colonel of gendarmerie, received from Marshal Marmont an order for the arrest of eight individuals. It was signed by the Marshal himself, and consisted only of a line and a half besides the names. Of these names, the only ones which M. de Foucault could remember were those of MM. Salverte, Lafitte, Lafayette, and Audry de Puyraveau. "Many difficulties," says the witness, "presented themselves to my mind, and I foresaw that I was taking upon myself a great responsibility. I asked the addresses of the persons who were to be arrested; and a secretary gave them to me from a directory. I repaired to the Court of Chancery (*la Chancellerie*), accompanied by three officers who happened to be with me. I requested them to make out as many copies (*extraits*) as there were individuals to be arrested. When these were finished I put the whole into my pocket, and returned to the Duke of Ragusa. In the Rue de Rivoli I met one of his aides-de-camp, who intimated to me that the Marshal had given him orders to suspend the execution of the arrests. This announcement relieved my mind from a very great weight, as the officer must have perceived. I repaired

to the Duke of Ragusa: he told me that he had revoked the order, because it would have been scarcely honourable to arrest persons who had been employed in endeavouring to bring about a pacification (*qui avoient fait des démarches pacifiques*). I returned him the order, and tore the copies." On being more particularly questioned, M. de Foucault states that as well as he could remember the order ran nearly in these terms; "The Duke of Ragusa, Marshal of France, Commander-in-Chief of all the forces at Paris, orders that the following arrests he made." It was not prepared in his presence, but appeared to him to be all in the same hand as the signature. On its being remarked that the Marshal's hand-writing was so bad, that, had the order been penned by him, M. de Foucault certainly would not have been able to read it, the witness remarks that it was in fact very ill written; but that the Marshal, in putting the paper into his hands, stated to him verbally what it contained. M. de Guise affirms that he was the only person who wrote that day under the Marshal's dictation, and that no such order was penned by him\*.

It was while the secretary was affixing the addresses to the several names in this warrant that the Deputies arrived at the palace†; and it seems to have been their visit which determined the Marshal to revoke an order, the execution of which would then have been an act of inhospitality and almost of treachery. A fact mentioned by M. de Komierowski, who appears to have been the aide-de-camp sent by him to countermand the arrests, evinces how keenly he felt that his honour was involved in not suffering those, whom he had just received almost as friends

\* Protestation, ii. 179, 181.

† Id. i. 338; Evidence of M. de Foucault before the *Commission Rogatoire*.

and guests, to be waylaid and taken into custody as soon as they left his presence, by persons acting under his authority. "If you cannot find Colonel Foucault," he said to M. de Komierowski, "send two or three officers to seek him every where, and to give him this counter-order\*." This step was probably taken by the Marshal while the Deputies were still with him.

Prince Polignac, when asked by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers if he was cognizant of the issue of these orders of arrest, contents himself with answering that, the paper not having been signed by him, he cannot reply to any question relating to facts which concern other persons †. Nor do we find any further information on the subject in the depositions of any of the other ministers ‡. We

\* Protestation, ii. 180. In his deposition before the Commission of the Chamber of Peers M. de Komierowski says, probably by mistake, that it was *early on Thursday morning* that he was sent to tell M. de Foucault not to execute the warrants of arrest.—Id. i. 276.

† Id. i. 167. He afterwards says that, whoever gave the order, he can at any rate affirm that it was not he.—See Procès, ii. 115.

‡ In their first depositions, indeed, (before the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies) nothing can be more express than the terms in which they all of them deny that any such arrests as those in question were ever even deliberated upon in council. Polignac, having declared that the design imputed to him of re-establishing the *Cours Prévitales* is a complete falsehood, is next asked if it was not resolved to arrest "a great number of deputies;" to which he answers, "No; that is equally false," (see Procès, i. 136). The question put to Peyronnet is, "Was not the arrest of a certain number of deputies determined upon in the council?" To which his answer is, "Not at all, and at no period, neither of deputies, nor of any body else," (Id. p. 138). M. de Ranville is asked if they had not decided upon "the arrest of a great number of deputies, and of many other persons?" His answer is, "There never was any question of the kind before the council, nor do I believe that any one ever thought of such a thing," (Id. p. 140). Finally, M. de Chantelauze, being asked

are therefore the more obliged to M. de Montbel for the frankness with which he has explained to us in his pamphlet, both with whom the proceeding originated and what were the motives of its authors. After having informed us that the different columns began their movements about noon, and that in no long time successive reports of what was taking place were brought to the ministers, he says; "On the persons of various individuals who were seized, were found incontrovertible proofs of a plot—cards of a revolutionary association, which indicated a vast organization, and in which different rallying-places were pointed out—printed orders of the day, in which were stated with precision the different manœuvres necessary to be observed in engaging with the military, in surrounding them with barricades, in afterwards attacking them without danger, and in firing upon them from the doors and windows of the houses. These orders omitted no detail of the different operations to be executed; they proved the existence of a pre-arranged plan, as well as the military experience of those who had devised it. Certain persons were named to us as exciting the mobs, and stirring them up to sedition; these persons belonged for the most part to the societies, which boast of having laboured without relaxation for the overthrow of the legitimate throne. *The ministry decided upon arresting them. Such was my advice. The order of arrest cannot therefore be imputed to the Duke of Ragusa. It was on our requisition that he signed it; it was in our presence that he put it into the hands of the colonel of gendarmerie. I declare that I took no part in any deliberation about revoking this order\**." This state-

if the council did not decide upon "the arrest of a certain number of deputies or of other persons?" replies, "No deliberation of the council ever took place on the subject," (Id. p. 141).

ment may be taken as establishing the participation of the ministers (of such of them at least as were then at the Tuileries) in the issue of the warrants; but if we are to understand M. de Montbel as asserting that the persons whose names are known to have been comprised in the order had been already employed in exciting and leading on the resistance of the people, we must believe him to be in error. There is no evidence that any member of the Chamber of Deputies had as yet joined the insurrection; and M. Lafitte, one of the persons who were to be arrested, expressly tells us, as we have seen, that it was only after waiting till a late hour this night for the King's answer to the propositions forwarded through Marshal Marmont, that he determined, as he expresses it, to throw himself into the movement.

M. Boniface, the Commissary of Police, saw M. Mangin at nine o'clock this morning, when he informed him that the town had been declared in a state of siege, and added, "You are no longer a Commissary—I am no longer Prefect of Police: I have no more orders to give; you have no more to receive from me\*." So that M. Mangin, we see, was in as great haste as the ministers were to throw off his official responsibility, now that the state of things began to look really alarming. But this functionary was quite in earnest in the resignation of his place; for immediately after this we find him off altogether. When M. Troissard, a peace officer, it being yet early in the day, called at his hôtel, he learned that he was gone. "They told me also," says M. Troissard, "that the best thing we could do was to think of our personal safety." This witness, accompanied by a brother officer, then took his way through the principal streets in the north-west quarter of the capital; after which the two proceeded together to the Tuileries, where they asked to be permitted to

\* Procès, ii. 143.

speak to Prince Polignac, and gave him an account of the murderous engagements they had seen going on at the different points which they had visited. "After a second perambulation," continues M. Troissard, "in the course of which we became more and more convinced of the rage which animated the population, we returned again to the Tuileries, with the view of enlightening M. de Polignac, if it were possible, respecting the character of the Revolution which was in preparation. We found there M. de Peyronnet, to whom M. Avril gave an account of what we had observed; after which he suggested to him, as a means of restoring order, the employment of the National Guard, which had begun to organize itself, and already occupied, in conjunction with the line, the post of the Bank. M. de Peyronnet replied that the organization of the National Guard was illegal. This proposal having been repeated a second time before M. de Polignac and the Marshal, and the same answer having been returned, M. Avril added that he did not speak of its legality, but he thought that, by recognizing the Guard, the government would so far diminish the number of its enemies. At this moment, one of the persons present, I cannot say whether the Marshal or one of the ministers, said that, if the National Guards did not lay down their arms, they should be fired upon. Seeing that our advice was not listened to, we withdrew." About nine o'clock at night Troissard and Avril again proceeded to make a round together through the streets. They surveyed the Pont Neuf, the Rue de la Monnaie, and the Rue St. Honoré, as far as the Palais Royal; and in all these thoroughfares saw a great number of dead bodies lying about. They returned after this once more to the palace, when Avril again saw M. de Peyronnet and gave him an account of what they had witnessed. He



ventured to add, as he afterwards told Troissard, who was not present, that there was only one way of re-establishing order; namely, for the Dauphin to come to Paris and to bring with him the dismissal of the ministers and the revocation of the ordinances. This, he said, was also the opinion of M. de Peyronnet, who feared, however, that the Prince would not agree to adopt that course\*.

We have taken considerable pains to collect together and arrange from the records of the trial these details; disclosing to us as they do in so curious a manner the interior of the ministerial place of retreat, and the movements which were going on there, while the conflict between the people and the government was resounding throughout the streets. We now proceed to add a few particulars, gleaned from the same and other sources, illustrative of the state of things during this memorable day in the actual residence of the monarch and his family at St. Cloud.

M. de Peyronnet acknowledges that he saw the King while he was at St. Cloud in the early part of this day; but he does not appear to have even entered into any conversation with his Majesty on the events which had taken place in the capital. He had no reason, he merely says, to suppose that his Majesty was not informed of what was going on †. It was only since the preceding day, however, that Charles had been told that any disturbances had broken out. M. de Polignac states that he made no communication to him on the subject in the course of Monday, being then only very imperfectly acquainted himself with what had occurred ‡. Peyronnet excuses himself for not having taken upon him in his capacity of a minister to describe to his Majesty the extraordinary state in which Paris was,—by affirming that, even so late as the evening of this

\* Procès, ii. 93, 94.

† Id. p. 175.

‡ Id. i. 157.

day, he was not himself in possession of any positive information on that head. The Marshal alone, he says, had communicated to him a few particulars, the statement of which was mixed up with expressions of hope; he could not therefore venture to give the King any details without the risk of committing errors\*. Marmont however, as we have mentioned, wrote to his Majesty twice in the course of this day; and Polignac also wrote to him immediately after the departure of the Deputies, and again at a late hour in the evening. This last letter, which, the writer says, contained merely an account of the facts which had come to his knowledge, was sent by one of the grooms of the royal household†. Some of these communications at least seem to have been answered by his Majesty in writing; but in what terms we have no information. M. de Komierowski, who, it will be recollected, was the bearer of the letter despatched by the Marshal after the Deputies had left him, saw the King on his arrival at St. Cloud; and he has given us in his evidence an account of the interview. "I had orders," he says, "to make the utmost haste—which in fact I did. The Marshal had besides recommended me to state to the King myself what I had seen of the state of Paris. Having been introduced into the royal closet, I put into his Majesty's hands the Marshal's despatch; and gave him verbally an account of the condition in which things were, remarking that it demanded a prompt determination. I explained to him that it was not only the populace of Paris, but the whole inhabitants who had risen; and that of this I had an opportunity of judging myself as I passed through Passy, where shots had been fired at me, not by the populace, but by persons of a superior class. The King replied that he would

\* Procès, ii. 122.

† Procès, ii. 116 and 174.

read the despatch, and I withdrew to await his orders. As no message arrived, I begged of the Duke de Duras to go to the King and ask what were his commands; but he replied, that, according to the etiquette of the Court it was impossible for him then to present himself. At the end of twenty minutes I was at last called again into the closet, where the King, without giving me any written despatch, merely charged me to tell the Marshal to hold out well (*de tenir bien*), to reunite his forces on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV., and to act with masses; he repeated this last expression twice. The Duchess de Berri and the Dauphin were present while this passed; but they said nothing." M. de Komierowski adds that, if Polignac wrote to the King at the same time with the Marshal, it was not he who carried the letter. He immediately returned to the Tuileries, and communicated to the Marshal his Majesty's commands\*. The Baron de Glandevès also saw Charles for a few moments in the course of this day; but they had no conversation together †.

According to the Baron de Lamothe Langon, his Majesty had on Tuesday, after returning from the chase, which he pursued with great spirit, dined with a good appetite, and had also had his usual party at whist in the evening. The Duchess of Berri was earnest in exhorting the Premier not to be bent from the course of policy he had entered upon, but at any cost to suppress the insurrection. The Dauphin, however, expressed considerable uneasiness at the symptoms of disaffection which had even already been manifested by the line ‡. The same writer tells us that this evening also was spent by his Majesty as usual—and that he even gave orders

\* Procès, i. 276. † Id. ii. 207.

‡ Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris; p. 171.

for a hunting-party on the morrow\*. He was to have hunted this day, it appears, in the wood of Fontainebleau; but it was thought expedient in the morning to countermand the directions that had been given to that effect†. "It seems," says the Staff-Officer, "that the Court had been in a complete delusion, real or affected, up to a late hour in the night of the 28th. Thirty-eight gentlemen had dined at the table of the chief officers of the household that day; the greater number of these were entitled, by their offices and their rank, to appear at the King's assembly, who that evening made his usual party at cards; but Charles X. could not induce one single person of his court to undertake to go into Paris and examine the state of affairs. After having received several evasive refusals, he retired to his private apartments, and sent for one of the Dauphin's officers, who readily undertook the mission, and returned with his report in the course of the night. This officer must of course have seen the real state of affairs; for by that time the determination of the people and the irresolution of the regiments of the line were decidedly manifest. The personal character of this gentleman leaves no doubt that he made a faithful report of what he saw. But the only result of his report was, orders for the assembling at St. Cloud, at day-break on the 29th, of four companies of the body-guard, and of the battalion of Students of the Academy of St. Cyr, with their school battery of guns, which were brought from Courbevoie ‡."

In the course of this day, a Madame de Maillé, it is stated by the Baron de Lamothe Langon, actuated by a sincere attachment to the royal family, conceived the plan of despatching her son, disguised as a

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 272.

† *Id.* pp. 170—263.

‡ Military Events, p. 69.

servant, to St. Cloud, that he might inform Charles with his own lips of the actual state of things in Paris. The young man, after encountering numerous dangers, at last arrived in safety at the palace—when, it may be supposed, there being no reason for any longer preserving his incognito, he made known who he was. But a new and fatal obstacle now presented itself to bar his access to the royal presence. The gentleman in waiting informed him that the attire in which he had come made it impossible that he could be presented to his Majesty—that it was by neglect of such points of etiquette that the former Revolution had been brought about,—and that in consequence his Majesty had commanded that no person should be permitted to appear in his presence except in full dress\*! Extravagantly and almost incredibly absurd as this punctiliousness seems at such a season, there is nothing in what has been related which is not fully borne out by other reports which we have of the last hours of this infatuated court.

One of the most extraordinary events of this day took place in a court of justice, the Tribunal de Commerce. While the mingled sounds of the artillery and the tocsin filled the air, and were distinctly heard in the hall (one of the apartments of the Bourse) where the proceedings were carried on, the judges of this court, MM. Ganneron, Lemoine Tacherat, Gisquet, Lafond, and Truelle, were occupied in hearing a cause which had already arisen out of the royal ordinances, and involved the whole question of their legality. It was an action brought by MM. Lapelouse and Châtelain, the proprietors of the *Courrier Français*, against their printer, M. Gauthier-Laguionie, who had refused since Monday to continue, according to his engagements, to print

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 288.

the paper. The counsel for the plaintiffs was M. Merilhou, one of the advocates of the Royal Court. His argument consisted of a fearless denouncement of the ordinances, as directly opposed both to the established laws of the country and to previous decisions of the courts, which had declared that even to contemplate such an act as the issue of these edicts was a crime. "It is true," said he, "that a handful of factious men, who have by some means elevated themselves to the highest order in society, are attempting to subvert the laws by violent and illegal measures; but they will shortly receive the punishment due to their rash attempt. God knows to what monstrous caprice, to what execrable head, we are indebted for the odious orders that have appeared in the *Moniteur*, and that have excited the indignation of every one who possesses the heart of a citizen." We need no better proof of the perfect confidence that was even already felt in the success of the popular arms, than the fact of such language having been used and tolerated, in what may be almost called the very presence of the royal authority. But not only was M. Merilhou's daring harangue heard with patience; the court, when he had concluded, stamped by the sentence which it pronounced, its solemn sanction upon every principle which he had advanced. "Considering," the judgment said, "that the order in council of the 25th, being contrary to the Charter, was not binding or obligatory, either on the sacred and inviolable person of the King, or on the citizens whose rights it invaded,—the tribunal orders that the agreement between the parties be carried into effect." The defendant was condemned in the costs of the action, and directed to print the paper within twenty-four hours, on pain of being obliged to pay to the plain-

tiffs such damages as they might afterwards be found to be entitled to\*. This seems to have been almost the only judicial business which was this day transacted in Paris. In the Palais de Justice none of the Courts were opened. We may mention, however, as showing that some of the established functionaries still continued their wonted duties, notwithstanding the confusion in which everything was involved, that M. Deroste, Commissary of Police for the quarter Feydeau, speaks of having been employed all day, from nine in the morning, holding inquests at the Bourse on different dead bodies which were brought to him. Of these, one was the body of an individual named Rose, who had been shot in the fourth story of a house in the Rue Traversière by a detachment of the Guards, at a moment when there was no person in the street. Another was that of one Gérard, who had been killed in the Rue de Richelieu, although he had taken no part in the disturbances †.

The total loss sustained by the Guards in this day's fight is stated by the Staff-Officer to have amounted to above three hundred in killed and wounded. "These troops," says he, "had done all that men could do; for forty-eight hours they had not taken one moment's rest: since the morning of the 27th they had had no issue of provisions of any kind. They were promised some bread at day-break, but none was to be had; and all the exertion of the staff officers on duty could procure nothing more than a quarter of a ration of bread per man, and that only for some battalions; this was bread obtained from the bakers in the neighbourhood, which had been baked for their private customers ‡."

