

FULL ANNALS

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

1830.

W. Hone

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A FULL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CELEBRATION OF SAID REVOLUTION

IN THE

CITY OF NEW-YORK,

ON THE 25TH NOVEMBER, 1830:

BEING THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF AN EVENT THAT RESTORED
OUR CITIZENS TO THEIR HOMES, AND TO THE ENJOYMENT
OF THEIR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

BY MYER MOSES.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY J. & J. HARPER, 82 CLIFF-STREET.

SOLD BY COLLINS AND HANNAY, COLLINS AND CO., G. AND C. AND H. CARVILL, O.A.
ROORBACH, WHITE, GALLAHER, AND WHITE, A. T. GOODRICH, W. B. GILLEY, E.
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THE details in the ensuing sheets are derived, first, from articles in the Journals, usually called news, from correspondence with their editors, and from private letters communicated to them; and, secondly, from unpublished letters and personal interviews with residents in Paris. Of course the authorities for both were eye-witnesses of the events.

To discover the truth of the facts thus obtained was the first object; the next was to place each fact under the day to which it belongs: both these objects have been accomplished, as far as they could be, under the circumstances.

These statements, day by day, presuming nothing material has been omitted, are full Annals of the French Revolution in 1830; from the issuing of the arbitrary ordinances of Charles X. to his abdication and flight, and the enthronement of the Duke of Orleans, under the name and title of Louis Philippe I., King of the French.

Several narratives of the battles of the brave people of Paris with the late king's army are introduced entire. One, by M. Leonard Gallois, has been purposely translated for this work. Another is an original Letter from an English gentleman, who, unable to speak French, went to Paris for a week's pleasure, and saw half of the Revolution without knowing that it was a Revolution.

The principal documents of importance are inserted entire; particularly the ordinances of Charles X.—the protests against them—the Declaration of Rights presented by the Chamber of Deputies to the Duke of Orleans, as the conditions on which he was declared King of the French—the principal addresses, proclamations,

and orders of the day, of the Provisional Government—speeches in the Chambers—ordinances of Louis Philippe I., &c. It has also been thought proper to insert the Declaration of Rights of the old National Assembly, as being the basis of the French Constitution of 1830, and the grand manifesto of *French Principles*. Added to these, and illustrative of proceedings in Paris, are the Marseillois Hymn—a popular Song by Mr. Roscoe, on the breaking out of the Revolution in 1789—a poetical Address to France, by the late Mr. Edward Rushton, of Liverpool—and another poem or two.

It will scarcely be expected that any one but a person locally acquainted with Paris, and a witness of the sanguinary engagements, could describe the different conflicts or the capture of the palaces and public buildings with entire clearness. The materials have been abundant, but very confused; some of the statements were contradictory, and others upon examination proved untrue. So far as truth could be ascertained, it has been adhered to as a governing rule in compiling from such a multifarious mass—the chief endeavour has been to give the greatest number of authentic and interesting facts that could be collected.

W. HONE,

FULL ANNALS
OF THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,
1830.

THERE have been frequent anticipations of a sudden termination to the power of Charles X. One, so long ago as 1827, in *Rambling Notes on a Visit to Paris, by Sir A. B. Faulkner*, when Peyronnet was trying experiments for shackling the press, is remarkably prophetic. This gentleman then said:—

“The present *project* of M. Peyronnet, to restrain the liberty of the press, has lent no small force to the jealousy of the present Government, and, considering the awful experience they had in former times, seems a most unaccountable temerity. If it were merely one or two acts of an arbitrary nature they were trying to carry, they might be overlooked, or at least have the benefit of some equivocal interpretation; but when a number of convergent measures are attempted at the same time, the tendency of which is alike hostile to the spirit of the Charter and the wishes of the people, surely little farther proof is necessary to convince them of the *animus* that presides in the councils of the nation. But, after all, it is only themselves the people have to thank for the whole. They committed a sad oversight at the restoration. Before they allowed Louis XVIII. to put one of his gouty feet on the beach at Calais they should have presented him, as we did in a similar conjuncture, with a bill of right, as a positive and peremptory condition of his being accepted for their Sovereign.

“From all I hear, I argue nothing but mischief, should M. Peyronnet’s project for trammelling the press be suffered to pass. If public opinion has not vent through this channel, it must sooner or later find another, and one probably the Government may like as little. True it is, that, before the revolution, the nation long and patiently endured the agonies of suppressed opinion; but let us bear in mind how long they had been strangers to any thing like freedom. The experiment of