M. de Moutbel informs us that at his suggestion

\* Sadler, pp. 82—88.

† Procès, i. 224.

‡ Military Events, p. 45.



Marshal Marmont gave orders that all the bread, flour, and other provisions which could be found at St. Cloud and in the neighbourhood should be immediately bought up for the use of the troops. The Marshal also proposed that a largess should be paid to the soldiers in consideration of their extraordinary sufferings during this exhausting day. "The ministers," says M. de Montbel, "approved of this demand and, seeing the impossibility of the Minister of War communicating with his bureaux, which were then mobbed, I consented to draw an order for the money on the treasury, with the reservation that the whole transaction should be rendered regular as soon as possible by the only authority entitled to order any warlike expenditure\*." The King himself is the person to whom M. de Montbel here alludes. The money, it appears, was accordingly brought from the treasury by a hundred men, "each," says M. de Guise, "carrying a bag containing a thousand francs, and who had no sooner thrown down their burdens than they were obliged again to take up their muskets †." The Marshal called the chief of the Staff to him at eleven o'clock; and desired him to draw out an order of the day announcing to the troops that the King had granted them six weeks' additional pay ‡. This news, however, was not promulgated to the men till next morning. Suspicions have, we believe, been entertained that much more than the sum just mentioned was taken from the treasury for this purpose. It has been stated that above 370,000 francs in all were actually distributed on this occasion among the

\* Protestation, p. 14.

† Procès, ii. 174.

‡ Id. p. 172. The witness, M. de Guise, is made to say "a month's pay;" but in point of fact six weeks was the term. See Evidence of M. de Chantelauze, Procès, i. 141; and Military Events, p. 52.

soldiers \*. Each man it is said received twenty-five francs †.

Even the Guards, however, were by this time beginning to express, in a manner not to be mistaken, their aversion to the service in which they had been employed, and their sense of the conduct of those who forced them to maintain a contest the toils and dangers of which they themselves declined to share. "On the return of the troops to the Tuileries," says the Staff Officer, "it was reported, and every one naturally believed, that the King and the Dauphin had arrived in the course of the evening; but when morning came, and the absence of the white flag from the top of the Tuileries

\* See extract from French paper in the *Times* of 26th October, 1831.

† *Evènements de Paris*, p. 30. In his examination by the Commission of the Chamber of Peers, M. de Polignac is asked if it was he who ordered a sum of 421,000 francs to be drawn from the Treasury for the purpose of being distributed among the troops; to which he answers in the negative. (See *Procès*, i. 165.) It seems to have been supposed that the soldiers were bribed on the Tuesday and Wednesday as well as on the Thursday. A M. Joly, one of the witnesses on the trial, asserts that on Tuesday, he saw the Serjeant-Majors distributing money to the Guards from bags which they carried under their arms; he changed himself, he says, a good many pieces of 100 sous for the soldiers, (*Id.* ii. 143). M. de Polignac, however, denies all knowledge of any other distribution, except that which took place on the morning of Thursday; and he professes not to know by whom the order was given even for that, (*Id.* ii. 116, 117). The Staff-Officer assures us that such was felt to be the indecorum of such a mark of the royal satisfaction as this, at a moment when the troops were actually left destitute of their daily provisions, that some commanders of corps actually kept back the order. "It is," he adds, "within my knowledge, that after all only one regiment received this bounty. If some money was issued at St. Cloud and Rambouillet, from the coffers of the *Civil List*, it was only on account of what was already due to the *men* since the 27th, and which fell due to all the *officers* on the 1st of August. (*Military Events*, p. 53.)

announced that the King was *not* there—that he had not quitted St. Cloud—perhaps not even Rambouillet (where it was known that he was on the 26th), the soldiers could not repress some feelings of anxiety and disgust, which they expressed in their own energetic language\*.” In fact several officers, it has been stated, sent in their resignations this very night. Of this number was the Count Raoul de Latour du Pin, whose spirited letter addressed on the occasion to Prince Polignac may properly terminate our account of the transactions of this busy and extraordinary day. It ran as follows:—“Sir, after a day’s work of massacres and disasters, undertaken in opposition to all laws divine and human, and in which I have taken part only through a respect to human authority, for which I reproach myself, my conscience imperatively forbids me to serve a moment longer.—I have in the course of my life given numerous enough proofs of my devotion to the King to entitle me, without subjecting myself to the risk of having my intentions misrepresented, to distinguish between what emanates from him and the atrocities which are committed in his name. I have the honor therefore, Sir, to beg that you will lay before his Majesty my resignation of the rank of Captain in his guard. I have the honor to be, &c.’

\* Military Events, p. 46



## CHAPTER XII.

THE retirement of the royal forces from every position in which they had attempted to establish themselves, put an end, as has been related, on the approach of darkness, to the sanguinary warfare which had raged in so many quarters of the city all the day; but the people, though thus left masters of the field, felt that the coming night was not to be given to repose. Far indeed from deeming the victory to be already won, because the military had been for the present driven home to their quarters, they acted, and wisely, as if by that achievement they had merely cleared the ground for the renewal of the contest. In every quarter, almost in every street, of Paris, multitudes plied all night their patriotic toil. The barricades were still the

great work that employed all hands. In this labour boys, and old men, and women lent their eager assistance; even females belonging to the superior classes were to be seen taking their share in the business of tearing up the pavement, or dragging along the various materials for these erections, with hands but little used to such rude occupations. But it was the working population by whom these and all the other operations were chiefly carried on. "Men of every trade and calling," says one writer, "lent themselves, as by one common instinct, to that peculiar department, in this general division of labour, with which they had been rendered most conversant by their previous habits and pursuits. The plumber betook himself to the casting of balls; the sawyer to the felling of trees; the paviour to the throwing up of stones as materials for the barricades; the water-carriers and hackney-coachmen might be seen busily employed in drawing up and overturning vehicles of the largest size, and in obstructing every communication of street with street, by means of these ponderous and massy impediments. The carpenter went to work in his vocation; and every species of timber, or of scaffolding, was put into immediate requisition, to strengthen and fill up the intervals left in the stockades, and which were alternately completed by the ponderous materials torn up from the streets\*." In the Faubourg of St. Jacques the unpaving of the streets, and the piling of the stones into barricades, had been the employment of the women and children during a great part of the preceding day, while their husbands and fathers were engaged fighting in the interior of the town†. We have already mentioned the valuable services of M. Menoret in superintending the erection of these fortifications along the

\* Narrative (Galignani), p. 35. † Laumier, p. 167. ft ®

northern boulevards. M. Theophilus Féburier, one of the editors of the *Temps*, and who had formerly been an officer in the army, is recorded as the person who presided over the construction of those in the Rue de Richelieu and the Quartier Montmartre\*. In the Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière the barricades were principally formed by the carriages which had served only a few days before to convey to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame the various decorations for the celebration of the last *Te Deum* which was ever to be performed there at the command of Charles X†. In the Rue de Rameau the materials of the monument intended to be erected to the Duke de Berri, were applied to a similar purpose under the direction of M. Joseph Pellegrini, an advocate‡. The number of the barriers thus thrown across all the principal thoroughfares one writer states to have amounted by the morning of the 29th to six thousand§, while another carries it so high as ten thousand||. They are described as having been placed generally at the distance of forty or fifty paces from each other, although in some streets they seem to have been not nearly so far asunder. They were in general about breast-high, and four or five feet thick. All the while that these works were proceeding under the light of torches (for the lamps had been everywhere broken) a still wilder and more terrific air was thrown over the scene by the ringing of the tocsin from many of the steeples. In some of the streets too, it is stated that patrols of military continued to walk to and fro all the night: this was in the immediate vicinity of head-quarters. These patrols, and the advanced guards stationed on the quays of the Louvre and the Tuileries are represented to have fired upon every person who came

\* Ambs, p. 205. † Laumier, p. 155. ‡ Ambs, p. 128.

§ Laumier, p. 73. || Lamothe Langon, p. 198.

within reach of their muskets. "I myself," says the Baron de Lamothe Langon, "about nine o'clock saw one of these detachments of the Guards fire upon a group consisting of six individuals, two of them women, who were passing quietly along the footway; one of the women fell mortally wounded." This seems to have happened in the Rue de Rivoli, or St. Honoré\*.

The dawn disclosed the promise of a beautiful day; and, the heavens being then lightly streaked with clouds, it seemed as if the heat would not be so oppressive as that of yesterday†. The tocsin had ceased for about an hour; when its sounds were again heard, not, as before, filling the air alone, but mingled with the martial noise of drums beating the reveillé. The tread of multitudes hurrying to their several gathering-places, and their cries of *Aux Armes! Aux Armes!* soon added still more tumultuous echoes to this contending din. Arrangements had at last been made in the course of this night for giving the advantages of organization and discipline to the popular warfare; and several military characters of distinction had consented to place themselves at the head of a contest, on the issue of which it now appeared hung the fate of the liberties of France. Of these individuals the most eminent were Generals Gerard and Dubourg. The former, it will be recollected, had formed one of the deputation to Marshal Marmout—and, like his colleague M. Lafitte, he had probably come to the resolution of joining the insurrection on the failure of all hope of any answer being returned by the Court to the overtures which had been forwarded to it. The accession of General Dubourg to the popular ranks, according to some accounts, did not take place till the morning. It was when the

\* Lamothe Langon, p. 283.

† Gallois, p. 27.



citizens, already assembled in arms, were demanding a leader that "some one," to quote the version of the story which appeared in the public journals at the time, "recommended M. Evariste Dumoulin (principal editor of the *Constitutionnel*) to apply to General Dubourg. M. Dumoulin immediately proceeded to the General's house to propose to him to take the command. 'I have just arrived from the country,' said the General, 'and have no uniform here.' 'You shall soon have one,' was the reply. In fact in a quarter of an hour a uniform was brought." The General, it is added, having then put himself at the head of a small band, took his way along with them to the Place de la Bourse—before reaching which, however, his followers, from accessions they received at every step of their advance, had swelled to a numerous and formidable multitude\*.

M. Gallois, who was to-day again at his observatory betimes, heard guns fired at no great distance so early as five o'clock—and observed at the same time a great stir on the boulevard. This turned out to be occasioned by the capture of the barracks occupied by the gendarmerie in the Rue des Tournelles, of which the people had just made themselves masters without a struggle, and with the different weapons found in which they were busy arming themselves, after having generously conveyed the soldiers to a place of safety, and even assisted them in carrying away their private effects. The discharges of musketry which were heard were merely a few shots fired in the air by the people by way of triumph over their achievement †.

From this time crowds of persons in arms con-

\* Galignani's Messenger of July 31, quoted in *Times* of August 3rd, 1830. See also *Evènements de Paris*, pp. 39, 40.

† Gallois, p. 28.

tinued to pass along the boulevard; among whom were many boys of not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, but all evidently animated by the liveliest enthusiasm. *Vive la Liberté! Down with the Bourbons! Vive la Charte! The tricolour for ever!* are mentioned by M. Gallois as the principal cries which met his ear. Some labouring men also called out *Vive Napoléon II.!* Among other groups which made their appearance was a party of the National Guards in uniform, who were received with loud exclamations of welcome by the people. "A moment after this," continues M. Gallois, "I heard the cry of *The Line for ever!* It was a salutation addressed to several foot-soldiers who were passing with their knapsacks on their backs, but without arms. They asked what road they should take to get to their homes; it was pointed out to them; and the people then called after them, 'A good journey, comrades; tell our friends in the country that we shall soon have done; and that if the provinces act as we are doing, the tricolour will be floating over all France in a week.' I understood that these soldiers belonged to one of the regiments of the line which had fraternized with the people. In the sequel of the day I saw many more of them pass\*."

Marinont must have been convinced by the mortifying failure which had followed every one of his movements of the preceding day, that no purpose was to be attained by again sending forth his troops either to march up and down the streets, or to endeavour to occupy so many insulated positions in the more distant parts of the town. It appears, indeed, that, before parting with the ministers for the night, he had informed them that he meant to adopt a system of defence which should give his forces the same advantages which the insurgents enjoyed. He

should be able, he said, to hold out for thirty days in the positions which he intended to occupy ; and this would afford time for bringing together whatever reinforcements might be deemed requisite \*. Orders were in fact despatched during the night for the troops composing the camps at Lunéville and St. Omer to be sent up to Paris by forced marches, and also for the artillery at Vincennes to be transported thither immediately. These orders seem to have been issued by Prince Polignac †.

The plan of defence, which Marmont now resolved to adopt, was to keep his forces concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the Tuileries, making the retention of that position and the maintenance of the communication with St. Cloud his single object ; at least until the arrival of additional troops should put him in a condition to attempt the re-establishment of the royal authority over the other parts of the city. The following accordingly were the only stations which the military occupied this morning ; the Tuileries, with the Carrousel and the garden, the Louvre, the Palais Royal, the Bank, the Place Vendôme, the Rues St. Honoré, de la Paix, de Rivoli, Castiglione, de l'Echelle, de Rohan, de la Madeleine, the Champs Elysées, the Rue Royale, and the Boulevard des Capucins as far as the Rue de la Paix ‡. The garrison was this day augmented by two battalions of Guards which had arrived the evening before from Versailles, a body of light infantry which had arrived still more recently from the country, a Swiss battalion brought from Ruel, and about 800 cavalry, making in all an addition of about 1700 men. The total number of the Guards on duty this day was eleven battalions of infantry and thirteen squadrons of cavalry, making

\* Montbel, Protestation, p. 15. † Procès, i. 161 and ii. 117.

‡ Military Events, pp. 47, &c.

in all 4300 men. There were besides eight battalions of the line, amounting to 2400 men; but they, as will immediately appear, were of no use. Of the Guards, in addition to the stations we have already mentioned, one battalion occupied the Ecole Militaire, and about a hundred men, together with forty recruits, the barracks in the Rue de Babylone. The Hotel and Jardin des Invalides were left to be defended by the veteran pensioners of the establishment and by the youths of the school for staff-officers. The Palais Bourbon (Chamber of Deputies) was guarded by a strong detachment of the line, and the gendarmerie were stationed on the Place du Palais Royal and the Place Vendôme\*. The 5th and 53rd regiments of the line, however, were afterwards sent to this last named station †.

“The first part of the morning,” says the Staff-Officer, “was spent in placing, displacing and replacing the different bodies of troops; and all these pretended rectifications made only confusion worse confounded. The Guards, for instance, which had been brigaded ever since their formation, and which had been the day before taken from under the orders of such of their own generals as were on the spot, were to-day placed under new commanders. Officers of cavalry were appointed to command the infantry, and *vice-versâ*, infantry officers were placed over the cavalry. \* \* \* Every change of position produced a change of orders. The Staff, which continued at the Carrousel as head-quarters, made all these alterations by verbal messages. The generals could not make themselves known to the troops they were

\* Military Events, p. 48. The author however omits to mention the hundred men who, as appears from the narrative of Captain Coutan, p. 4 (English Translation), occupied the Babylone barracks along with the forty recruits.

† Id. p. 52

supposed to command; and, when they had established themselves on some point, they often found that their troops had been moved elsewhere, out of their reach\*." The only effects of these changes in the position of the troops, which it is important to our purpose to particularize, are the occupation about half-past ten o'clock of the Place Louis XV. by two battalions of the Guards and the 15th regiment of the line, who drew up with their backs turned to the town—and the establishment of five squadrons of chasseurs of 100 men each, and a party of gendarmes, in the Champs Elysées. The avenues of the Pont Royal (now known as the Pont de la Revolution), we may also notice, were commanded by some guns placed on the river-side terrace of the palace garden; and there were likewise guns in the streets de Rivoli and Castiglione †.

This general sketch of the manner in which the government forces were disposed, will suffice to place before the reader what we may call the range of this day's contest, or the limits within which it was necessarily confined. The military may be conceived as now standing entirely on the defensive; and the people therefore could only come into collision with them by attacking them in their lines. The positions which they had taken up contracted the field of battle within very much narrower boundaries than those over which it had extended the preceding day—and, with the exception, indeed, of two or three insulated spots in the Ile de la Cité and the Faubourg St. Germain, the whole scene of action may be said to have been comprehended in the space lying between the river and the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, and stretching from the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois in the east to the Place Louis XV. in the west. To this district, therefore, the patriotic bands now hurried from every part of the town.



West, Linnor & Co.

PONT DE LA REVOLUTION,  
29<sup>th</sup> JULY 1860







M. Gallois describes the advancing array of some of these armed throngs, who marched past his window from the Faubourg St. Antoine. By nine o'clock, he tells us, the sun shone fully out from the clouds which had till then somewhat mitigated its radiance. Soon after this hour he heard the drums beating a quick march. In the course of a few minutes more cries of exultation and the louder rattle of the drums, which it was easy to perceive were beaten by novices, announced the immediate approach of a troop of citizens. It passed on towards the city by the Rue St. Antoine. "The National Guards in uniform," continues M. Gallois, "were at its head; a tricoloured flag floated in their ranks; the whole population saluted this emblem with their acclamations\*." After this, three other numerous battalions followed successively in the same direction, each with drums beating and colours flying. The movement of the people towards the centre of the city continued till mid-day; "and then," says M. Gallois, "a stillness altogether extraordinary prevailed; no carriage moved along; no noise disturbed the silence which reigned throughout the Marais; for the direction in which the wind blew prevented us from hearing the fighting which was going on at the Hôtel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuileries†."

In the neighbourhood of the two palaces, however, (for there was no fighting this day at the Hôtel de Ville,) the battle had been already for some time begun. The first assailants of the military had stationed themselves on the Quays Malaquais and Voltaire on the south side of the river, and in the Rue du Bac—and from these positions they kept up a loose fire across the water on the Tuileries and the Louvre. The conflict here, however, according to the Staff-Officer, was far from being characterized by

\* La dernière Semaine de Juillet, p. 31.

† Id. p. 32.

the vivacity which the encounters of the preceding day had in general displayed\*. The same excitement and impetuosity were not, of course, to be looked for in an affair such as this, where the combatants were so completely separated from each other, as would naturally be called up where the two hosts were thrown together in wild *mêlée*, and the struggle was one almost of breast to breast and foot to foot.

It was a hotter and sterner war which was waged in the Rue St. Honoré. Into this street chiefly the bands from the Faubourgs seem to have poured themselves, by its eastern extremity, and through the numerous cross-streets opening into it both from the south and north. Other captains, besides the distinguished military officers whom we have already mentioned, now appeared to put themselves at the head of these civic columns and to lead them on to the charge. These were the pupils of the celebrated Polytechnic School, who, to the number of about sixty, had this morning scaled the walls of their seminary, and hastened to take part in the fight of liberty. These brave youths, as soon as they had thus effected their escape, repaired in a body to the riding-house of the Luxembourg, and there proceeded to arrange their plans of action. When they appeared among the people, they rather assumed than were elected to the command of the several parties of combatants; it seemed a thing of course that, with their gallant bearing and their military education, they should place themselves at the head of their fellow-citizens; who were not on their part slow in evincing, by their acclamations, and the eagerness with which they clustered around each self-appointed chief, how delighted they were to obey and follow such conductors. Throughout the sequel of the combat these young commanders were to be seen,

\* Military Events, p. 56.



mounted commonly on white horses, wherever danger was most rife, or combined science and heroism were most needed for the execution of any enterprize or manœuvre of peculiar difficulty or importance.

So early as half-past four, it is said, the people had begun the erection of a barricade in the Rue des Poulies, one of the cross-streets leading from the Rue St. Honoré, although they were exposed all the while they were at work to a destructive fire from the military in the Louvre. This attack of the soldiers was met by a counterfire from the window of a house near the barricade—but with little effect. The consequence was that many of the people were killed. At last one man of Herculean stature, who had exerted himself with surpassing activity in the construction of the barricade, was struck by a ball. He shouted *Vive la Nation!* and instantly fell down a corpse. The shriek of vengeance, which burst from the rest when they saw their comrade lying motionless, is described as having been so terrific as for the moment apparently to astound the soldiers themselves. The people, however, undaunted by what had occurred, continued to pursue their labours till they had completed the barricade about eleven o'clock\*.

By this time the battle was raging at several different points in this vicinity. The short portion of the Rue St. Honoré, in particular, between the Rues de Rohan and de l'Echelle was the scene of a murderous contest. A number of soldiers had been planted in the corner houses of both these last mentioned streets, from the windows of which they poured down an incessant and destructive fire upon the people, who, although they met the attack vigorously from the ground, were able to make but little impression upon their elevated and sheltered assailants.

\* Narrative (Galignani), p. 41.

The houses here were covered with the marks of balls;—and the large tin hat over the hatter's shop at the corner of the Rue de Rohan was pierced through and through\*. In the Place of the Palais Royal a similar struggle was going on, which for some time proved equally disastrous to the people. Farther on, the armed citizens were collected in great force around the north and east sides of the Louvre—which was also attacked, as has been stated, by another numerous body from the south.

But, while nothing as yet had been effected on either side to determine the fortune of the day, certain incidents occurred at other points in the government line of defence which produced the most momentous results. About half-past eleven the troops of the line both at the Palais Bourbon and in the Place Vendôme gave such manifestations of their disaffection to the cause they had been brought out to support as amounted to its open and entire abandonment. At the former station the officer in command, after a negotiation with the popular leaders, agreed to withdraw his men into the adjoining garden of the Prince de Condé; on which the people immediately proceeded to raise barricades in all directions around the palace, while numbers of them also stationed themselves in the portico of the Chamber of Deputies, and behind the balustrades of the roof of the Prince of Condé's hotel, and opened a sharp fire on the Guards in the Place Louis XV. A platoon of light infantry, however, which was sent to disperse these marksmen soon effected that object, and established itself in the inner court of the palace. But at the very time while this was taking place on the south side of the river, the 5th and 53rd regiments of the line, who were stationed in the Place Vendôme, were also fraternizing with the people. The Staff-

\* S. T.

Officer, whose account we have been abridging, says that they performed this ceremony by taking off their bayonets, and shouldering their muskets with the butts in the air; M. de Wall, who commanded them, disappearing during the operation\*. The popular histories tell us that the soldiers had received an order to charge upon the people, when a large body of the latter advanced to them, having at their head a M. P. B., an advocate, who, addressing the officers, implored them not to turn their arms against their fellow-citizens. When the orator had concluded a harangue of some length, Captain Vernot, clasping his hand, said to him, "Sir, for thirty years it has been my pride to combat the foreign enemies of France; against Frenchmen I will never draw my sword; my men and I are not executioners." On this, the soldiers threw themselves without farther hesitation into the arms of the people; and not long after sent a deputation to General Gerard to request that he would send them his commands†. Part of these regiments occupied the Rue de la Paix; and according to the Baron de Lamothe Langon, it was Captain Breiderbach, the officer in command here, who, on seeing an armed body of the people approaching, of his own accord proposed to them not to fire, promising that his men on their part should not treat them as enemies. The people at first were inclined to suspect that this was but an attempt to ensnare them, and they asked clamorously for some guarantee. "My word," replied M. Breiderbach, "is your guarantee; I am a soldier of the old army; I have seen thirty-eight years' service; I take my place in the midst of you; if my men fire, their balls will be directed against me as well as against you." Nothing more was wanted to establish perfect con-

\* Military Events, pp. 57—59.

† Imbert, p. 113; Ambs, pp. 99 and 195—197.



confidence; the soldiers and the citizens embraced each other with mutual congratulations; and the former having unscrewed their bayonets, the latter withdrew to rejoin the fight in the Rue St. Honoré\*.

This defection of the line was immediately made known to Marshal Marmont. The first point to which he directed his attention, was the providing of some other force to block up the important avenue from the Boulevards formed by the Rues de la Paix and Castiglione, which was now left open. For this purpose, to quote the language of the Staff-Officer, "by an inconceivable aberration of mind, instead of bringing up one of the two battalions of guards, which were standing hard by under the Admiralty Office (in the Place Louis XV.) doing nothing, he sent all the way to the Louvre for one of the battalions of Swiss stationed there." But the order was rendered still more unfortunate by the manner in which it was executed. The Swiss at the Louvre "happened," continues our author, "to be under the orders of the *same officer* who had so *strangely lost his way* in proceeding to the Marché des Innocens the day before. This officer, on this requisition, determined to send to the Marshal precisely **THAT ONE** of his two battalions which defended the whole position, namely that which occupied the colonnade and galleries of the Louvre, all the interior communications of which had been opened for that purpose. *With the other battalion he remained quietly in the interior court below †.*"

But the Marshal seems from this moment, in fact, to have lost all confidence in his means of longer maintaining the struggle. He therefore proposed a suspension of arms. Upon this point, however, there is much confusion of statement in the different

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 294.

† Military Events, p. 60.



narratives. It appears that in the course of Wednesday afternoon, the Count de Ranville and some of his colleagues, while assembled at the Tuileries, had come to the determination of summoning the mayors of the several arrondissements to the palace, in order to try what could be effected by their means for the suppression of the insurrection. M. de Ranville, having accordingly prepared the necessary letters of convocation, gave them to M. de Glandevès, who engaged to see them despatched\*. It was this morning, however, before they were actually delivered. M. Petit, the mayor of the second arrondissement, who received his about nine o'clock, seems to have understood it to have come from the Marshal; whose signature it probably bore. He accordingly repaired to the palace, where he was afterwards joined by three of his colleagues, their letters of summons, he says, never having reached the others. After waiting for some time they saw the Marshal, whom they asked to inform them what he wished them to do. "He desired us," says M. Petit, "to repair to the out-posts, telling us that he had ordered the firing to cease, and beseeching us to use our endeavours to make the people also desist from hostilities, until he should have received an answer to an application he had sent to St. Cloud. We asked him if we might announce to the people the re-establishment of the National Guard. He replied that he could not authorize us to do that, but that he had asked the revocation of the ordinances—that he hoped his request would be granted—and that we might permit the people also to indulge that expectation." M. Petit goes on to relate that he and his colleagues then proceeded to the Place Vendôme, where on waving their handkerchiefs they were listened to by the people; and an arrangement was

\* Deposition of the Count Guernon de Ranville, Procès, i, 196.

concluded to the effect that the firing should in the mean time cease, both parties retaining their positions. On their way back to the palace, however, they found the people still fighting in the Rue St. Nicaise. They sent to the Marshal to inquire if he had ordered the soldiers to cease firing at that point; when he stated that he had, but that the people had on their part refused to suspend hostilities\*.

While M. Petit and his friends were engaged on this mission they saw several soldiers of the Guard distributing among the people copies of a proclamation signed by the Marshal, and of the following tenor; "Parisians, the events of yesterday have caused many tears to be shed, and too much blood to flow. Moved by humanity, I consent to suspend hostilities in the hope that good citizens will retire to their homes, and return to their ordinary occupations; I conjure them to do so most earnestly." Besides this, we read of another proclamation which was drawn up by M. de Ranville in the afternoon of yesterday, and given by the Marshal in the course of that evening to M. Mazug, Commissary of Police, to get printed. This person tells us that he attempted in vain to execute this commission; but that he believes the paper was printed in the course of the night at Sèvres. This day, he adds, they gave copies of it to several prisoners who had been arrested the preceding evening, and who were now set at liberty, that by their means it might be spread through the town †. M. Troissard on going out this forenoon saw a number of persons with proclamations from the Marshal referring to a cessation of hostilities, on which he procured some copies himself with the intention of distributing them; but as he was taking one of them to give to some soldiers who occupied the Café de la Regence, in the

\* Evidence of M. Petit, Procès, i. 244, and ii. 150.

† Procès, i. 195, and ii. 222.

Place du Palais Royal, he had a narrow escape from being killed, the officer in command, he says, refusing to recognise him\*. On the other hand it appears, that in the Rue de la Paix, a person who had been sent to announce the truce was put to death by the people, who were ignorant of the authority with which he was invested, and probably believed he came only on an errand of treachery†.

From the manner, indeed, in which this proposition for the cessation of hostilities seems to have been communicated to both the soldiers and the people, it is no wonder that it should have given rise to considerable misunderstanding. Although it was announced, according to the Staff-Officer, from all points where the military were, by officers of the staff, and by commissioners of police, wearing their official scarfs, yet nothing of it was mentioned to the troops themselves,—not even to the generals or commanding officers of corps ‡. It is probably, therefore, with perfect justice that the popular historians complain, as they do, of the fire having been continued or renewed at certain points after the pacification was understood to have been established. At the Palais Royal, for example, it is affirmed that while the fight was going on, a soldier arrived from the Champs Elysées, and announced that a suspension of arms was agreed upon; immediately after which one of the gendarmes came out of the guard-house, waving a white handkerchief, and exclaiming “Cease firing, cease firing!” The soldiers, however, paid no attention to this command; and even when a group of citizens shortly after made their appearance, repeating the intelligence of the truce, their prayers were as little heeded. The heroism of a young man, however, who throwing away his gun fell down upon his

\* Procès, ii. 94.

† Id. i. 295; Evidence of M. Bayeux.

‡ Military Events, p. 55.

knees, and offered himself to their fire, if they were determined to have more victims, together with the persevering representations and entreaties of the people, at last produced the desired effect. The soldiers laid down their arms; and even, it is said, opening the iron gates and uniting with the people, went along with them to the guard-house of the gendarmes, who without hesitation delivered up their arms and ammunition to the confederated bands. But immediately after this, as the people, in the belief that all hostilities had ceased, were taking their way along the Rue de Chartres, they suddenly saw a man running towards them in breathless haste, and crying out "Do not abandon your arms, we are betrayed!" while at the same moment a volley was fired into the street. This led to a general renewal of the combat with almost greater fury than ever\*.

\* Laumier, pp. 81—84; and Sadler, pp. 203—205.



## CHAPTER XIII.

THE particulars in the last Chapter sufficiently explain how it happened, as is allowed on both sides, that the truce was no sooner apparently established than it was broken. Each party, as might be expected, imputes its violation to the other; but in truth nothing like the perfidious breach of an understood agreement seems to be chargeable upon either. It was in the disbelief that any truce existed—a disbelief naturally occasioned by the unsatisfactory shape in which the announcement had reached them, that at some points the soldiers and at others the popular forces, persisted in continuing their fire, or even renewed it after it may have been for a short time suspended. The confusion thus created, however, was productive, as we have intimated, of the most momentous results. The clearest manner in which we can lay before the reader the important events which followed, will be to begin by transcribing the succinct narrative of the Staff-Officer. Having stated the removal of the battalion from the galleries of the Louvre, in order, as already mentioned, that it might supply the place of the regiments of the line which had thrown down their arms in the Rue Castiglione, he proceeds; “When the Parisians observed that the firing from the colonnade and windows of the Louvre had ceased—whether it was, that the proposition for the suspension of arms had not reached them (which I believe, though I cannot assert it), or whether they thought the opportunity of breaking the

truce too advantageous to be lost—they approached the edifice; and, finding no opposition, got into the garden called de l'Infante, which is in front of the Louvre; finding still no opposition, they got in at the lower windows and glass doors, and took possession of the whole interior of the edifice. They first occupied the windows which looked into the inner court, and fired on the battalion below. Others ran along the great picture gallery, filling every window, and firing on the troops in the Place du Carrousel. The recent news of the desertion of the line, and this sudden appearance of the insurgents over their heads along the whole of that vast line, and, perhaps, also, some recollections of the *10th August*, disordered the imaginations of the Swiss. Having attempted in vain to recal the Parisians to the armistice, they left the Louvre, and left it with precipitation and in disorder. When they arrived at the Carrousel, they found there their third battalion, in presence of the Parisians, who were posted all around, but observing, on both sides, the suspension of arms. The retreating battalion was hotly pursued by the fire of the Parisians; and, at this moment, those who occupied the windows of the picture gallery, opened their fire on the Swiss; and, above all, on the two squadrons of lancers, which were, as I have before described, cooped up in the railed inclosure of the Tuileries. This example instigated the Parisians, on the other side, to break the armistice; and they also recommenced firing on the whole body of troops in the Carrousel. There are often in war moments like this, in which a danger, comparatively small, may produce the total rout of an army; an able or determined man, on such occasions, stops the disorder by a seasonable command, or remedies it by a sudden manœuvre. We had no such man at that moment: the Swiss rushed



at the Triumphal Arch—they squeezed through irregularly, and precipitated themselves on the lancers, who were drawn up in front of the only issue from this railed space, namely, the entrance-vestibule between the *court* and the *garden* of the Tuileries. The lancers blocking up this passage, the Swiss were of necessity obliged to rally a little; but at last they got through both these defiles (the arch and the vestibule), but in the greatest disorder. A couple of platoons, properly commanded, would have sufficed to stop this singular movement, and would also have checked the Parisians, who were, on this point, neither in force nor order. The loss of the Swiss in this *row* (I know not how better to denominate such a scene) was only three or four killed and wounded. The reader will recollect that the headquarters were at this triumphal arch; and, of course, the Marshal, who really could not have expected any such event, was surprised and obliged to retire precipitately; leaving, it is said, 120,000 francs (about 5000*l.*) in bags behind him. He retreated by the Rue de Rivoli, and made his way round into the garden of the Tuileries. Two cannon-shot, fired from the terrace of the water-side, checked the Parisians who had followed the Swiss; and these battalions formed again in the garden; which, however, the Marshal now ordered all the troops to evacuate, and to retire upon St. Cloud\*.”

There can be no doubt of the substantial correctness of this account, as comprising the general outline of the movements which terminated in the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries; but the other authorities supply us with many additional details, some of which we will now proceed to notice.

It appears that from an early hour in the morning, the armed citizens and the National Guards had

\* Military Events, p. 63.



collected in great force in the vicinity of the Louvre, which they attacked simultaneously from various points. One division of the assailants advanced against the north side of the palace by the Rue du Coq. Another large multitude bore down upon its eastern façade, or directed their fire against it from the towers and galleries of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and from the windows of the houses in the *Place* of the same name. But the most numerous body was that which, after having kept up a fire for a considerable time against its southern front and the adjoining gallery from the quays on the opposite side of the river, seems at last to have collected its strength, and passed over by the Pont des Arts. This column is stated to have been under the command of General Gerard; while the pupils of the Polytechnic School rendered their valuable services in the capacity of subordinate officers throughout all the different bands\*.

Nothing can be more confused and contradictory than the explanations given by the several popular histories of the manner in which the assailants eventually succeeded in forcing their way into the Louvre. The fire of the Swiss from the windows, it is acknowledged, continued for some hours to do great execution; and there can be no doubt, indeed, that it was immensely more destructive than that of the citizens by which it was opposed. One account which the Baron de Lamothe Langon gives us of the irruption into the building, is that he saw a gentleman, wearing a decoration, but unarmed, whom he

\* Lamothe Langon, pp. 296, 297; Sadler, p. 187; Narrative (Galignani), p. 43. According to the last authority it was the attack from the Place of St. Germain l'Auxerrois which was directed by General Gerard. The Baron de Lamothe Langon again places one of the three assailing columns on the Quai de l'École instead of in the Rue du Coq.

afterwards learned to be a M. Dumont, formerly an officer in the imperial army, suggesting to the assailants to ascend a mound of gravel in the garden de l'Infante—and that this counsel, being boldly followed, produced the expected effect, for the colonnade was immediately evacuated\*. This, it will be perceived, is consistent enough with what the Staff Officer relates. But the Baron supplies us also with a variety of other accounts of the same event. Thus, he tells us that a band of citizens headed by a pupil of the Polytechnic School, having advanced to one of the gates, drove it in, and then rushed forward in the face of the enemy's fire†. There must be some truth in the story of the exploit of this gallant Polytechnic scholar; for it is related, although with the usual variations, in almost all the histories. The Baron says that he was sixteen years of age, and was armed with a double-barrelled gun and two pistols; and adds, that having been wounded in a dozen or fifteen places, he was carried into the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, then transformed into an *ambulance*, or temporary hospital‡. Various other claimants to the honour of first entering the Louvre are named; but it is unnecessary for us to enter into a discussion of their several pretensions.