open, manful remonstrance, would have been a fearful venture, while a *lettre de cachet* hung over their heads, and they were ignorant or distrustful of their strength. The insane abettors of this Bill appear to have forgotten that they live in the nineteenth not the sixteenth century: *the benefit of all history is thrown away upon them.* It is thrown away upon them that England has experimentally proved that the liberty of the press is the best bulwark of our religion and Constitution, by enlightening men to appreciate the value of both. It is lost upon them, too, that *there is no possible mode of getting at an acquaintance with the true interest of the governed, but through the free publication of opinion*; or, if they do know these things, they force us into the conclusion that the object is in reality not the suppression of the *licentiousness* of the press, as they would have it believed, but a step towards the restoration of absolute Government. A Frenchman asked me, to-day, why there should not be a check upon aristocratic licentiousness as well as popular licentiousness. ‘Human nature being the same in both, is there,’ said he, ‘any good reason why there should not be a *mutual* guarantee for the good behaviour of both? The history of your own country is a pregnant proof of the attachment which a free press begets for a free Constitution, which you know, spite of the most frightful commotions and rudest shocks, always righted again mainly, if not solely, through its instrumentality.’ So fully do I coincide with this view of the subject, that I am convinced, *if her navigators do not look sharp, the French vessel of State will soon be on her beam ends.* It is said, *au pis aller*, if the Minister cannot manage to carry his project by any other means, fair or foul, he has advised the king to create sixty new Peers. Better—or I am far astray in my French Politics—better, Charles X., you had never left your *pension* in Holyrood House.

“The common opinion about the Press Restriction Bill is, that it must eventually pass into law. It will behoove its authors and abettors to be aware. The steam of public opinion is at present under high pressure, and it is doubtful whether it will bear much increase.

“The King is never mentioned but in connexion with an incubus of Jesuits, by whom, they say, he is perpetually and most unmercifully bestrode. There certainly appears to be no occasion that their bitterest enemy should desire the Royal Family any greater humiliation than they at present may be supposed to endure from the state of popular feeling. Never, perhaps, did Royalty repose on any thing more the reverse of

a bed of roses. If hearsay and appearances may be trusted, *they live literally as exiles among their own people, without one soul that I could discover to sympathize with this most unnatural sequestration.* In such circumstances, to render misery complete, I can conceive nothing wanting except that, while not receiving sympathy, we should be conscious of not deserving it."

What a picture!—Charles X. and the Polignac Administration, in 1830, realized the anticipations of a common-sense English gentleman in 1827.

Before detailing the events of the revolution in France, in 1830, it is necessary to state a few previous circumstances.

In March, 1814, the allied armies invested Paris, and Louis XVIII. then prepared to leave England, in order to occupy the throne of France. The count d'Artois (afterward Charles X.) left Switzerland on the 19th of March, entered Vesoul on the 22d, and, on setting his foot on the French territories, exclaimed, "At length I see my native country again—*that country which my ancestors governed in mildness!*—I will never quit it again!"

In that little speech he made a capital mistake; his ancestors had *not* governed France "in mildness." His persevering in that mistake, by endeavouring to govern like them, by ordinances, occasioned another mistake; he has quitted France again.

Charles X. broke the charter. A few sentences will show the origin of that charter.

On the 30th of March, Paris was surrounded by the cannon and armies of the allied sovereigns. They desired to enter the capital without difficulty, and prince Schwartzemberg, as their representative, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, stating that the allied armies were before the city, with the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France; and that the allied sovereigns "sought in good faith a salutary authority in France," and looked to the city of Paris "to accelerate the peace of the world."

On the same day, the emperor of Russia, by a declaration on behalf of himself and the other allied sovereigns, "invited the senate to name immediately a provisional government able to provide for the wants of the administration," and prepare a constitution suitable to the French people.

On the 31st of March, the senate decreed that the provisional government should consist of five members, and proceeded to nominate them, viz. M. Talleyrand, Prince of Bene-

vento, Vice Grand Elector ; Count du Bonnouvelle, Senator ; Count de Jancour, Senator ; Duke d'Auberg, Counsellor of State ; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the Constitutional Assembly.

In a second sitting the senate declared that the Dynasty of Napoleon was at an end, that the French were absolved from their oath of allegiance to him, and that the senate and legislative bodies should form fundamental parts of the new constitution. In consequence of that declaration the emperor Alexander declared, " I leave the choice of the monarch and government entirely to the French people."

On the 3d of April the senate entered on its register that " a constitutional monarchy is, in virtue of the constitution, a social compact ;" and that, as Napoleon had violated his legal powers, he had forfeited the throne and the hereditary right established in his family. One of their principal allegations against Napoleon was " that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, had been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his Police ; and that at the same time he had always made use of the press to fill France with misrepresentations, false maxims, and doctrines favourable to despotism."

On the 6th of April, the conservative senate decreed the form of a constitution, by which constitution Louis XVIII. was called to the throne of France, and which constitution contains this remarkable article :—" 23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty."

On the 14th of April, the senate decreed as follows :—" The senate offers the provisional government of France to his royal highness Monseigneur Count d'Artois, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, until Louis Stanislaus Xavier of France, called to the throne of the French, has accepted the Constitutional Charter." The Count d'Artois replied, " Gentlemen, I have taken cognizance of the Constitutional Charter, which recalls to the throne of France my august brother. I have not received from him the power to accept the Constitution, but I know his sentiments and principles, and I do not fear being disavowed when I assure you in his name he will admit the basis of it."

The French determined not to send over the Constitution to be presented to Louis XVIII. for his acceptance in this country, lest from his being resident at the court of one of the allied sovereigns it might be supposed he had accepted it under

influence. This, they expressly declared, "they considered as due to his honour, as well as to their own independence—because they tendered him the crown upon conditions."

Louis XVIII. landed at Calais. By not obtaining his acceptance of their Constitution before they permitted him to set his foot on the soil of France, the French committed a great blunder.