Many individuals distinguished themselves in various ways in the course of the attack. A captain Lancon, an old military man, is stated to have made his appearance about noon at the head of a small force of fifty men, whose shot told with great effect among the Swiss. He took his station with the band of assailants who came from the south side of the river§. It was on the suggestion of a citizen named Rouvat that the towers and galleries of the

\* Lamothe Langon, p. 301.

† Id. p. 300.

‡ Id. p. 302.

§ Id. p. 297; and Imbert, p. 132.

church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois were occupied by a number of the popular sharp-shooters, who were enabled from thence to harass their opponents with superior success.\* While the fighting went on, balls were cast for the use of the assailants at the house of a M. Duvaud Brayer †. Several foreigners are honourably commemorated as having mingled their exertions and in some cases their blood in this fight with those of native Frenchmen. Among these is a Mr. Goldsmith, dentist, an Englishman, who, resisting the entreaties of his wife and five children, joined the attack, and after having been wounded, was one of the first to penetrate into the palace ‡. A Veronese of the name of Faïloni conceived himself precluded from actually taking arms in a contest which did not concern his own country; but exposed himself to nearly as much danger as if he had engaged in the fight by the alacrity and fearlessness with which he hurried about from place to place rendering succour to the wounded and all who needed his services §. An old man from Lyons, named Roza or Rozet, mixed in the thickest of the combat, helped to load the muskets of his more vigorous but not more zealous juniors, and inflamed their courage by reminding them of the ancient warlike renown of their country ||. Levy Abraham, a Jew, residing in the Rue des Vieilles Audriettes Saint Martin, had, on the first sound of the artillery, rushed to the scene of action, although unprovided with arms; but he was not long in possessing himself of those of one of the lancers, which he employed so successfully that he had the honour to be one of the first who entered the Louvre. On the termination of the affair he went to the Mairie of the seventh arrondissement, and there delivered up the lance with which he had done such good service. On some money being

\* Narrative (Galignani), p. 43. † Janofhe Langon, p. 298.

‡ Ambs, p. 132.

§ Ambs, p. 201.

|| Id. p. 175.

offered to him, he said that it was not for that he had fought; and he could only be prevailed upon at last to accept of ten francs to meet his immediate necessities, on condition that he should, the moment he was able, repay it, to be employed for the relief of those whom the liberation of their country had left widows and orphans\*.

When the people entered the Louvre, a portion of them, as has been stated, immediately made a rush into the great picture-gallery. An armed and tumultuous multitude, heated by protracted conflict and exalted by the intoxication of sudden victory, thus let loose amid so rich a store of the most precious and most fragile creations of art, might well strike a thrill of apprehension to the stoutest heart. But, to the eternal honour of these brave men, most of them belonging to the very humblest class of the population—they felt more nobly than to stain their triumph over despotism by so terrible an outrage as they now had it in their power to perpetrate on the glories of civilization. One or two pictures only, which they would have been more, or less, than men if they could have looked upon at that moment without irrepressible exasperation, they destroyed with the same weapons and the same energy with which they had wreaked their vengeance on their living enemies. A splendid representation of the Coronation of Charles X., by Gerard, and also a full-length portrait of his Majesty, another masterpiece of the same artist, were in a few minutes reduced to tatters, pierced by countless bullets †. Let these unfortunate productions perish unregretted, in our respect for the sentiment, however wildly

\* *Evènements de Paris*, p. 79.

† *Lamothe Langon*, p. 304; *Sadler*, pp. 200, 201. In the *English Narrative of the Revolution*, published by Galignani, the Portrait of Charles is said to have been by Sir Thomas Lawrence. See p. 45. A picture by Robert Lefebvre was also destroyed?





T. Higham

Engraved by

TUILERIES, - GARDEN FRONT.

27<sup>th</sup> JULY 1830

manifested on a wild occasion, which prompted their destruction, and in our gratitude that, of so many works of genius exposed to the same peril, these alone were injured. For the happy preservation of the treasures of this museum, France and the world are especially indebted to the exertions of a young artist, M. Prosper Lafaist; who, after having assisted in achieving the victory, employed himself, with the aid of a few trusty friends, in tranquillizing the first excitement of the people when they found themselves masters of the building, and checking any tendency to disorder which might have been manifested by individuals\*. But the great mass of the crowd must have been animated by feelings similar to those of M. Lafaist himself, or his interference would have been of little avail. We saw on the walls of the Louvre and the houses of the neighbouring streets, this short admonition to the people, written with charcoal, "Respectez aux chefs et aux monumens †."

The troops which garrisoned the Tuileries were a battalion of Swiss in the Carrousel, two squadrons of lancers within the iron railings of the court immediately adjoining the palace, and three battalions of guards lining the Terrace des Feuillants, on the north side of the garden ‡. The gallery of the Louvre opens into the wing of the Tuileries called the Pavilion of Flora—and by this entrance one large torrent of the popular forces poured into the royal residence, while the immense multitude below, having driven the military before them through the central arch leading to the garden, in the manner the Staff-Officer describes, rushed up by the grand staircase and the other portals in dense and unresisted masses. "On taking possession of the chateau," says one of the works before us, "some excesses

\* Lamoignon Langon, p. 304; and Sadler, p. 200.

† S. T. † Military Events, pp. 54, 55.



were committed by the populace, who were irritated by the discovery of proclamations of the government to the troops, stimulating them against the citizens, dated the preceding day. These were found in the pavilion of Flora, in which nearly every article of furniture was destroyed, and thrown, with various precious effects, from the windows, as were some thousands of papers, pamphlets, and even books. It is remarkable that in the library of the Duchess of Angoulême alone were found any pamphlets, or other works, calculated to give information upon the state of popular feeling, or the events passing without the walls of the royal residence. The literary treasures found in the apartments of the Dauphin were limited to a complete set of *Almanacs!* from the sixteenth century. It must not be supposed, however, that the royal library was deficient in valuable works; on the contrary, it contained a truly noble collection. The devastations of the populace were not, however, confined to the Pavilion of Flora. All the royal apartments suffered considerably. Splendid specimens of porcelain, ornaments of the most costly description, and magnificent mirrors, were broken without mercy. A portrait of the Duke of Ragusa in the Salle des Maréchaux, was torn into a thousand pieces; and every bust or portrait of the royal family was instantly mutilated or destroyed. An exception indeed was made. One of the victors had raised the butt-end of his musket to demolish the bust of Louis XVIII., when he was reminded that to this monarch France was indebted for the Charter. This was sufficient to ensure its preservation; the bust was, however, covered with a black veil, to mark the feeling entertained of the calamities the fated sway of the Bourbons had brought upon their country\*.”

Although some excesses, however, were committed

by the people on their first irruption into the building, their conduct upon the whole was characterised by a degree of moderation and forbearance, which in such extraordinary circumstances we doubt much if the labouring classes of any other country would have exhibited. Another of the historians of these events probably describes their temper correctly when he says, "Some few were disposed to destroy every thing; some, but still fewer, were inclined to profit by the right of conquest to enrich themselves; but an immense majority opposed, by all moral and physical means in their power, every species of violence\*." The better to repress the attempts of those who were inclined to be disorderly, it was determined to send to the Hôtel de Ville for some men to act as a regular guard. A considerable force was immediately obtained, of whose successful exertions M. Maes, who headed it, gives the following account: "I arrived at the Tuileries with 200 men under my command, and, assisted by M. Brogniat of the Polytechnic School, soon put a stop to the pillage. We then caused every body, as they quitted the palace, to be searched, and the objects found upon them were deposited in the sentry-boxes at the entrance of the gardens, under the protection of eight of the National Guard. I twice cleared the *Salle des Maréchaux* (Marshals' Hall) of people, and at last succeeded in restoring order †."

As soon as those who filled the picture-gallery had forced the door communicating with the Tuileries, two young men, the one named Louis-François Collin from Lyons, and the other a Parisian named Antony Gallot, called to the people without, from the window of the King's chamber, *Vive la Charte!* It was then known that the pa-

\* Sadler, p. 197.

† Sadler, p. 198.

lace was no longer in possession of the military ; and the different doors were immediately forced by the people \*. An anecdote which is told of one of the Polytechnic scholars, affords a noble example of the generosity which ever accompanies true courage, and forms its brightest ornament. He had advanced at the head of his company to one of the iron gates of the court ; when, having asked to see the commander of the guard, a superior officer presented himself. Open your gates, Sir, said the young man, if you do not wish to be, every one of you, exterminated ; might as well as right is with the people. To this demand the officer replied by retiring a step or two, and snapping a pistol at the young man. Fortunately it missed fire. But the act roused the people to irresistible fury ; throwing themselves *en masse* upon the gate, they burst it open ; when the officer immediately found himself held by the grasp and entirely in the power of his intended victim. Your life is in my hands, exclaimed the youth, but I will not shed your blood. Overcome by this magnanimity, the officer tore from his breast an order which he carried, and offered it to his gallant antagonist. Take it, he said ; none can be more worthy to wear it. He besought him at the same time to let him know his name ; but the youth merely replied that he was a pupil of the Polytechnic School, and retired among the crowd †.

According to one statement, it was the arrival of a detachment of about fifty men from the Faubourg St. Germain, by which the capture of the Tuileries was finally accomplished. "This small detachment," says the story, "heroically traversed the Pont Royal under a continual fire of musketry from the first floor of the palace ; and by an unheard-of prodigy it had only two men killed in a passage more glo-

\* Ambs, p. 224.

† Lamothe Langon, p. 331 ; Sadler, p. 191.





TUILERIES.

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rious than that of the Bridge of Arcola." M. G. Faray, one of the editors of the *Globe*, fell in the course of the assault on the Tuileries\*. To his name may be added those of M. Ader, editor of the *Mirror*, and of M. Weimer, a pupil of the Polytechnic School. This young man was killed in front of the Louvre †.

The people, when they found themselves at last within the palace, ran over every part of it without restraint. The toils of the day demanding refreshment, "the stores of the larder and the wine-cellars," we are told, "suffered in consequence considerably; the most delicious viands, and the choicest wines and liqueurs of every description, were partaken of by the visitors, and by crowds who had followed them into the palace, but who had had no share in the dangers of its capture. The scene in the magnificent saloons on this occasion was curious and grotesque beyond description; hundreds of half-armed men, in tattered garments, covered with blood and dust, seated on the richly embroidered chairs of royalty and state, relating to each other the heroic feats they had witnessed, or the dangers they had escaped, formed a picture to which no pencil could render justice. We should state that whatever arms were found were eagerly seized: one trophy carried off by the visitors was a very richly ornamented sword of state belonging to the Dauphin—which has, however, been since restored ‡." Arms indeed formed the chief object of their search; but, if we may believe one anecdote which has been published, even these were not indiscriminately appropriated. A band of the people, it is said, in ranging among the rooms, found a sword which had belonged to Henry IV. Few of them had

\* *Ambs*, p. 120.† *Lamothe Langon*, p. 334.‡ Narrative published by *Galignani*, p. 50.

any other weapons except pikes or muskets of the most wretched description; and one man eagerly caught hold of the venerable relic to carry it away. The rest, however, interfered, and insisted that it should be sent off to the Hôtel de Ville\*. Another version of the story makes this to have been the sword, not of Henry IV. but of Charlemagne†. But according to a third authority, Charlemagne's sword was this day actually employed in the fight, having been delivered for that purpose from the Museum of Artillery. A man had applied at this depository for a musket. "All our arms have been distributed," replied those who had charge of the place, "even those of Joan of Arc; not a weapon remains except the sword of Charlemagne." "Let me have it," cried the applicant, "and take my receipt for it." It was accordingly given to him, on which he hurried away with it to join the attack on the Louvre. After the victory he returned according to his engagement; and restored the ancient weapon of war to its former resting-place‡.

At one time, according to Mr. Sadler, it was apprehended that the Triumphal Arch in front of the palace would have fallen a sacrifice to the rage of the people; but it was saved through the interposition of a gentleman named Pillot, who reminded those who were about to destroy it, that, although despoiled of its original decorations, it had been erected not by the Bourbons but by Napoleon, and had been originally intended to commemorate the victories which they themselves had gained under the imperial standard§. The monuments in the garden also were in some danger—and were greatly indebted for their preservation to the activity of a Monsieur B. formerly a colonel of hussars, who had

\* Laumier, p. 171.

† Evènements de Paris, p. 93.

‡ Imbert, p. 170.

§ Sadler, p. 201.



also contributed his zealous aid in the protection of the picture-gallery\*.

One great object of attraction to the multitude was the royal bed. Groups threw themselves upon it in succession—those who had not enjoyed that gratification, ever and anon calling out to their predecessors to come off and allow them to have their turn now†. Many humorous and some wise reflections fell from the lips of the actors in this sport. My friends, said one, the mischief he was plotting against us must have deprived him in past times of many an hour of sleep;—he will be kept awake this night by what we in our turn have accomplished against him‡. Others seated themselves on the throne. Mr. Sadler mentions a droll fellow who was seen on the royal seat, holding a bottle of champagne in one hand and a glass in the other. He declared that champagne was not better on the throne than any where else§. A working-mason, having placed himself for a short time in the chair, exclaimed to those around him, on rising, Gentlemen, here am I who for five minutes have occupied the throne of France; it is a very easy seat; why the devil cannot a man keep himself on ||? The throne, however, was at last occupied by the dead body of a pupil of the Polytechnic School, said to have been killed in one of the apartments of the palace. The corpse, thus exposed, as it were, in state, was covered with pieces of crape; and remained where it was laid until the brother and some other relations of the gallant youth came to claim it¶.

Although some disposition was manifested at first by a part of the crowd to destroy wildly and indiscriminately the various splendid and valuable articles

\* Ambs, p. 205.

† Sadler, p. 199.

‡ Lamothe Langon, p. 335.

§ Sadler, p. 199.

|| Imbert, p. 214.

¶ Eyènemens de Paris, p. 107.

of which they had made themselves masters, instances of individual rapacity, or actual plunder, appear, from all the evidence we have, to have been exceedingly rare. Even of those, who in the blind rage of the moment would have eagerly reduced the whole pile to ruins, there were few that would not have scorned to stain the glory of their victory by any act of appropriation, or, as it would have been deemed, of theft. Some extraordinary facts are mentioned in illustration of the noble disinterestedness which the very poorest among the multitude exhibited. Some labourers, Mr. Sadler assures us, found a portfolio filled with bank-notes to the amount of 400,000 francs, and immediately carried it to the Hôtel de Ville\*. The weight of the different articles in gold and silver gilt, which were deposited here and at the Exchange, amounted, according to the same authority, to about twelve hundred pounds†. Among these were all the vessels of gold belonging to the royal chapel‡. A working-man named Charles Gauthier, having been one of the first that entered the palace, found a large quantity of jewels under the cushions of some chairs, and immediately hastened with them to the Hôtel de Ville§. A magnificent robe was brought by a woman of the same class named Stephanie Pillaud||. A beautiful casket of steel inlaid with gold was found by two labourers in the apartments of the Duchess of Berry in the Pavillon Marsan. It was very heavy, and proved to be full of gold; but it was carried by the discoverers to the common depository without a coin being abstracted¶. Another casket of great value was found in the King's apartments by a clerk named

\* Sadler, p. 202.

† Sadler, p. 198. ‡ Evénemens de Paris, p. 92.

§ Courrier Français, quoted id. p. 79.

|| Lamothe Langon, p. 337: ¶ Sadler, p. 199.

Bourgeois, and delivered up in the same manner\*. Not even the guards that were appointed to prevent pillage were so vigilant and zealous in the performance of that duty as the great body of the people themselves. To an officer of the National Guards, who recommended a working-man to lend his aid in seeing that nothing was stolen, the latter replied, "Keep yourself at ease upon that score, Captain; we have changed our government, but not our consciences†." Another labourer had decorated himself with a general's hat, and taken his station at one of the iron gates of the court, where, in right of this badge of dignity and authority, he insisted upon searching all who passed. Having found a china cup in the possession of one individual, he inflicted a severe chastisement on him for the theft‡. The Guards themselves on being relieved, insisted, somewhat to the surprise of the officer, on being searched. They had supposed that they had observed one of their comrades snatch up something and put it in his pocket. The officer, however, refused to comply with their demand—when the culprit himself, struck with compunction at the sight of the distress of his associates, came forward; and confessing his guilt, delivered up the article—a small jewel-case—which he had appropriated. The others, however, notwithstanding his contrition, still insisted upon conducting him to the Prefecture of Police. "And the greater part of these men," concludes the narrator of the incident, "wore shirts torn to rags§."

It is curious to what an extent opposite feelings and opinions will colour even material scenes and objects to the eyes of different observers. Count Tasistro was also present at the capture of the Tuileries; and gives us in his narrative a description of

\* *Evènements de Paris*, p. 127.

† *Lamothe Langon*, p. 336.

‡ *Id.*, p. 338. § *Evènements de Paris*, p. 93.

what he witnessed of the conduct of the people after they had established themselves within the palace. Before presenting the reader, however, with what he says upon this subject, we will transcribe part of his account of his adventures in the earlier part of this day. "The morning of the 29th," he says, "was ushered in by the dismal ringing of bells, the groans of distant guns, and the savage shouts of the populace; and I arose from a long train of dreams, which defied recollection as well as interpretation. The rabble, headed by a few beardless boys just let loose from the Polytechnic School and other seminaries, had been pleased to fix their head-quarters in our street. About half-past eleven, however, those of them who were collected here having heard that the popular forces who were fighting before the Louvre were nearly disabled by the cannon of the troops occupying that palace, their Polytechnic chief called upon them to follow him to the assistance of their brethren. Having entreated them to refrain from extravagant excesses, he rushed forward, and soon arrived at the scene of action. Here I saw him turn round and address his followers thus, "*Le canon a déjà exterminé plusieurs de vos camarades; dans un instant il est à vous; suivez moi, et apprenez comme il faut mourir;*" (*the cannon has already destroyed numbers of your brethren; the next instant it will be directed against you; follow me, and learn how to die*). Having uttered these words, he darted forward, just as the gun which was pointed at him was discharged, and was blown into atoms. The people, however, following where he had led, in the enthusiasm of the moment seized the gun, and turned it immediately against the Swiss and the Guards that were stationed at the balconies of the Louvre. Other guns were afterwards taken—and the consequence was that the

soldiers at last retreated with great precipitation, and concentrated their strength on the Place du Carrousel. The tricolour was already waving over the Louvre. I observed a little insignificant urchin climb up the walls, and plant it during the contest.

“The last struggle made by the Guards for their royal master was to save the proud palace of his ancestors; but, alas, the attempt was vain. A storm of balls was poured in upon them from so many sides, that the little presence of mind they had preserved until now, deserted them at this trying moment; and after a few ineffectual discharges, they retreated toward the Champs Elysées; and the populace, unchecked by any power but their own will, rushed *en masse* into the regal mansion.

“During this attack, short as it was, I happened to be in a situation far more critical than that of the generality of the combatants on either side. On entering the Place du Carrousel by the archway leading from the Quays, we found the confusion extreme—and, as the fire besides grew every moment hotter and hotter, I felt the necessity of taking refuge somewhere, and in my agitation ran forward and sheltered myself under the Triumphal Arch. Here I passed the short interval during which the combat lasted in a confusion of all the senses, which extended minutes to months, and gave to something less than half a quarter of an hour the importance of a century; for I was all the time between the two fires. Fortunately, as I have said, the affair did not last very long; and when the victorious rabble at last rushed into the Tuileries, I followed the general movement, and soon after found myself in the throne hall, where I was joined by my two missing friends.”

The Count now proceeds to inveigh in general terms against what he describes as the atrocious

conduct of the unruly rabble—the devastation, pillage, and other enormities of which they were guilty. Having concluded this diatribe, he goes on with his narrative as follows: “Indeed the passion of mischief had taken such strong possession of the minds of all—the temptation was so widely thrown open wherever one went—that even I felt a touch of the desire; and, as I passed along the library hall, where a most splendid stock of books had been thrown on the floor, spying among many precious treasures a beautifully ornamented little volume, which, to say nothing of its gay appearance, promised to occupy no great room in the pocket, with the conviction that I was doing a good action, I picked it up. On opening it I found that it was neither a bible, nor a poem, nor a *conjurare* (?), as I had anticipated, but simply a pocket memorandum-book in which his Majesty had been accustomed to note his *parties de chasse*, and the numbers of game he killed. I immediately thrust it into my pocket, and have since preserved it as a keepsake—but shall be most happy to restore it to the owner, should that august personage at any time feel disposed to claim it. Would that all the rest of the many articles that were this day pilfered were held as sacred, and ready to be as punctually surrendered!

“Tolerably tired at last of looking on the grim faces that surrounded us, we agreed to make our retreat; and descended into the garden, intending to pass out by the gate leading to the Quays. Here, however, we were met by a figure, at the sight of which we found it almost impossible to restrain our risibility. It was a man keeping watch at the gate as a sentinel, dressed for the most part as we commonly see the masters of chimney-sweeps, without a vestige of either shoes or shirt, and what were intended for coat and trousers, having very doubtful

pretensions to those designations—but, to make amends for this condition of his general habiliments, having a highly polished musket in his hand, a most splendid sword dangling by his side, and on his head a superb Marshal's hat! 'Où allez vous?' was the imperious demand of this extraordinary looking personage. 'Où nous voulons' was the instant and haughty reply of my friend M. The fellow, not being accustomed to such insubordination, ordered us to take off our hats to show whether we carried anything away with us. M. at this would have struck him down but for the sudden appearance of six men, whose looks and dress were not much better than those of the sentinel. These men, on being informed of our *hauteur* (as it was termed), insisted on our helping them, by way of penalty for our offence, to carry off the dead. This was more than I, with all my disposition to forbearance, could submit to; so, addressing myself to the ugliest of them, who seemed to be the commanding officer of the party, I told him scornfully and in good French, that we were foreign gentlemen, who had nothing to do either with the dead or the living of their country—and that it was a very *despotic* act to stop peaceable passengers in that manner. But this expostulation served only to irritate the raggamuffins; and one of them taking hold of my arm tried to force me into compliance with his orders. This was our trying moment; we all three made one desperate effort 'for liberty;' and, each of us having dealt his opponent a severe blow on the cheek, we broke from them, and ran off at our best speed. Three shots were immediately fired, and still we galloped on unhurt;—another went off, and I felt it—not that I was mortally wounded; it was only a spent ball that lodged itself in the flesh of my leg. The accident lamed me, however, for the time, and con-



sequently put an end to my adventures. I was carried to my hotel, and the ball was extracted; but still the wound confined me to my room for two months."





## CHAPTER XIV.

THE capture of the Tuileries seems to have been effected about one o'clock; but before this hour various exploits in other parts of Paris had crowned the popular arms with the same success as they had here achieved. Of these the most important was the attack which was directed against the Swiss Barracks in the Rue de Babylone, Faubourg St. Germain. In many of the histories of the Revolution this affair is described as having taken place on the 28th. Such, it would appear, was the confusion of mind produced in many by the tumult of events in which they mingled during this busy and tempestuous crisis. It is not so easy, however, to account for the course pursued by some others of these historians, who, as if upon some strange principle of impartiality, actually give us the affair among the incidents of both days.

Two narratives of this attack have been published, the accuracy of which may be depended upon—one by M. Jules Caron, who headed a division of the assailants, the other by Captain Elisse Coutau, one of the officers in command of the troops within the barracks. These accounts, comprising the testimony of parties on both sides of the question, agree substantially—and we shall therefore follow them in our sketch of the affair.

Captain Coutau did not belong to the Swiss regiment (the 7th) which was at this time quartered in Paris; but, along with Lieutenant Haller, a brother officer of his own regiment (the 2d), he deemed it his duty to offer his services at the barracks. Major Dufay, who was in command, having formed his garrison of 140 men (comprising forty recruits) into two divisions, placed them under the orders of the two volunteers; Haller being charged with the defence of the part of the barracks overlooking the Rue Plumet, and Coutau with that of the opposite, or northern, extremity of the building, adjacent to the Rue de Babylone. “On the 28th,” says the latter, “nothing occurred; provisions were not sent to us, but we had enough from what was left by the two battalions that had departed in the morning. We heard the roaring of the cannon and the firing of musquetry, and expected every minute to be attacked. Our comrades were fighting, and several wounded soldiers returned to quarters, giving us most alarming news of the fate of the regiment\*.”

On the morning of the 29th several thousands of the citizens, M. Caron tells us, assembled on the Place de l'Odéon, whither he also betook himself. Their first exploits were to attack the guard of veterans at the Luxembourg, and that of the gendarmes in the neighbouring Rue de Tournon, both of

\* Coutau, p. 5.

which they easily disarmed. The guns and other weapons obtained at these stations were very serviceable; "but still," continues the writer, "we were destitute of the ammunition necessary for our projected attack on the Barracks of Babylon. The citizens, it is true, residing in the vicinity of our place of rendezvous, had been busy casting several thousands of balls during the night; that was a great deal, but the one thing needful was still wanting. We could not make use of dust for powder, as we had often done of pebbles for bullets." They had remained for some time in a state of suspense and perplexity, when suddenly a cart appeared with a load of gunpowder from the magazine of Deux Moulins, which had been captured the day before. The eagerness of the multitude, who, with their arms in their hands, crowded around the combustible treasure, it was at first feared, would have produced an explosion which would certainly have proved fatal to many of them; but the leaders at last succeeded in restoring order—and by Caron's command, one of the barrels was conveyed to the hotel Corneille, where the manufacture of bullets had been carried on during the night—and where all the inmates were now set actively to work to pack up the powder in cartridges. While this operation was proceeding, a guard was placed to keep off the people. In the mean time two cannons successively made their appearance; and, as soon as possible, the distribution of the ammunition was commenced. The universal zeal enabled this part of the business especially to be accomplished with astonishing rapidity.

The civil army, which was now to be led forward to action, consisted, according to M. Caron, of many well-dressed individuals, many working-men with scarcely clothes to cover them, some soldiers from the regiments which had surrendered or of

their own accord abandoned the Government, and several persons, it may be, who were actually in rags. All, however, various as were their classes and stations, were full of the same enthusiasm. Having formed themselves into companies, they unanimously elected a former pupil of the Polytechnic school as their general in chief—the command of the several subordinate divisions being entrusted partly to actual pupils of the same distinguished seminary, and partly to simple citizens. Of these last M. Caron was one; the second company was placed under his orders. These arrangements being made, and chiefs and followers having mutually sworn fidelity to the death, the numerous array commenced its march, with drums beating, and the tricolour waving overhead, a body of those active and courageous public servants, the *pompiers*, or firemen, who in France are a military force, and most of whom had early joined the popular cause, forming the van.

“The people,” continues M. Caron, “as we passed along, received us with acclamations of joy, mixed in our ranks, and lent us their aid in overcoming the impediments which were opposed by the barricades to the progress of the artillery, without throwing down anything which might have been useful in protecting our retreat, in case we should be compelled to withdraw. Already too they brought us rags and lint for those who might chance to be wounded.” They halted in the Rue de Sévres—and thence despatched some of their number to treat with the commanding officer in the barracks\*.

At seven o'clock, according to M. Coutau, several of the neighbouring inhabitants came to the barracks to implore them to lay down their arms—telling them that the popular forces had just forced the

\* *Evénemens de Paris*, p. 111.

dépôt of the 3d regiment of French Guards, and were now within a few steps of them. After a short time the same individuals returned, accompanied by a great number of armed workmen; and part of the body having stationed themselves at the corners of the Rues Rousselet and Traverse, the rest came up to the gate of the barracks, and called upon them to surrender. The gate was barricaded; and the demand was met by a decided refusal. The people then began to fire upon the troops; but the attack was answered with such effect from the windows, that numbers of the aggressors, it is asserted, were disabled, on which the remainder took to flight\*. The persons here spoken of as having twice approached the barracks with a summons to the soldiers to surrender, were probably the two detachments described by M. Caron as having been successively sent forward to parley with the garrison. They returned together, we are told, and intimated the manner in which their proposals had been received—on which a cry of *Forward!* arose from all parts of the armed multitude. M. Caron does not particularly notice the short combat which took place at this time; but he mentions in a note that the authority of himself and his brother officers could not restrain their followers, during the interval which now elapsed before the general attack, from breaking into a convent of nuns in the neighbourhood, and forcing the inmates to throw from their windows the straw mattresses which were needed for the wounded—a statement which seems to imply that there had already been some fighting. M. Coutau informs us that the litter-bearers were now allowed to approach the barracks to take away those who had been killed or disabled by the fire of the soldiers. A convent of Jesuits, rightly suspected to contain a quantity of

\* Coutau, p. 6.

arms, was also, M. Caron states, forced, during this suspension of hostilities, by the people\*.

The assailants having posted themselves at the corners of the Rues Babylone, des Brodeurs, and others, and taken possession of the houses, commenced the attack in regular form about ten o'clock. Their numbers at this time are estimated by M. Contau at about six thousand; and they had three cannon in the Rue de Babylone, and two in the Rue de Plumet. Notwithstanding the great force of the assailants, it is acknowledged by M. Caron that their fire was not nearly so effective as that of the besieged; who, besides being practised marksmen, had greatly the advantage in point of position, being sheltered at their windows behind mattresses, while their opponents stood for the most part perfectly exposed on the ground or on the roofs of houses. "Our soldiers," says M. Contau, "made continually the most vigorous resistance; every man conducted himself as a hero at the post that had been assigned to him; and our recruits with their round hats and jackets rivalled in dexterity and courage the hardy veterans. \* \* \* The fire was well kept up every where, and each of our balls took effect; the streets of Plumet and Babylone were filled with the dead. In Rue Mademoiselle the National Guards were ambuscaded and protected behind the wooden palisades: they could not imagine our balls could reach them; they not only pierced the wood, however, but killed those who had the imprudence to shelter themselves behind them." Some of the firemen, the writer goes on to state, boldly attempted to enter the building by ladders placed against the walls; but the soldiers pulled in the ladders with iron hooks, taken from the kitchens, which were used to carry meat on. Before the

\* Evénemens de Paris, p. 112.



attack began they had disguised a soldier, named Jaccard, by shaving off his mustachios, and sent him to the Commander-in-chief with a letter from Major Dufay requesting a reinforcement. After the fighting had gone on for some time, Jaccard's voice was heard by his comrades in the midst of the tumult. "Notwithstanding the destructive firing," the narrative continues, "we threw him one of the ladders taken from the enemy. This brave man mounted on it forcibly and without fear; his foot was already on the first step, when a shower of balls whistled around him; but his courage was not at all daunted. We received him, and the ladder was instantly taken in. The answer which the Duke of Ragusa desired him to give us was, that it was impossible to detach a single man, and that we must defend ourselves as well as we were able\*."

Although the fire was kept up on both sides for a considerable time without intermission, it appears that only one of the Swiss was killed. He belonged to the division stationed near the Rue de Babylone. Three or four others were wounded. At last, however, it was proposed to set fire to the building, and the suggestion was no sooner made than it was carried into effect. "The straw," says M. Caron, "intended for the wounded was sprinkled with spirits of turpentine and placed before the gate. The fire was lighted, under a shower of balls, by a young man of eighteen years of age†." The building, M. Coutau remarks, not being flanked, it was impossible for them to defend the gate. "We were desirous," he adds, "to make an honourable capitulation; but our propositions were not listened to. The standard of the enemy was the black flag, given as a sign of a war of extermination, which now convinced us that the only hope before us was

\* Coutau, p. 11.

† Evènements de Paris, p. 113.

death. The flames and smoke now forcing us to quit our rooms, we were under the necessity of making a *sortie*; after having made a report, the major called together the greater part of us in the yard. Several of these brave men, who had not heard this order, remained firing from the windows, and were abandoned to their unhappy fate. After having thrown into the well two large sacks of cartridges which we could not carry away, we opened the door towards the street of Plumet, and effected our retreat towards the military school, passing through a line of flames, and all the musketry directed towards us; but it was not completed without having to regret the loss of several of our brave men on our leaving the quarters, especially the brave Major Dufay. This veteran of rare merit, who, after having with great distinction made every campaign under Napoleon Buonaparte, was employed in the administration of the regiment, and was looked upon as the first accountant in the army. He was standing by my side when struck by two balls, on leaving the barracks, and nearly opposite to the street Rousselet. He instantly fell; and, to increase the horror, he was treated with the utmost indignity at the moment of death, being trampled on and having his clothes torn from him; one of the people came out from the crowd, and with a hatchet laid his head open; others jumped on his body, spit in his face, and mutilated his corpse in every shape; they left it in the street surrounded by a pool of blood\*." M. Caron says the soldiers continued to fire upon their pursuers as they fled—but it was now their turn to fall in the greatest numbers. Had the advice, he remarks, which he gave before the

\* Coutau, p. 12. Not having an opportunity of consulting the original, we are obliged to copy the English translation, which, however, is evidently a very illiterate performance.

commencement of the engagement been followed, to station a number of men at the corner of the boulevard, in order to take the fugitives in flank, not one of them in all probability would have escaped.

We have given the account of this affair at so much length, both because our materials happen to be unusually ample and authentic, and because the attack upon these barracks was really one of the most notable events of the three days. Our notices, however, of the other insulated occurrences of this morning must be much more brief. Of these, one was an attack upon the Royal Stables in the Rue d'Angoulême, "where," says the Staff Officer, "they had, absurdly enough, armed the pages and grooms\*." Mr. Tynte (who introduces the affair, however, under the head of Wednesday) tells us that these stables were garrisoned by twenty-five Swiss, and were "most nobly defended from ten in the morning till five in the evening." "They were attacked," he adds, "by many thousands, and, at length their ammunition being totally expended, and being without provisions, they were compelled to surrender. Their lives were spared, with the exception of their officer, a fine young German, who was literally torn to pieces †." The people also this day made themselves masters of several of the prisons. A column, composed of the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Germain, marched upon the Abbaye, we are told, with their mayor at their head; on whose summons the officer in command immediately agreed to a surrender. This is only a military prison; and all the soldiers found in confinement were now released, on condition of joining their deliverers ‡. That of the Salpêtrière is stated to have been attacked and carried by a party of no more than thirty individuals, commanded by a

\* Military Events, p. 66.

† Sketch of the Revolution, p. 52.