When Louis XVIII. reached St. Ouen, he published a declaration, on the 2d of May, setting forth that he had attentively read the "*plan* of the Constitution proposed by the Senate," but that a great many articles bore the appearance of precipitation.

In this declaration, and in the King's position, there was enough to alarm the vigilant. Under the protection of foreign bayonets, he reserved to himself the power of rejecting whatever he disliked.

Louis XVIII. found himself constituted king of France, in the palace of the Tuileries, and was in no hurry to settle the affair of the Constitution; but the people clamoured against the delay, and at length he issued a manifesto, which contains the following sentence—that "Resolved to adopt a liberal Constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together, on the 10th of June, the Senate and the Legislative body—we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken with a commission chosen out of these two bodies, and to give for the basis of that constitution the following guarantees."

On the 10th of June, the Senate and the Legislative body met, and the people were swindled. By the Constitution they proposed to Louis XVIII. he had ascended the throne,—as soon as he found himself upon it, he threw away the ladder.

By the Constitution, Louis XVIII. would have acknowledged himself called to the throne by the choice of the French people. Instead of this, he gave them what he called a Charter, beginning—"Louis, *by the Grace of God*, King, &c.—Whereas *Divine Providence* in calling us, &c.—A Constitutional Charter was *solicited*—and we have, in the free exercise of our royal authority, agreed and consented to make concessions, and *grant* to our subjects, &c." In short, *Divine right* was all in all, and over all. The King would not accept a Constitution; for that would have implied acknowledgment of power to propose it for acceptance. Instead of it, "in free

exercise of his royal authority," he badged the people as his hereditary property—he gave them a Charter.

The people gradually became reconciled, and Louis XVIII. maintained his position on the throne with considerable firmness. On any ministerial attempt at encroachment they referred to the Charter, which, though originating in a despotic principle, was a benefit.

Louis XVIII., on his death-bed, used to his successor Charles X. these memorable words, "Govern legally."

On Charles X. good advice was lost. In the hands of a host of priests and Jesuits he thought himself religious—he was only superstitious. In his conduct towards the people he seemed without a moral sense. The rights of kings and the "mild" rule of his ancestors were ever before him. His hallucination was without intervals. Nothing was to be yielded to the people; for nothing belonged to them—not even the Charter. To strengthen himself in the Chamber of Peers, he increased it by creations. To weaken the people he invaded the elective franchise, and shackled the press.

In 1830, the Chamber of Deputies resisted the arbitrary measures of the ministers, and Charles X. dissolved the sittings of the Chambers. At a new election, the electors generally returned the old liberal Deputies, and some electors, who had sent ministerial Deputies before, now returned Deputies whom they could depend on for the protection of rights under the Charter, which had been threatened with violation. The King had frequently changed his ministers; he had now an administration to his liking and fitted for his purposes.

Prince Polignac, a natural son of Charles X., and Peyronnet, a man as depraved in private as he is unprincipled in public life, were the leaders of the administration devoted to the king's designs. Every man in France knew it was impossible that the government could go on unless the king would "govern legally." He resolved, with the aid of his ministers, to govern as he would. A few days before he signed the ordinances of the 25th of July, it was whispered that the court had determined to strike a blow, by licensing only what Journals it pleased, and putting the rest under a censorship—by opening the Chambers with a selection only, from the newly elected Deputies, in the Chamber of Deputies—and by disfranchising a majority of the very small number of persons qualified, under the Charter, to be elected: this it was said would be effected by a stroke of the pen. The rumour died away under the

assurances of Polignac that no such measures were contemplated.

At this time Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was in Paris, and had intimation of what Charles X. and his ministers intended, from unquestionable authority. He went to Prince Polignac, and by strong representations and earnest entreaties endeavoured to dissuade him from his headstrong purposes. Polignac was inflexible. Mr. Fitzgerald then addressed himself to two or three private friends and political coadjutors of the minister; they concurred in Mr. Fitzgerald's views, and hastened in alarm to Polignac, but found him confident of success and deaf to argument. In the dead of night, within a few hours of the signing of the ordinances, one of the ministers who afterward signed them, was unable to rest from anxiety and incertitude as to the event; he arose and disturbed Polignac, for the purpose of persuading him to abandon the design:—the minister was determined to persist, and, from a feeling of honour, his baffled visiter shared the danger of the desperate deed.

SUNDAY, JULY 25th, 1830.

Prince Polignac and his colleagues drew up and signed a Report on behalf of "legitimate power," addressed to the King. This formed the groundwork of three memorable ordinances which were signed to-day by Charles X., and countersigned by his ministers. Copies of these documents, so important in their results, are subjoined.

REPORT OF THE MINISTERS TO THE KING.

"Sire,

"Your ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honours them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of

anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

“The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends, but at a disadvantage, with the factious. Pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of the population. Alarms, too generally credited, agitate people’s minds, and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

“An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence labours to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. Skilful in turning to advantage all discontents, and exciting all hatreds, it foments among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow every where the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the summits of society, begin to penetrate the depths of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved also that these masses would never move without danger, even to those who endeavoured to rouse them from repose.

“A multitude of facts, collected in the course of the electoral operations, confirm these data, and would offer us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your majesty to avert the misfortune.

“Every where also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are in reality only the expression and the testimony of it.

“It must be acknowledged these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty of the press. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse seeing in the journals the principal focus of a corruption the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

“Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened, and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the ill-understood example of a neigh-

bouring people, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so : the proof is decisive, and the question is now judged in the public mind.

“ At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition.

“ What numerous and irrefragable proofs might be brought in support of this truth ! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too sudden and too frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the administration the ameliorations of which they are susceptible. All the ministries since 1814, though formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same license of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party, nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

“ This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours, by constant, persevering, daily-repeated efforts, to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people, to create against it every where embarrassment and resistance.

“ Its art consists not in substituting for a too easy submission of mind a prudent liberty of examination, but in reducing to a problem the most positive truths ; not in exciting upon political questions frank and useful controversy, but in placing them in a false light, and solving them by sophisms.

“ The press has thus excited confusion in the most upright minds,—has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it paves the way for anarchy in the state. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition,—that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely fictitious, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of readers,

except mutilated and disfigured in the most odious manner. A thick cloud, raised by the journals, conceals the truth, and in some manner intercepts the light between the government and the people. The kings, your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects : this is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your majesty should enjoy.

“ A licentiousness which has passed all bounds has, in fact, not respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the express will of the King or the words pronounced from the throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted ; the others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries, or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the royal power—the proclamation—was discredited by the public even before it was known by the electors.

“ This is not all. The press tends to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty, and to invade the powers of the state. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers ; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the journals pursue with their insults and their outrages the members whose votes appeared to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of debate in that Chamber has sunk under the reiterated blows of the press.

“ The conduct of the opposition journals in the most recent circumstances cannot be characterized in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an address derogatory to the prerogatives of the Throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is : and yet your Majesty repulsed the address as offensive ; you had publicly planned the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it ; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this : on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

“ But of all the excesses of the press, the most serious perhaps remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so

durable a splendour on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained subject to a cruel slavery and a shameful tribute.

“ This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament ; brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces, the number of our troops, and that of our ships ; they pointed out their stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variableness of the winds, and to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing, was divulged, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence ; and, a thing unheard-of among civilized people, the press has not hesitated, by false alarms on the dangers to be incurred, to cause discouragement in the army, and, pointing out to its hatred the commander of the enterprise, it has, as it were, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

“ What it dares to do every day in the interior of the kingdom tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to dissolve the bands of society, and evidently to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose here the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, organized on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance, reaches, either near at hand or at a distance, the most humble of the agents of the government. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from an insult, if he receives from his sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelopes all the public functionaries. Placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner cut off from civil society ; only those are spared whose fidelity wavers—only those are praised whose fidelity gives way ; the others are marked by the faction to be in the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

“ The periodical press has not displayed less ardour in pursuing, with its poisoned darts, religion and its priests. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the peo-

ple even the last germ of religious sentiments. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the foundations of the press, by poisoning the sources of public morals, and by covering the ministers of the altars with derision and contempt.

“ No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active ; as the press at all times, where it has been freed from its fetters, has made an irruption and invasion in the state. One cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during these last fifteen years, notwithstanding circumstances, and notwithstanding the changes of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, is to recommence the revolution, the principles of which it loudly proclaims. Placed and replaced at various intervals under the yoke of the censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which, engaging in combat local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, harassing authority by endless intrigues, has exercised a decisive influence on the elections.

“ These last effects, Sire, are transitory ; but effects more durable are observed in the manners and in the character of the nation. An ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention, the schools of scandal and licentiousness, has produced in it important changes, and profound alterations : it gives a false direction to people’s minds ; it fills them with prejudices—diverts them from serious studies—retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts—excites among us a fermentation, which is constantly increasing—maintains, even in the bosom of our families, fatal dissensions—and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

“ Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, the law and justice are equally obliged to confess their want of power. It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to appeal to experience, and to show the present state of things.

“ Judicial forms do not easily lend themselves to an effectual repression. This truth has long since struck reflecting minds ; it has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be prompt and strong ; it has been slow, weak, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is already done, and the punishment far from repairing it, only adds the scandal of discussion.

“ The judicial prosecution is wearied out, but the seditious press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute ; the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions. In these diverse circumstances the prosecutions have had their appearances of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the public prosecutor ? It seeks in multiplying its offences the certainty of their impunity.

“ The insufficiency, or even the inutility, of the institutions established in the laws now in force, is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is endangered by the licentiousness of the press. It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

“ Give ear, Sire, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all points of your kingdom. All peaceable men, the upright, the friends of order, stretch to your majesty their suppliant hands. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely afflicted. These alarms are too real not to be listened to—these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded.

“ There is but one means to satisfy them : it is to return to the Charter (*rentrer dans la Charte*).

“ If the terms of the 8th article are ambiguous, its spirit is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not given the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing one’s personal opinions certainly does not imply the right of publishing the opinions of others. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free or subject to restrictions : the other is a commercial speculation, which, like others, and more than others, supposes the superintendence of the public authority.

“ The intentions of the Charter on this subject are accurately explained in the law of the 21st of October, 1814, which is in some measure the appendix to it : this is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July ; that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the Charter. In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed, that the periodical press was not governed by the enactments of the 8th article. This truth is, besides, attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the journals the condition of giving securities.