‡ Imbert, p. 21.

member of the National Guard and an invalid of nearly eighty years of age\*. The object here seems to have been to obtain possession of the arms of the guard; the prison is employed only for the reception of prostitutes. The receptacles of debtors and general criminals were not invaded. Even when it was proposed by some persons to liberate the deserters confined in the prison of Montaignu, the suggestion was overruled; and fifty men were appointed to unite with the regular guard in defending the building †. In some of these strongholds the prisoners themselves attempted to take advantage of the general confusion to accomplish their liberation. At St. Pelagie some of those confined seem to have effected their escape. A M. Plée, a botanist, is mentioned as having distinguished himself in suppressing the revolt which took place here ‡. The most formidable insurrection, however, appears to have been that attempted by the criminals detained at La Force. It became at last necessary for the National Guards and the troops of the Line to fire upon the prison; nor was the resistance of the desperate characters who occupied it completely subdued, until the inhabitants of the district assembled in arms, and posted themselves as guards all around, to intercept their flight §.

During the time that the fighting we have described was going on at the Barracks of Babylon and around the Louvre, another portion of the armed multitude was employed in attacking the Archbishop's Palace in the Ile de la Cité. A report, it appears, had been spread that a number of priests who had taken refuge there had fired from the windows upon the people. The Baron de Lamothe Langon expresses his disbelief that anything of the kind actu-

\* Imbert, p. 167.

† Sadler, p. 168.

‡ Ambs, p. 140.

§ Laumier, p. 152.

ally occurred—and conceives the rumour to have originated merely in the excited imaginations of some of the patriots\*. To this supposed outrage are imputed in several of the accounts the first impulse of the popular indignation against the Archbishop, and the determination to invade his residence. Another statement is that the people repaired to the palace merely to help themselves to such victuals and other refreshments as they might chance to find, in the exhausted state in which they were from their morning's exertions †. There are said to have been some troops stationed in the building—but their numbers were found quite inadequate to defend it against the multitude by which it was assailed, and which was commanded, it is asserted, by several of the Polytechnic pupils ‡. For some time after their entry the people committed no excesses; but, on penetrating into a retired chamber they were astonished, we are told, by the discovery of certain stores which they naturally and justly felt to be of a very extraordinary description for an archiepiscopal abode. Besides a barrel §, or, as other accounts say, two barrels ||, of gunpowder, there were, it seems, according to some authorities, a hundred ¶, according to others more than two hundred \*\*, poniards,—which also bore the appearance of having been recently sharpened ††. “The utter uselessness of these weapons in such a situation,” says Mr. Tynte, “makes it appear probable that perhaps *one* might have been discovered in the *armoire* containing many curiosities, which the popular feeling against his grace the archbishop,

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 237.

† Evènemens de Paris, p. 173.

‡ Lamothe Langon, p. 237; and Tynte, p. 144.

§ Evènemens de Paris, p. 41. || Id. p. 173; Imbert, p. 74.

¶ Imbert, *Ibid.* \*\* Sadler, p. 172. †† Laumier, p. 85.

may have augmented to a *thousand*\*." Be this as it may, the report of his grace's warlike preparations flying from mouth to mouth, served to exasperate the minds of the people to uncontrollable fury; all respect for order or property was at once thrown off; and the work of indiscriminate destruction commenced. Papers, books in gorgeous bindings, the sumptuous furniture and the other articles of value and ornament, with which the palace was filled, were scattered about, torn to pieces, and thrown from the windows into the river. The annexed plate represents this scene of tumult and devastation. The actors, however, it is affirmed, did not dishonour themselves by indulging in pillage. A considerable quantity of the more useful articles, such as bedding and linen, was even rescued from the general destruction, and conveyed to the Hôtel Dieu, to add to the comforts of the wounded patients there. Some of the plate also was saved, and deposited in the Hôtel de Ville †. The river was afterwards dragged, under the directions of M. Bravoux, the new Prefect of Police, for such articles of this latter description as had been cast into it; and all those missing, it is said, were eventually recovered ‡. The people also, we are assured, committed no outrage on any of the sacred emblems which they found in the oratory and elsewhere; to a large and richly-ornamented crucifix in one of the rooms they presented arms, and afterwards conveyed it carefully to the Hôtel Dieu §. When they had finished their sack of the archiepiscopal palace, a considerable body of the patriots proceeded

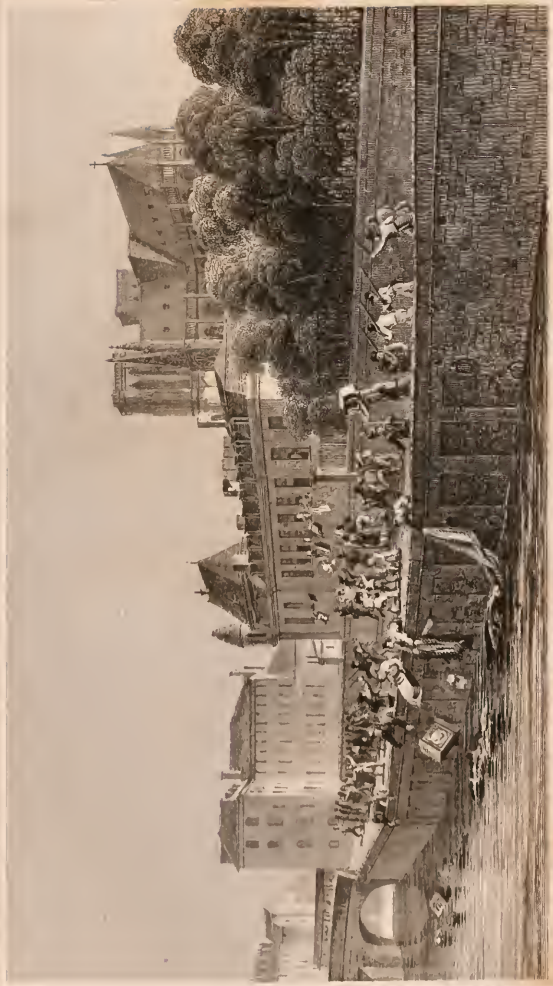
\* Sketch, p. 44.

† Evènements de Paris, p. 42. Elsewhere it is said that the plate also was taken to the Hôtel Dieu: see p. 173, and Lamothe Langon, p. 237.

‡ Evènements de Paris, p. 91.

§ Laumier, p. 86.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE







to attack a convent of old priests in the Rue d'Enfer ; and having found the inmates fled, they treated the domicile of these humbler ecclesiastics much in the same manner as they had done that of his grace\*.

The conquest of the Louvre and the Tuileries consummated the triumph of the popular arms—and ought to have terminated the already too protracted conflict. But more blood, it is to be regretted, was still destined to be shed on both sides. The precipitate rout of the royal forces made it impossible for the Commander-in-chief to send intimation of his retreat even to the posts at the Bank, the Palais Royal, and in the Rue St. Honoré ; and the detachments who occupied these different stations, accordingly, entirely ignorant of what had taken place, kept up the fight with undiminished vigour for a considerable time after the question between the government and the people was in fact decided, and there no longer remained any cause for them to defend. In the Rue St. Honoré, in particular, the combat which was still maintained was of the most rancorous and sanguinary description ; but the soldiers who were stationed, it will be recollected, in the corner houses of the Rues Rohan and de l'Echelle, were at last compelled to yield to the overwhelming numbers of their opponents. The Staff Officer asserts that some of them were massacred after they had thrown down their arms—"a fate," he adds, from which their gallantry, if nothing else, should have saved them †." There is no doubt that the people, who had suffered dreadfully from the fire which had been kept up here all the morning, were inflamed to a terrible pitch of fury against the authors of the woful slaughter with which the ground was red and reeking on every side of them. The Baron de Lamothe Langon states that these soldiers perished almost to

\* Evénemens de Paris, p. 42.

† Military Events, p. 67.

a man. The people however, he adds, magnanimously pardoned the few of them who survived after the post was taken\*. "Those," says Mr. Sadler, "who had entrenched themselves in the houses at the corners of the Rue St. Honoré and the Place (du Palais Royal), as they were known to have committed immense slaughter, found very little mercy. Our readers may imagine the dreadful carnage near this spot; when we tell them that, at the receptacle which was established in Rue de Rohan, we saw several hundreds (they said nine) of dead bodies †." "The desperate determination with which the Swiss fought," says another writer, "may be inferred from the following circumstance. In the Rue St. Honoré, near the corner of the Place du Palais Royal, they had been reduced to about sixty or seventy men; and they maintained the conflict in three lines of single files; the whole of the street in front of them, and many of the contiguous houses, were occupied by the people. In this emergency the foremost Swiss soldier would fire, or attempt to fire, and would fall, pierced with balls, before he could wheel to gain the rear; the same fate awaited the next, and so on until all had been sacrificed. Several of the houses occupied by the troops were now broken open, and the combatants fought hand to hand on each flight of stairs and in every room. The Swiss defended themselves with appalling bravery: those who refused to yield, all fell after a prolonged resistance, and several were killed by being thrown from the windows by the enraged populace." The desperation with which the soldiers fought, our author attributes to an apprehension they felt that in case of defeat they would be massacred; but the victors, he adds, spared the lives of all who surrendered ‡.

\* Une Semaine de l'Histoire de Paris, p. 293.

† Paris, in July and August, p. 206.

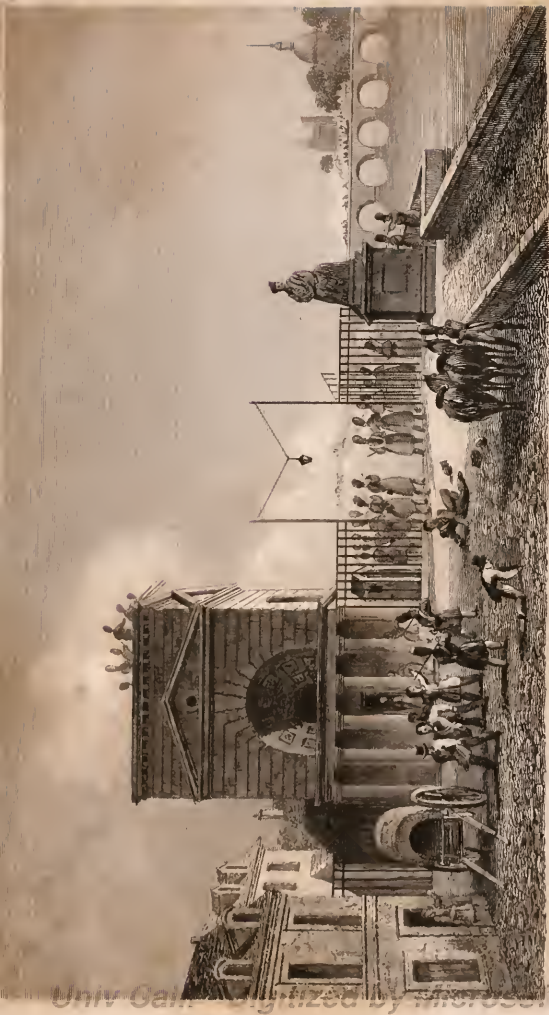
‡ Narrative, published by Galignani, p. 55.

It was also some time after the evacuation of the Tuileries that a crowd of armed citizens collected around M. de Polignac's hôtel; and vehemently demanded that some gendarmes, who were understood to be in the house, should be given up to them. M. Casimir Périer, on hearing of what was going forward, came from his residence in the neighbourhood, and interceded with the assemblage for the lives of the unhappy men. At the same time he sent two of his friends, Dr. Laberge and M. Rollet, to seek them in the place where they had concealed themselves, and to contrive the means of enabling them to effect their escape. These gentlemen found them with their uniforms thrown off, and consequently half naked, huddled together in a remote apartment. They made them dress themselves immediately in ordinary clothes, and then let them out by a different door from that which was surrounded by the mob. Presenting himself now to the people, who were still clamouring for their victims, "Citizens," exclaimed M. Laberge, "you have covered yourselves with a glory, the memory of which shall never perish. You cannot, you will not stain it, I am certain, by committing murder on men who are without any means of defence, and who ask you for quarter." The warm applauses of his auditors, we are told, followed this short speech—and abandoning their bloody intention, they instantly dispersed\*. According to another account it was M. Joseph Périer, the brother of M. Casimir Périer, to whose interposition these gendarmes were indebted for their safety. A M. Garnier Pérille is also mentioned as having exerted himself zealously to turn the crowd from their sanguinary design †.

The royal troops, on evacuating the Tuileries, withdrew, as we have stated, in the direction of St. Cloud. They were joined as they entered the

\* *Evénemens de Paris*, p. 129. † *Annals*, p. 244. ®

Champs Elysées, by those occupying the Place Louis XV. and afterwards by the battalions of the guards from the Rues St. Honoré and de la Paix, who, mixed with the 15th light infantry and a battalion of the 50th, took their place in the rear of the column. In the Champs Elysées, the Staff-Officer informs us, the people tried to harass them; but a company of light infantry being detached to the flanks, he says, silenced their assailants\*. It would appear, however, that a portion of the retreating force was again attacked at the Barrière de Neuilly, at the farther extremity of the avenue of the same name. We have given in our former volume a representation of the combat which took place here. But a part of the troops, before reaching this point, had passed off to the left, with the intention of making for the Barriers of Passy and Chaillot. Meantime, however, the inhabitants of these villages had been apprised of their approach, and did not mean to permit them to pass unopposed. Mr. Parkes tells us that they had early in the morning possessed themselves of the barracks of Courbevoie, and, at the suggestion of Lafayette, choked up the bridge of Neuilly with heavy carts and waggons. "With the muskets from the barracks," he continues, "and those of private individuals, we armed about five hundred men, and trees were cut down as far as the Porte Maillot of the Bois de Boulogne, &c. About three o'clock, as the troops were beginning to evacuate Paris, a courier informed us of their approach. We formed our men into companies of twenty, and placed them in ambush behind the trees, corners of houses, &c. The artillery had ten pieces of cannon, but only ammunition for two, which were charged with grape shot. It looked, I assure you, rather formidable to attack the horse artillery, a brigade of lancers, and several companies of foot, with only



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five hundred raw fellows ; but our project succeeded. We let them well into our ambush among the trees ; and then, at the sound of a bugle, opened a fire on all directions, front, rear, and flanks. The troops were already dead beat, poor fellows, and desired nothing more than to retire. I had two muskets, and took an Irishman, one of my workmen, along with me, to load for me, so that I had nothing to do but fire. This fellow nearly lost his Irish head ; for, looking out to see how things were going on, he had the brim of his hat taken off by a ball from a carbine. The troops retreated into the Bois de Boulogne, the iron gates of which we shut and blocked up with great trees. Only two or three of our men were killed, but numbers of the soldiers\*." The Staff-Officer, with his military notions, seems not to entertain exactly the same opinion of this "project," which, according to Mr. Parkes, succeeded so well. When it was perceived that the people seemed disposed to dispute the passage of their barriers, "the colonel of the 15th," he says, "advanced, with a white handkerchief in his hand, to speak with them. They allowed him to pass ; but when the head of his regiment, encouraged by his success, advanced also, it was assailed by a volley from the kind of terraces which are opposite the Pont de Jena. A captain of carabineers was killed, and two officers and ten men were wounded ; but another body of the troops, who were coming to the same barrier by the more remote streets Des Battailles and Longchamp, forced the inhabitants of Chaillot to give up their attempt. A captain of the guards was likewise killed near the new barrier, by a young man whom he was endeavouring to persuade not to risk his own life or that of others by an idle attack †."

The Swiss who had been driven from the barracks of Babylon effected their retreat by the Rue de

\* Letter, p. 10.

† Military Events, p. 56.

Plumet to the Ecole Militaire, the gates of which they found open. Here they joined the battalion of French guards by whom the building was occupied. It appears, however, that they had not yet got rid of their pursuers; for they kept up the firing, M. Coutau tells us, for an hour, till it was unanimously decided in a council of the officers to retire to St. Cloud. They accordingly set out on their march, in which they were not molested, and, crossing the Seine by the Bridge of Grenelle, arrived at Sèvres, where they passed the night. Next day part of them proceeded to join their comrades at St. Cloud, while the rest were sent to Versailles\*.

It was about half-past three in the afternoon when the last of the military posts in the interior of the city surrendered. The men and officers, amounting, it is affirmed, to forty, though the number is probably overrated, were escorted as prisoners to the Bourse. The only fighting which took place after this was that which occurred in the Champs Elysées and the Avenue de Neuilly, of which we have just spoken. By four o'clock the whole of Paris was in the undisturbed possession of the inhabitants, and not a soldier was to be seen in the streets.

\* Coutau, pp. 14, 15.





## CHAPTER XV.

THE ministers had spent the last night in the Tuileries; but all of them had left the palace before the moment of its sudden capture. Marmont alone, with his staff, remained at head-quarters; and he, it is said—such was the impetuosity with which the invading multitude rushed forward—was thrown from his horse in the confusion, and narrowly escaped with his life on foot. M. Galle, bronze manufacturer, had this day the earliest interview with the Marshal, of which we have any account. Having left his house in the Rue de Richelieu at four in the morning, with the view of ascertaining, by personal inspection, the state of the town, M. Galle was proceeding about six to cross the Place du Carrousel, when he was stopped by a line of sentinels. Having repaired to another gate, he there met a gentleman whom he knew to belong to the court. “I went up to him,” says M.