“ Now, Sire, nothing remains but to inquire how this return

to the Charter, and to the law of the 21st of October, 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

“ We must not deceive ourselves ; we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a representative government. The principles on which it has been established could not remain entire amid the political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, tends to put itself in the place of legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the journals and the assistance of numerous affiliations. It has paralyzed, as far as has depended on it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the crown—that of dissolving the elective chamber. By this very thing the constitution of the state is shaken. Your majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundations.

“ The right as well as the duty of assuring its maintenance is the inseparable attribute of the sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing, if it had not the right to provide for its own security. This power exists before the laws, because it is in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which have in their favour the sanction of time, and the assent of all the publicists of Europe.

“ But these maxims have another sanction still more positive—that of the Charter itself. The 14th article has invested your majesty with a sufficient power, not undoubtedly to change our institutions, but to consolidate them and render them more stable.

“ Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come to have recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain.

“ These measures, Sire, your ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.

“ We are, with the most profound respect, Sire, your majesty’s most humble and most faithful subjects,

(Signed)

“ Prince de POLIGNAC.

“ CHANTÉLAUZE.

“ Baron D’HAUSSEZ.

“ Count de PEYRONNET.

“ MONTBEL.

“ Count de GUERNON RANVILLE.

“ Baron CAPELLE.”

ORDINANCES OF THE KING.

I. ORDINANCE AGAINST THE PRESS.

“ CHARLES, &c.

“ To all to whom these presents shall come, health.

“ On the report of our Council of Ministers, we have ordained, and ordain as follows :

“ Art. 1. The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

“ 2. The regulations of the articles 1st, 2d, and 9th of the 1st section of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, are again put in force, in consequence of which no journal, or periodical, or semi-periodical writing, established, or about to be established, without distinction of the matters therein treated, shall appear either in Paris or in the departments, except by virtue of an authority first-obtained from us respectively by the authors and the printer. This authority shall be renewed every three months. It may also be revoked.

“ 3. The authority shall be provisionally granted and provisionally withdrawn by the prefects from journals and periodicals, or semi-periodical works, published or about to be published in the departments.

“ 4. Journals and writings published in contravention of article 2 shall be immediately seized. The presses and types used in the printing of them shall be placed in a public dépôt, under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

“ 5. No writing below twenty printed pages shall appear, except with the authority of our Minister, Secretary of State for the Interior of Paris, and of the prefects in the departments. Every writing of more than twenty printed pages, which shall not constitute one single work, must also equally be published under authority only. Writings published without authority shall be immediately seized ; the presses and types used in printing them shall be placed in a public dépôt, and under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

“ 6. Memoirs relating to legal process, and memoirs of scientific and literary societies, must be previously authorized, if they treat in whole or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by art. 5 shall be applicable.

“ 7. Every regulation contrary to the present shall be without effect.

“ 8. The execution of the present ordinance shall take place in conformity to article 4 of the ordinance of November 27, 1816,

and of that which is prescribed in the ordinance of the 18th of January, 1817.

“6. Our Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of this ordinance.

“Given at Chateau St. Cloud, the 25th of July, of the year of Grace 1830, and the 6th of our reign.

(Signed)

“CHARLES.

(Countersigned)

“Prince de POLIGNAC, President.

“CHANTELAUZE, Keeper of the Seals.

“Baron D’HAUSSEZ, Minister of Marine.

“MONTBEL, Minister of Finance.

“Count GUERNON RANVILLE, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

“Baron CAPELLE, Secretary of State for Public Works.”

II. ORDINANCE ANNULING THE ELECTIONS OF THE DEPUTIES.

“CHARLES, &c.

“To all to whom these presents shall come, &c.

“Having considered Art. 50 of the Constitutional Charter; being informed of the manœuvres which have been practised in various parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the late operations of the electoral colleges; having heard our council; we have ordained, and ordain as follows:—

“Art. 1. The Chamber of Deputies of Departments is dissolved.

“2. Our Minister, Secretary of State of the Interior, is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

“Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, the year of Grace 1830, and the sixth of our reign.

“CHARLES.

(Countersigned)

“Count de PEYRONNET, Peer of France, Secretary of State for the Interior.”

III. ORDINANCE ABRIDGING THE RIGHT OF ELECTION.

“ CHARLES, &c.

“ To all those who shall see these presents, health.

“ Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the electoral colleges, wishing in consequence to reform according to the principles of the Constitutional Charter the rules of Election, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have recognised the necessity of using the right which belongs to us, to provide by acts emanating from ourselves for the safety of the state, and for the suppression of every enterprise injurious to the dignity of our crown. For these reasons, having heard our council, we have ordained, and ordain—

“ Art. 1. Conformably to the articles 15, 36, and 30, of the Constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall consist only of Deputies of Departments.

“ 2. The electoral rate and the rate of eligibility shall consist exclusively of the sums for which the elector and the candidate shall be inscribed individually, as holders of real or personal property, in the roll of the land tax, or of personal taxes.

“ 3. Each department shall have the number of deputies allotted to it by the 36th article of the Constitutional Charter.

“ 4. The deputies shall be elected, and the chamber renewed, in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th article of the Constitutional Charter.