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Galle, "mentioned my name, and expressed to him with emotion the indignation with which I had just seen an unfortunate individual, who, without arms, and, as I was assured, without having given any provocation, had been struck by a ball fired by a Swiss from a window in the Rue St. Honoré." The gentleman offered to conduct him immediately to the Commander-in-Chief, and in a few minutes accordingly he was in the presence of Marshal Marmont. The conversation which ensued was somewhat warm on both sides. Marmont complained of the attacks which had been made on the troops the preceding day by the people; and asserted that, so far from wishing the continuance of the fighting, he had drawn up a proclamation, which was then in the hands of the printer, commanding the men in no case to fire upon the citizens except in self-defence. On M. Galle asking indignantly how it was that the mayors and prefects of police were nowhere to be seen, They are greatly in fault, replied the Marshal, striking his forehead with his hand; and then addressing his secretary he desired that orders should be issued for all the mayors of Paris to meet in the palace at one o'clock. The convocation of the mayors, however, it appears from what has been already stated, had been determined upon before this; and the order which M. Galle heard the Marshal give his secretary, was probably merely to expedite the issue of the letters of summons. At the mention of so late an hour as one o'clock, M. Galle exclaimed that no man could tell what might happen before that time: "before then," said he, "M. le Maréchal, perhaps neither you, nor two hundred thousand Parisians, nor the King, nor I who speak to you, may be in existence!"—and he implored Marmont to set out instantly for St. Cloud, and inform his Majesty of the absolute necessity of recalling

the infamous ordinances. The latter replied, however, that that would do no good, that his Majesty was inflexible. But after his visitor had left him he called him back; and stated that the King would probably be glad to receive a deputation of citizens, provided it were really composed of members of the *bourgeoisie de Paris*, and that he thought he might be prevailed upon to make some concessions on their representation of the terrible state in which things were. M. Galle, however, expressed his apprehension that it was now too late to expect that any such step would be taken\*.

This gentleman's well-meant attempt, therefore, to turn the government from its disastrous course, may be considered as having produced no result. Another attempt, with a like object, was soon after made by M. Bayeux, the Advocate-General, to whose evidence we have already referred. Some passages in M. Bayeux's account of his visit to the Tuileries this morning are extremely interesting. He had endeavoured to find the ministers the evening before, and had gone for that purpose to the Place Vendôme, where he was led to believe they were. He left his house (in the Rue Traversière St. Honoré) to-day about eight o'clock, having been sent for to the Conciergerie, where the prisoners were trying to make their escape. Instead of proceeding, however, directly to the prison, he resolved to endeavour, in the first instance, to gain admission into the Tuileries, and to obtain an interview with the Keeper of the Seals. "The danger," he observes, "was evident. The Swiss occupied the windows of the Rue St. Honoré, and a balcony over a shop at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle. One of my friends proposed to ac-

\* Deposition of M. Galle before Commission of Chamber of Peers, Procès, ii. 84—87; and Evidence on the Trial (almost in the same words), Id. pp. 207—210.

company me. We raised our hands in the air to show that we had no arms, and we requested to be allowed to speak with an officer. The soldiers told us that there were no officers with them, and that we must withdraw." They did not, however, fire—and the two arrived in safety at the gate of the Tuileries, where M. Bayeux sent back his friend, remarking that it was of no use for both of them to get themselves killed. But there seems to have been pretty nearly as much risk of getting killed in returning as in going forward.

After some delay M. Bayeux was introduced to MM. de Peyronnet, de Chantelauze, and d'Haussez. As soon as he entered, the ministers eagerly asked him a number of questions respecting the state of the town. He told them that, with the exception of their own immediate vicinity, perfect quiet and the most admirable order prevailed every where; that there was no pillaging, not even at their own hôtels. "M. de Peyronnet," the witness continues, "then said to me, 'All that is the work of the *Fédérés*, no doubt, who have preserved their ancient organization.' 'No,' I replied; 'it is the entire population which has risen; the women carry up paving-stones into their chambers, to throw them down upon the heads of the soldiers, while their husbands are sacrificing their lives in the streets. The inhabitants of the country pour in, armed with pitch-forks and scythes. The rising is universal, and every attempt to suppress it completely useless.' 'It is not a simple commotion, then,' said M. de Peyronnet; 'it is a revolution.' 'And a revolution,' I added, 'which leaves no resource; for I do not perceive that you have any supporters whatever.'" He then mentioned several facts which had fallen under his own notice, in proof of the indifference or aversion to the cause of the government entertained even

by the military themselves. "They asked me," he goes on to say, "where the people got powder. They take, I replied, that of the soldiers, who indeed often give them their cartridges of their own accord.\*

\* \* \* M. d'Haussez then took me to the window, and said, *You are in the right, M. l'Avocat-Général ; look, there stand our only defenders* (pointing to the guards), *neither they nor their horses have had any thing to eat for the last four-and-twenty hours."*

After this M. Bayeux was conducted by a subterraneous passage to the apartments, on the Place du Carrousel, which were occupied by the staff. Here he found the Count de Guernon Ranville, M. de Montbel, and the Duke of Ragusa. The conversation on the character and extent of the insurrection was now resumed. "They asked me," says M. Bayeux, "who commanded the people. I replied that, properly speaking, there was no commander-in-chief,—that none of the masses presented what could be called a regular front to their opponents—but that every man, fighting, as it were, on his own account, resorted to every means by which he could most annoy the enemy, taking at the same time as much care as possible to secure his own retreat ; that, wherever concert was required, they were directed by the pupils of the Polytechnic School." Having understood that they proposed being at St. Cloud by eleven, he advised them not to wait till that hour before sounding a retreat from the palace ; and he pressed to be permitted to retire himself without more loss of time. At last, M. de Chantelauze having given him an order signed by the Marshal for the royal court to hold its sittings in the Tuileries, which, however, he told them it was

\* M. Thomas, previously mentioned, informed us, that even as early as Monday evening, the soldiers of the line, on the Boulevards, allowed the people to *take* the cartridges out of their boxes.



utterly impossible to attempt putting into execution, he was allowed to take his departure. He asked them to send an officer along with him to protect him from being fired at by the soldiers; but all the protection they would afford him, was a piece of paper authorizing the guards to allow him to pass out; which, as he remarks, afforded but an indifferent security against being killed in the street by men firing from the first floors of the houses. He tried first to make his exit by the small gate leading to the Pont Royal; the balls, however, from the other side of the river and from the bridge rendered this passage impracticable. By the gate leading to the Louvre the danger was still greater. "In fine," says he, "I resolved to return by the way I had come. While I was in the Rue de l'Echelle, and just on the point of crossing the Rue St. Honoré, I saw one or two individuals fall in the Rue des Frondeurs, which I was proposing to take. I turned in a different direction, and entered the Rue Traversière; the firing was very brisk. I was the only person in the street; but an unfortunate fruiterer wishing to see who it could be who at such a time was exposing himself without arms, put out his head, and received a mortal wound; I heard him fall behind me." On reaching his house M. Bayeux found the court full of people, to whom he announced that he had been at the Tuileries, and that he had no doubt the government would soon give up the contest. He seems to think that the armistice which was soon after proposed was the result of his interference. He went after this to the Palais de Justice, where he found the people very clamorous for the delivery of a quantity of arms which they said were in the custody of the clerk of the court. He endeavoured to escape from the necessity of complying with this demand by assuring them that the guns in

*Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft®*

question were unfit for service and actually dangerous ; but the people replied that they knew the clerk had also in his keeping a quantity of forfeited gold and silver articles of considerable value, which evil-disposed persons might possibly seize the opportunity of the present confusion to plunder, and they therefore wished that a number of sentinels should be placed over this treasure, whom the guns, bad as they were, would serve very well to arm, a sufficient show of protection being all that was required. Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the elevated public spirit which reigned among the insurgents than this anecdote. "They entered the office," concludes M. Bayeux, "took the guns, and appointed a good guard: not one of the precious articles was touched\*."

But the most curious details which we have of the ministerial proceedings of this morning are those contained in the evidence of the Marquis de Sémonville, the Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers. We have mentioned the attempt which the Marquis made on the morning of Tuesday to bring about a meeting of the members of his order. He relinquished the design, it may be recollected, on finding how small a number of Peers were then in town. It was no part, however, of the character of the old Referendary to sit idle and apart from the scene of affairs at such a crisis as the present. He spent Wednesday in concerting with his colleague, M. d'Argout, what it would be best to do; and, on parting for the night, they resolved to meet again at an early hour in the morning, and to take some decided step without farther delay. Before five, accordingly, the two friends were once more together in the Garden of the Luxembourg. Their purpose, at first, had been to go to St. Cloud, but having learned that the ministers were assembled at the

Tuileries, they resolved to proceed thither. "Numerous and dangerous obstacles," says the Marquis, "divided us from the palace. The courageous friendship of M. d'Argout devoted itself to protect my steps, and from this moment we did not separate. The Parisian forces were already approaching the Pont Neuf, and were attacking the dépôt of St. Thomas d'Aquin. The Rue St. Honoré was also partly occupied." After many windings, they arrived at head-quarters, the witness tells us, about half-past seven; but as they do not seem to have made their appearance till after the departure of M. Bayeux, whose visit did not take place till after eight, we suspect that the hour was considerably later. Indeed, as we shall see immediately, other circumstances render it probable that, instead of half-past seven, it must have been nearer ten or eleven before they arrived. The first person whom they saw was the Commander-in-Chief; he, according to the Marquis, had visibly lost all hope of obtaining a victory for the government by force, and therefore welcomed them as deliverers. He immediately, on M. de Sémonville's request, went and brought out the Premier. On meeting, M. de Polignac addressed the Marquis with a cold and unruflled politeness, which seems not a little to have irritated the eager old man, full as he was of his own importance, as the representative (although self-appointed) of the whole Chamber of Peers. "His tranquil and chill formalities," says he, with amusing pomposity of rhetoric, "are briskly interrupted by a sharp interpolation on my part. A profound separation is established between him who comes to demand, in the name of his order, the public safety, the cessation of hostilities, the revocation of the ordinances, the retreat of the ministers, and him who still essays to undertake the defence of the deplorable circumstances of which he is the witness or the author." The mean-

ing of this seems to be, that they got into a somewhat angry altercation; or, at all events, that if the Prince continued cool, the Marquis himself spoke with sufficient heat and vehemence. The noise brought into the room not only all the other ministers, but also a crowd of military officers; the latter, however, were in a few minutes requested to withdraw. The one side of the argument, the Marquis tells us, was now maintained by himself and M. d'Argout, supported by the Marshal and M. de Girardin, who remained when the other officers left the room, and on the other by the ministers, "whose attitude and expression of countenance," he says, "still more than their reserved language, testified their affliction, and the existence of a power superior to their own." The witness, however, does not profess to be able to recollect much of what was said. On his side, in the earnest anxiety which they naturally felt, in the circumstances, to press their own views, they attended but little to the objections of their opponents. M. de Polignac, who is described as having sustained nearly alone the unequal contest, "entrenched himself," says the Marquis, "behind the authority of the King, always with the same calmness and the same politeness: this is the only impression of the scene which remains with us, and the only recollection which I can mention." Of the other ministers, he thinks several were of his own opinion, although they were afraid to express their real sentiments. At last, M. de Polignac requested to be allowed to retire, for the purpose of deliberation; still, however, declaring that nothing could be done without the authority of his Majesty. M. d'Argout now took the Marshal aside to one of the windows, which happened to be open; "and there," continues the witness, "we endeavoured to take advantage of the emotion in which he was, to determine him to finish the catas-

trophe himself. He took his stand for some moments on the severity and rigour of the orders which he deplored. Orders succeeded each other every minute. Twice, while we stood at the window, persons came to request permission from him to make a discharge with case-shot on the people, in order to repel a dangerous attack. The convulsive movement which preceded his reply, and the refusal with which he met the proposition, prove the horror with which he regarded it." Encouraged by these manifestations of feeling, they boldly asked him at once to arrest the ministers, who had by this time been about ten minutes absent. M. de Glandevès, it appears, expressed his readiness, as Governor of the Palace, to execute such an order, if the Marshal would issue it. M. d'Argout, for his part, offered to expose himself to the danger of attempting to put a stop to the commotion, by announcing this intelligence to the people; "and," adds the Marquis, "in case of the adoption of this extreme measure, the Marshal and I were to carry our heads to St. Cloud, and to offer them as the pledges of our intentions." The Marshal, it is stated, was so much moved as to shed tears of rage and indignation; but for some time he still continued to hesitate between his feelings and what he deemed his military duty. M. de Sémonville thinks, however, that he was on the point of yielding to their request; when suddenly the door of the apartment in which the ministers were opened, and M. de Peyronnet presented himself. This interruption, of course, put an end to the scheme of the arrest; it was now, therefore, determined by the Referendary and his friend to set out instantly for St. Cloud.

Before this, it would appear they had requested M. de Glandevès to provide them with the means of repairing to his Majesty; and a carriage, accordingly, had been ordered for them, and stood ready in the

court. Another also stood near it, which had been previously drawn up for the use of M. de Polignac. Into this latter, being the first that came in their way, the two Peers threw themselves. Some articles which they found in it belonging to the minister were tossed forth upon the pavement; and without losing an instant they drove off across the court. A remarkable incident is now asserted to have occurred. When M. de Peyronnet first came out from the room where he had been shut in with his colleagues, he had exclaimed, addressing the Marquis, "What! are you not yet off?" And now, as they passed rapidly along the grand alley of the garden in their carriage, the same minister again, to their surprise, presented himself in their way; and pointing with one hand to St. Cloud, and with the other, as it seemed to them, to the other carriage, in which Prince Polignac had already placed himself, he twice eagerly called out, "Make haste! Make haste!" "The exhortation, however," says the Marquis, "was unnecessary; the horses had already dashed forward at a hard gallop, and we kept a-head till we arrived at the Court of St. Cloud, which we entered almost at the same moment."

M. de Montbel has given us a short account of the discussion between M. de Sémonville and the ministers, at the Tuileries, which represents the sentiments of the latter as somewhat different from what they seem to have appeared to the Referendary. For himself, at all events, M. de Montbel assures us, that it certainly was not his opinion that the King should renounce his rights before what he chooses to call a mere riot (*émeute*), or resign his crown while his troops continued bravely to defend it. At one time M. de Sémonville addressed himself directly to him; "He drew to me," says M. de



Montbel, "a lively picture of the unfortunate events, which I deplored as much as he did, and of which, undoubtedly, I did not less abhor the principle." The Marquis having appealed to their fears, by expatiating on the dangers to which they were personally exposing themselves, M. de Montbel replied that he had not coveted the post which he held, but that assuredly he would not now desert it; for himself, he feared nothing, and, so feeling, would never act the part of a poltroon. The departure of himself and his colleagues for St. Cloud, too, he affirms, was neither occasioned nor hastened by the representations of the Grand Referendary; "Still less," he adds, "did we fly in order to escape from being arrested. It may be easily believed that such a design, if formed, was not communicated to us. And at any rate, which of us would have had any right to doubt but that the Duke of Ragusa would have felt deep indignation at any one daring so far to outrage his loyalty as to propose to him to return the confidence of the King by delivering up his ministers?" They went to St. Cloud, in fact, he assures us, merely in obedience to his Majesty's orders, that they should meet him in council, issued the evening before, and at the hour which he had appointed\*. It seems to have been nearly half-past twelve when the carriages of the grand referendary and the ministers started on their race from the Tuileries†. This confirms

\* Protestation, pp. 15-17.

This may be gathered from the account of the Staff-Officer; compare Military Events, pp. 57 and 63. In his interrogatory before the Commission of Peers (Procès, i. 166), Prince Polignac makes the hour half-past ten; but this statement is irreconcilable with the understood course of the events of this morning. It appears, from a passage in M. de Montbel's statement, to which we shall immediately have occasion to refer, that the ministers



our remark as to the time at which the Marquis and his friend must have arrived at the palace. M. de Peyronnet, too, denies the accuracy of the account given by the Marquis of their encounter in the garden. The inference sought to be drawn from the expressions used by this minister, both on that occasion and when he first came out from the conference with his colleagues, and intimated his surprise that the Marquis and his friend had not yet set out for St. Cloud, is, that he was afraid of the Premier getting there before them, and prejudicing his Majesty's mind against what they had to advise; but M. de Peyronnet declares he had no such meaning. He pointed, he says, not as asserted, to the carriage of Prince Polignac, but to the general scene of the unhappy contest—the city which they were leaving behind; and the feeling which he intended to convey was merely that time pressed, and that it behoved them to lose not an instant in endeavouring to bring about the termination of a state of things so deplorable\*. His account, however, of the motives which induced the ministers to repair, at this time, to St. Cloud, is different from that given by his colleague, M. de Montbel. For his own part, he tells us, he was induced to take that step in consequence of the Marshal having explained to him his military position, and requested him to communicate what he had stated to his Majesty. He does not, however, profess to be able to say what may have been M. de Polignac's object in taking the ride along with him†.

It appears, both from M. de Montbel's account, had not reached St. Cloud many minutes when news arrived of the evacuation of the Tuileries, an event which certainly did not take place long before one;

\* Procès, ii. 196.

† Id. i. 178.

and from that of the Marquis, that Marmont, on the latter announcing his determination to proceed to St. Cloud, wrote himself to the King; and sent off his letter in time to enable it to reach his Majesty before the two peers should make their appearance. He rushed to a table, M. de Sémonville tells us, and, in the presence of himself and M. d'Argout, wrote a few hurried lines, conceived in language the most pressing, and divested of all the usual forms of respect. At the same time, according to M. de Montbel, he informed the ministers that he could not now maintain his position for more than four days\*.

The carriages of the Marquis and the Premier arrived in the court of St. Cloud, as we have said, almost at the same moment. They were immediately surrounded by a crowd of military officers and other persons belonging to the royal establishment. It would have been quite possible, the Referendary says, for him and his friend to have been beforehand with M. de Polignac in making their way to the royal presence; but desiring, as he expresses it, only the utility, not the éclat, of the part they had undertaken to perform, they did not make this attempt. On the contrary, going up to the Prince as he stepped from his carriage, they observed to him that they had no wish to carry off the honour of obtaining the revocation of the ordinances by their representations, but would gladly resign all pretensions of the kind to him and his colleagues. Beseeching him only to consider how precious every moment was, they would remain, they said, with M. de Luxembourg till the council should have come to some resolution, provided the deliberation were not prolonged; and, should the issue be what they prayed it might, they would then gladly return to Paris on

\* Protestation, p. 17.

foot, like the humblest of private citizens, nor would they ever say a word to any one of having at all interfered in the matter.