“ 5. The electoral colleges shall be divided into colleges of arrondissement and colleges of departments, except the case of electoral colleges of departments, to which only one deputy is allotted.

“ 6. The electoral colleges of arrondissement shall consist of all the electors whose political domicile is established in the arrondissement. The electoral colleges of departments shall consist of a fourth part, the highest taxed, of the electors of departments.

“ 7. The present limits of the electoral colleges of arrondissements are retained.

“ 8. Every electoral college of arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of departmental deputies.

“ 9. The college of arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as candidates. Each division shall be in pro-

portion to the number of sections, and to the total number of electors, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of place and neighbourhood.

“ 10. The sections of the electoral college of arrondissements may assemble in different places.

“ 11. Every section of the electoral college of arrondissements shall choose a candidate, and proceed separately.

“ 12. The presidents of the sections of the electoral college of arrondissement shall be nominated by the prefects from among the electors of the arrondissement.

“ 13. The college department shall choose the deputies ; half the deputies of departments shall be chosen from the general list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements : nevertheless, if the number of deputies of the department is uneven, the division shall be made without impeachment of the right reserved by the college of department.

“ 14. In cases where, by the effect of omissions, of void or double nominations, the list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements shall be incomplete, if the list is reduced below half the number required, the college of department shall choose another deputy not in the list ; if the list is reduced below a fourth, the college of department may elect beyond the whole of the deputies of department.

“ 15. The prefects, the sub-prefects, and the general officers commanding military divisions and departments, are not to be elected in the departments where they exercise their functions.

“ 16. The list of electors shall be settled by the prefect in the Council of Prefecture. It shall be posted up five days before the assembling of the colleges.

“ 17. Claims regarding the power of voting which have not been authorized by the prefects shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies ; at the same time that it shall decide upon the validity of the operations of the colleges.

“ 18. In the electoral colleges of department, the two oldest electors and the two electors who pay the most taxes shall execute the duty of scrutators.

“ The same disposition shall be observed in the sections of the college of arrondissement, composed, at most, of only fifty electors. In the other college sections the functions of scrutators shall be executed by the oldest and the richest of the electors. The secretary shall be nominated in the college of the section of colleges by the president and the scrutators.

“ 19. No person shall be admitted into the college, or section

of college, if he is not inscribed in the list of electors who compose part of it. This list will be delivered to the president, and will remain posted up in the place of the sitting of the college, during the period of its proceedings.

“ 20. All discussion and deliberation whatever are forbidden in the bosom of the electoral colleges.

“ 21. The police of the college belongs to the President. No armed force without his order can be placed near the hall of sittings. The military commandant shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

“ 22. The nominations shall be made in the colleges and sections of college by the absolute majority of the votes given. Nevertheless, if the nominations are not finished after two rounds of scrutiny, the bureau shall determine the list of persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second round. It shall contain a number of names double that of the nominations which remain to be made. At the third round, no suffrages can be given except to the persons inscribed on that list, and the nominations shall be made by a relative majority.

“ 23. The electors shall vote by bulletins ; every bulletin shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

“ 24. The electors shall write their vote on the bureau, or cause it to be written by one of the scrutators.

“ 25. The name, the qualification, and the domicile of each elector who shall deposite his bulletin, shall be inscribed by the secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

“ 26. Every scrutiny shall remain open for six hours ; and shall be declared during the sitting.

“ 27. There shall be drawn up a *proces verbal* for each sitting. This *proces verbal* shall be signed by all the members of the bureau.

“ 28. Conformably to article 46 of the Constitutional Charter, no amendment can be made upon any law in the Chamber, unless it has been proposed and consented to by us ; and unless it has been discussed in the bureaux.

“ 29. All regulations contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

“ 30. Our Ministers, Secretaries of State, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

“ Given at St. Cloud, this 25th day of July, in the year of grace 1830, and 6th of our reign.

“ CHARLES.”

(Countersigned by all the Ministers.)

These ordinances of the King, on Sunday the 25th of July, with the preceding Report of the Ministers, were sent for insertion the following morning to the *Moniteur*.

MONDAY, JULY 26.

The *Moniteur* in France bears the same relation to the Government that the *London Gazette* does in England. It is the official paper, and has been so with the Government under the Directory, the Consulate, Napoleon, Louis XVIII., Napoleon during the hundred days, Louis XVIII. again, and his successor, Charles X.

On the publication of the *Moniteur* this morning, its readers were astounded by the mystifying Report of the Ministers to Charles X., and the king's arbitrary ordinances. A person who breakfasted at one of the cafés describes something of the effect produced by the illegal acts on the people assembled while he was sitting there. "A man entered, and, with a significant gesture, deposited at the bar a packet of Journals. The young lady who presided opened them of course, and, having glanced at them, beckoned to the proprietor of the café, and, with an air of astonishment, put one of them into his hands. He read a few lines—his eye fell lower—he struck his forehead with his open hand, exclaiming, 'I am ruined!' He immediately proceeded to lay upon the different tables copies of the *Moniteur*. In an instant they were grasped with eagerness—an unusual circumstance with that official organ—when 'Monstrous! scandalous! abominable!' burst from each reader. 'What is the matter, sir?' I asked of one of them. 'The Chamber is dissolved!' exclaimed one; 'The liberty of the press is suspended!' said another; 'The Charter is violated!' said a third. A fourth, although evidently excited similarly with the others, showed, in addition, other symptoms of dissatisfaction, and the working of his mind, in these words, addressing a friend:—'B****, I shall run off instantly to Tortoni's—the Three per Cents. will be down three francs in half an hour—I must see my broker instantly.'" The latter speaker had not misconceived the effect: the *Rentes* fell rapidly, and the Bank stopped its discounts.

In Paris are the greater number of those electors whom the ordinances relating to the elections purposed to disfranchise; besides these, there are the conductors of the Journals, and a

great number of literary men, whose feelings and interests were violated by the ordinance against the press. Every mind was filled with indignation, and each man determined of himself, and upon the instant, to resist these aggressions of the King and his treasonable ministry. The first overt act seems to have been manifested by M. Charles Dunoyer. He addressed a letter to the *National*, declaring that he would not pay taxes until the ordinances were repealed; for that, when the Government violated its engagements with the people, their duty of obedience ceased. The editor of the *National* inserted this letter, and, having conferred with his coadjutors, he courageously published his paper, in contempt of the ordinances, with the following

“DECLARATION OF EDITORS OF JOURNALS.

“*Paris, July 26.*

“It has for these six months past often been announced that the laws would be violated,—that a blow of arbitrary power would be struck. The good sense of the public refused to believe the report; the Ministry repelled the supposition as a calumny. However, the *Moniteur* has at last published those memorable ordinances which are the most striking violation of the laws. Legal government is therefore interrupted, and that of force has commenced.

“In the situation in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens first called upon to obey are the writers of the Journals; they ought to give the first example of resistance to authority which has divested itself of a legal character.

“The reasons on which they rely are such that it suffices to announce them.

“The matters regulated by the ordinances now published are those on which royal authority cannot, according to the Charter, decide singly. The Charter (Art. 8) declares that the French, in affairs of the press, shall be bound to conform to the laws; it does not say to the ordinances. The Charter (Art. 35) says that the organization of the electoral colleges shall be regulated by laws; it does not say by ordinances.

“The crown itself has hitherto recognised these articles. It never entertained the thought of arming itself against them, either with a pretended constituent power, or with the power falsely attributed to Art. 14.

“In fact, on all occasions, when circumstances, pretended

to be of a serious nature, have appeared to the crown to require a modification, either in the system of the press or the electoral system, it has had recourse to the two Chambers.—When it was required to modify the Charter, for establishing septennial duration and integral renewal, it had recourse, not to itself, as author of that Charter, but to the Chambers.

“Royalty has, therefore, of itself recognised and acted upon these articles, 8 and 35, and has arrogated, with respect to them, either a constituent authority, or a dictatorial authority which nowhere exists.

“The tribunals which have the right of interpretation have solemnly recognised the same principles. The royal Court of Paris condemned the publishers of the Breton Association as authors of an outrage on the government. They considered the supposition that the government could employ the authority of ordinances, where the authority of the law can alone be admitted, as an outrage.

“Thus the formal text of the Charter, the practice hitherto followed by the Crown, and the decisions of the tribunals, establish, that with respect to the press, and electoral organization, the laws—that is to say, the King and the Chambers—can alone determine.

“The Government has, therefore, now violated legal order. We are dispensed from obeying. We shall endeavour to publish our journal without asking the authority which is imposed on us. We shall do our best, in order that, for the present at least, it shall reach all parts of France.

“This is what our duty as citizens dictate, and we fulfil it.

“It is not for us to point out to the Chamber, illegally dissolved, its duties; but we may supplicate it, in the name of France, to rely on its evident right, and to resist with all its power the violation of the laws. Its right is as certain as that on which we rely. The Charter declares, Art. 50, that the King may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but in order to do that it is necessary that it shall have been assembled, and constituted a Chamber, and, in fine, that it shall have maintained a system capable of provoking its dissolution. But, before the meeting and the constitution of the Chamber, there is nothing but the election of deputies. Now in no part of the Charter is it said that the King can annul the elections. The ordinances now published do nothing but annul the elections. They are therefore illegal, because they do that which the Charter does not authorize.

“The Deputies elected and convoked for the 3d of August are therefore well and truly elected and convoked. Their right to-day is the same as it was yesterday. France implores them not to forget it. Whatever they can do to make that right prevail, it is their duty to do.

“The Government has this day lost the character of legality which commands obedience. We resist it in what concerns ourselves. It is for France to determine how far her resistance ought to extend.

“The following editors and managers of Journals, now in Paris, have signed:—

“MM.

“GAUJA, manager of the *National*.

“THIERS, MIGNET, CARREL, CHAMBOLLE, PEYSSE, ALBERT, STAFFER, DUBOCHET, ROLLE, editors of the *National*.

“LEROUX, manager of the *Globe*.

“DE GUIZARD, editor of the *Globe*.

“SARRANS, jun., manager of the *Courrier des Electeurs*.

“B. DEJEAN, editor of the *Globe*.

“GUYET, MOUSSETTE, editors of the *Courrier*.

“M. AUGUSTE FABRE, chief editor of the *Tribune des Départemens*.