His Majesty and the ministers made up their minds with a rapidity even greater than the Marquis was prepared for. Indeed, according to his account, it was quite impossible that a council could have been held at all during the few minutes that elapsed before he was sent for. M. de Polignac, however, assures us, that the interval was by no means so short, and that it afforded him and his colleagues abundant time to explain their views and wishes to their royal master. From the conversation he had had with the Marquis at the Tuileries, he had become convinced, he says, that it would be for the good of the country that he should retire from the administration. Fifteen or sixteen days, indeed, before the ordinances were signed, he had expressed a desire to be allowed to relinquish office. When he and the other members of the cabinet were left to confer together, after hearing the representations of M. de Sémonville, they communicated their sentiments to each other, and mutually acknowledged that it was time for them to make every effort they could to obtain the revocation of the ordinances. It was with the intention of effecting this object that he set out for St. Cloud. "I went in to the King," he continues, "immediately after reaching the palace, accompanied by M. de Peyronnet. I related to his Majesty all that had come to my knowledge. I mentioned to him the persons who waited to see him, and I added that it was important, necessary, indispensable, not only that the ordinances should be withdrawn, but that the ministry should be changed. Nothing in the world, I said, could make me remain longer in the ministry\*." M. de Peyronnet, also,

\* Procès, ii. 199. See also *Id.* i. 143, 166, and ii. 115, 116.

who had followed the Premier to St. Cloud in another carriage, along with several more of the ministers, gives a similar account \*. Both are anxious to make it appear that his Majesty's determination to revoke the ordinances was due entirely to their representations.

It is a little awkward, however, for this version of the story, that it by no means accords with M. de Montbel's statement. According to him, the King, after hearing the reports of the ministers, and reading the Marshal's letter, manifested anything rather than an intention to yield. Indeed, M. de Montbel does not intimate that any of the ministers themselves advised concession; and as for his Majesty, his account is, that he proceeded to direct his attention with firmness to the means of organizing a system of defence, and of putting a stop to the sedition; for which purpose he named the Dauphin Generalissimo of the troops, and that Prince prepared to take his departure immediately for Paris. "I," continues M. de Montbel, "was to follow him thither, to be in readiness to give any orders that might be necessary in regard to matters of finance. But at this moment an officer of the staff brought the intelligence that immediately after our departure the troops of the line had joined the people,—that the Louvre and the Tuileries were abandoned,—that the royal guards were in full retreat, with the Marshal, who had himself been nearly killed. \* \* \* The Grand Referendary was then introduced to the King, along with MM. d'Argout and de Vitrolles †."

On receiving his summons to the royal closet, M. de Sémonville ascended the stairs, he tells us, with

\* Procès, i. 177, and ii. 122. See also the examination of M. de Chantelauze, Id. i. 184; and that of M. de Guernon Ranville, Id. i. 198.

† Protestation, p. 18.

all haste. At the top he was met by M. de Polignac, to whom he expressed his surprise that he should have been called so soon, before there had been time for the council to deliberate, or almost to assemble. "You know, sir," replied the Prince, "what the duty is which you consider yourself to be fulfilling in existing circumstances. You accuse me: I told the King that you were here;—it belongs to you to be the first to speak with him." He then introduced the Marquis into the closet, and, shutting the door, left him alone with his Majesty.

We will give, in M. de Sémonville's own words, the account which, with some reluctance, he was prevailed upon to communicate, of what passed at this interview.

"I believe," he says, "I always did believe, that the resolutions of the King, which I intended to combat on entering his closet, were personal, ancient, deep-seated, long-considered,—the result of a system at once political and religious. If I had ever entertained any doubt upon this subject, it would have been entirely dissipated by this painful interview. Every time that I approached the system of the King, I was repulsed by his immoveable firmness; he turned away his eyes from the disasters of Paris, which he believed to be exaggerated in my account of them; he turned them away, also, from the tempest which threatened himself and his dynasty. I did not succeed in shaking his resolution until I had addressed myself to his heart,—when, after having exhausted every other topic, I dared to make him responsible to his own conscience for the fate which he might be creating for the Dauphiness, perhaps at that very moment detained at a distance on purpose; when I forced him to reflect that one hour, one minute of hesitation, might put all to hazard, if the disasters of Paris should meet her on her journey in

some commune or city, and the authorities should not be able to protect her. I forced him to reflect that he himself was condemning her to the only misfortune she had not yet known,—that of being exposed to the outrages of an irritated populace,—in the course of a life spent in the midst of weeping. Tears, on this, moistened the eyes of the King; instantly his severity vanished—his resolutions changed—his head sank on his breast;—with a voice, low, but full of emotion, he said, ‘I shall tell my son to write and call together the council \*.’”

The council—the last ever held by the unfortunate monarch—was immediately convened. The Duke de Mortemart was introduced to his Majesty by Prince Polignac himself; and, being nominated to the portfolio of foreign affairs, was some time after sent to announce to the Parisians the dismissal of the ministers and the revocation of the ordinances. These concessions, however, which, but a few hours ago, might have saved the throne, proved, as is well known, to be now too late.

Meanwhile in the emancipated capital the din of battle was no sooner over, than the chiefs of the victorious cause had addressed themselves with activity and decision to a new task, which did not now admit of being for a moment deferred. The old government having been overthrown, it became necessary that another should be immediately established. At a meeting of the liberal Deputies, therefore, which was held at M. Lafitte’s, a proclamation was drawn up and agreed upon, announcing that a provisional government was formed, and that three most distinguished citizens, the Marquis de Lafayette, Marshal Gérard, and the Duke de Choiseul, had undertaken its important functions. The Duke de Choiseul, however, it afterwards appeared, had been nominated

\* Procès, i. 302-306, and ii. 186-193.

without his consent having been asked; and he was not in fact called upon to act. Lafayette was also reappointed to his old dignity of General in chief of the National Guards—the appropriate and well-earned reward of a life of patriotism. A municipal commission was at the same time instituted to watch especially over the preservation of order in the city. It was composed of MM. Lafitte, Casimir Périer, Maignin, Lobeau, Audry de Puyraveau, Odier, and de Schonnen. These authorities established themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, and immediately proceeded to the exercise of their several functions.

Owing to some unexplained cause of delay, it was towards evening before the Duke de Mortemart made his appearance at the Hôtel de Ville. Meanwhile, in the exercise of the authority confided to him by the King, he had nominated General Gérard and M. Casimir Périer as two of his colleagues in the ministry. But, when he presented himself before the members of the newly-established government, and announced the concessions of which he was the bearer, he was told that the time for negociation was now gone by. “Reconciliation,” said Lafayette, “is impossible: the royal family has ceased to reign.”

M. de Mortemart, it appears, did not return to St. Cloud till the following morning\*. By this time the arrival of Marmont and the fugitive troops had convinced Charles that his reign was over. Of the old ministers only MM. de Montbel and de Capelle remained with him. The rest had all fled in terror from the storm they had raised. Polignac himself never again saw his royal master after he had introduced to him his intended successor †. Everything combined to attest to the unfortunate monarch that

\* Evidence of M. de Guernon Ranville, Procès, i. 198.

† Procès, ii. 115.



all was lost. Even the beaten military who crowded the parks, and still maintained around his residence a show of power and royalty, were but a mockery and an incumbrance. For three days they had been spending their strength and their blood in his cause; and now he had not even the means of providing them with one day's food. On Friday morning they were told that they could receive that day only one ration of bread and one of wine; "but even that," says the Staff-Officer, "could not be had\*." Yet while the poor fellows were thus left to starve, "the park-keepers," the same writer informs us, "true to the etiquettes of their calling, came to the commanding officer, with a formal complaint that the troops *walked on the grass*, which was contrary to the regulations †!"

In Paris, this evening of deliverance and triumph was one also, as might be expected, of general joy and congratulation. Individuals mourned the brave who had fallen in the contest; but the hearts of all the rest of the population naturally bounded only with the thought of the mighty victory. The mere suddenness with which it had been achieved was calculated to detain and occupy the imagination almost as much as the prospective of its momentous consequences. It was to every man like a piece of unexpected good fortune which had befallen him personally—some long-coveted possession which had come to him when he scarcely dared to hope for it, and lifted him at once from the midst of a hard and doubtful struggle to the summit of his utmost wishes. We may conceive, therefore, the exultation and sense as it were of new life which swelled every breast. But a few hours before, a murderous strife raged in the heart of the city, drenching the streets with blood, filling the air with the booming of ar-

\* Military Events, p. 71.

† Id. p. 22.

tillery and the moans of dying men, and keeping the thoughts of all stretched in agonizing suspense as to its issue. That issue had now arrived, as bright as hope had ever painted it ; doubt and fear were at an end ; it was like a restoration to health and a more full enjoyment of existence than ever from a sharp illness which had threatened to terminate in death. The streets, so lately crowded with angry combatants, or raked by destroying volleys, were now, bloody as they still remained, and exhibiting at almost every step the traces of the recent war, the safe resort of peaceable citizens, of females, and of children, come forth to view the new and strange aspect which the city had within the last few days put on,—the uptorn pavements, the piled barricades, and the other parts of what might be called its military attire and armour of proof, as well as to mark the footsteps of the conflict in the devastation it had left behind it. Mixed with these groups of the curious we may suppose would be many of the actors in the late stirring scenes ; surveying again the sacred ground on which they had fought for liberty, or pointing out to those who had not been in the battle the positions of the opposing hosts, and the spots which had witnessed the most memorable exploits of valour. For this evening all the shops still continued closed, and all business suspended ; nor did any vehicles as yet appear in the streets. The barricades, indeed, instead of being levelled, were everywhere repaired and rendered more perfect, in wise preparation for another attack from the enemy in case the arrival of fresh forces should tempt to that experiment. As the public lamps, too, had been destroyed, a general illumination at night made up for their absence, and might be taken at the same time as testifying the public joy, and appropriately celebrating the glorious events of the day.

So terminated the Three Days. Before the close of the week all apprehensions of the renewal of hostilities had ceased. The Revolution was accomplished. Yet it was everywhere not more the reign of liberty than of order. Never were Paris and France more tranquil—more free from commotion and from crime—more obedient, in one word, to the law—than immediately after the consummation of this wonderful Revolution, which had hurled the monarch from his throne, and left the country it might be almost said without a government. But, in truth, in its beginning, and throughout its progress, as well as in its close and its results, this great movement was impelled and guided by nothing so much as a reverence for law and order. It was an insurrection, indeed, against the King, but yet in behalf of the Charter—against the constituted authorities, but yet in defence of the constitution itself—of its spirit, and likewise of its letter. And it was this legitimacy, we may almost say sanctity, of the cause for which they fought, that no doubt principally contributed to elevate the feelings of the Parisians, while engaged in this noble struggle, so high above all the ordinary tendencies of human selfishness, and to place their whole conduct in such honourable contrast to that which has so often been displayed by other excited multitudes. While the combat lasted and the issue was yet uncertain, these brave champions of their country's freedom refused in many cases even to taste the wine that was offered them; lest what was intended to refresh them in the midst of their toils might prove a temptation which would unfit them for the exertions they had yet to make. And neither during the continuance of the contest, while the whole power of the state might be said to be in their own armed hands; nor after its victorious termination, when they might naturally have felt themselves to be more than ever masters both of the immense

public property which lay at their feet, and of that of individuals, which had no protection but their swords, did they stoop to appropriate aught of what they had conquered. Yet where was the force then in Paris that could have resisted the armed multitude of her labourers and artisans, if they should have resolved to follow up their victory over the government by the pillage of their wealthier fellow-citizens? For the moment at least they certainly could not have been stopped in that course. Justice and social order would no doubt have eventually resumed their authority; and, after the license of the first outbreak, the unhappy perpetrators of the wrong would, in their inevitable exhaustion and dissension, have fallen an easy conquest before the re-organized moral power of the country. But for a while at least they certainly might have done what they chose with the vast treasures of every kind by which they were surrounded,—the money and goods of individuals, the great storehouses of the national wealth, the libraries, the museums, the various architectural monuments of their splendid city; all might have been scattered or destroyed in a sudden tumult of rapine and conflagration. But scarcely was an act of pillage committed; no man plundered even the property of the public enemy; private property remained as free from invasion, and as secure, as in the most undisturbed times of the law's supremacy. This abstinence from the usual excesses of rioters were alone enough to prove the work of the people of Paris to have been, what it was described by Marmont, "no riot, but a true Revolution."

We have thus followed the progress of this memorable contest from its doubtful, and, as it no doubt seemed to many, insignificant commencement in a collision between the mob and the police in the streets, to its magnificent result in the liberation of a whole empire. It does not belong to our purpose to

pursue the course of the rapid and momentous changes which followed the popular triumph. The flight of Charles X. from St. Cloud to Trianon, and thence to Rambouillet—the march of the people to accelerate the departure of the proscribed King—his abdication in favour of his grandson—the nomination of the Duke of Orleans, first as Lieutenant-General, and then as King, under the title of Louis-Philip I.—and finally, the deliberate and almost unregarded procession into exile of the deposed Monarch and his family. In the detail which we have given of the three days' fight, we have spared no pains, by a diligent examination and comparison of the different narratives to which we have had access, to glean the real circumstances of every occurrence from the midst of their confused and often conflicting statements; and we trust that our account will be found to be upon the whole more complete and accurate than any other that has yet been laid before the public. There is one point, in regard to which the exaggerations of the popular histories are especially extravagant—the cost of life on the part both of the citizens and the military at which this great victory was purchased. That the number of persons killed was not short of ten, or twelve, or even fifteen thousand, has been no unusual averment. Upon this subject we are now, however, in possession of information which may be perfectly depended on, in the recently published Report of the proceedings of the Committee of National Rewards, appointed some time after the Revolution to investigate the claims of the wounded and of the relatives of the slain. The result of their inquiries,—which commenced on the 2nd of September, 1830, and continued till the 1st of July last—is stated to be, that the number of the citizens killed, including, we presume, those who eventually died of their wounds, was 788; and that of the wounded about

4,500. This enumeration considerably exceeds, in the latter item especially, that which had been previously given by Dr. Prosper Ménière, surgeon to the Hôtel Dieu, who, at the end of his interesting account of what passed at that hospital during the three days, reckons those who actually fell in the field of battle at 390 ; those who subsequently died in the hospitals at 304 ; and those who recovered of their wounds at about 2000. Of the 390 who were killed, the bodies of 125 were deposited at the Morgue ; 85 were interred before the Colonnade of the Louvre ; 25 at the end of the Rue Fromenteau ; 43 in the vaults of St. Eustache ; 34 in those of the Quai de Gèvres ; 8 in the Hôtel Larocheffoucault ; and 70 in the Marché des Innocens \*. The casualties among the troops, including the Gendarmerie, appear from the most authentic accounts to have amounted only to seventy-five killed, and about three hundred wounded. †

\* L'Hôtel Dieu de Paris en Juillet et Août, 1830, p. 36.

† Military Events, p. 115.



FINIS.





## ILLUSTRATIONS;

*From original Drawings by a French Artist.*

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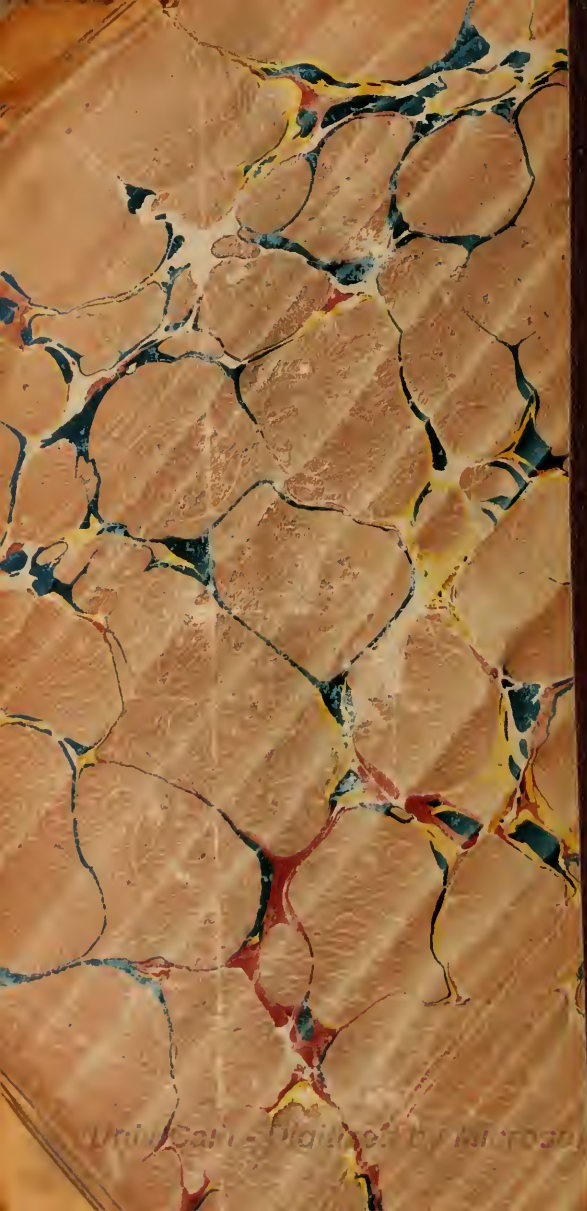
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