“M. ANNEE, editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

“M. CAUCHOIS-LEMAIRE, editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

“SENTY, of the *Temps*.

“HAUSSMAN, of the *Temps*.

“AVENNEL, of the *Courrier Français*.

“DUSSARD, of the *Temps*.

“LEVASSEUR, editor of the *Révolution*.

“EVARISTE DUMOULIN.

“ALEXIS DE JUSSIEU, editor of the *Courrier Français*.

“CHATELAIN, manager of the *Courrier Français*.

“PLAGNOL, chief editor of the *Révolution*.

“FAZY, editor of the *Révolution*.

“BUZONI, BARBAROUX, editors of the *Temps*.

“CHALAS, editor of the *Temps*.

“A. BILLIARD, editor of the *Temps*.

“ADER, of the *Tribune des Départemens*.

“F. LARREGUY, editor of the *Journal du Commerce*.

“J. F. DUPONT, advocate, editor of the *Courrier Français*.

“CH. DE REMUSAT, of the *Globe*.

“V. DE LAPELOUZE, one of the managers of the *Courrier Français*.

“BOHAIN ET ROQUEPLAN, of the *Figaro*.

“COSTE, manager of the *Temps*.

“J.—J. BAUDE, editor of the *Temps*.

“BERT, manager of the *Commerce*.

“LEON PILLET, manager of the *Journal de Paris*.

“VAILLANT, manager of the *Sylphe*.”

Another paper, the *Journal du Commerce*, expressed its opinion of the obnoxious ordinances, in the subjoined spirited article :—

“VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER—ABOLITION OF THE LAWS.

“*Paris, July 26th.*

“Violence has triumphed in the councils of the King. The Constitution of the State is attacked in its foundations. The body politic is dissolved. France is replaced, by the crime of the Ministers, in the provisional situation from which the Charter had raised it on the 14th of June, 1814. The legal title which would legitimate the raising of the taxes in 1831 has just been destroyed.

“The crime for which Ministers are going to answer before the nation has been characterized by the Royal Court of Paris, in the sentence passed upon us with respect to the Breton subscription. In condemning us for having published that document the Magistrates have declared that the imputation was odious which ascribed to Ministers the intention of overthrowing the basis of the constitutional guarantees established by the Charter, and the design attributed to them criminal, either to enact and levy taxes not assented to by the two Chambers, or to change illegally the mode of the election.

“This odious imputation has become an official truth : this criminal intention is realized.”

On the other hand, the *Gazette de France*, a Journal devoted to the court, defended the ordinances, by alleging that the representative system was not affected ! that the decrees were countersigned by seven responsible Ministers ! that this was the third time since the restoration that the elections had been altered by royal ordinances ! that the liberty of the press was only suspended ! that these measures were essential to the maintenance of the royal prerogative ! and were rendered imperative by the necessity of preserving established order, and the institutions which Royalty had “given to its people !” Unfortunately for royalty, “its people” were of another opinion ; and the proprietors of the Journals in whom the

people confided were determined to maintain public liberty, by opposing the pen to the sword.

One of Polignac's friends remonstrated with him, and endeavoured to enforce upon him the fact that the ordinances endangered the dynasty: the Minister answered, "Our plan is complete; every thing is settled;—the rest must be left to the *gen-d'armie!*" The proprietors solemnly but vainly protested against the violation of their property.

These commotions alarmed foreigners sojourning in Paris, and they hastened to the ambassadors of their respective nations for information and advice. Lord Stuart, the English Minister, was agitated and confused, and dismissed his anxious countrymen with expressions of hope that all would end quietly. The passport office was crowded with persons desirous of leaving France immediately.

Meetings of opulent citizens were held for the purpose of considering what course to pursue, and they resolved not to pay the current taxes, lest the money should be applied to the final subjugation of the Chamber of Deputies and the periodical press. The *Bourse* (Exchange) was crowded to excess. In every face there was either stupefaction or alarm. All inquired, "What is to be done?" "What step can be taken to avert ruin?" The *Rentes* fell alarmingly. The noted jobber Ouvrard had been intrusted with the secret of the *coup d'etat*: he arranged accordingly, and made an immense sum by the fall. M. Rothschild was excluded from the confidence of Ministers, and lost as much as his rival gained.

There were at this time in Paris the Deputies representing the electors of the city, and some of the Deputies from other parts of the kingdom. They assembled to the number of thirty-two, and deliberated at the house of the deputy, M. Lafitte, the banker. A number of constitutional peers hastily met at the Duke de Choiseul's. At each of these meetings it was resolved not to submit. The Peers signed a protest, and sent it by a deputation to the King. He refused to receive it. This rejection strengthened the resolution of the Deputies, and forty couriers were sent with despatches to towns and villages within a hundred miles of the metropolis, representing the outrages of the Government, and urging the inhabitants to co-operate with the Parisians in a determined stand for the liberties of France.

In the mean time, the Government was on the alert, and sent a general officer to Grenelle, and another to Angers, for military purposes. The military command of Paris was intrusted to the marshal Duke of Ragusa (Marmont). Troops were

ordered in from the barracks within fifty miles around. It was evident that the King and his Ministers were bent on enforcing obedience to their ordinances by arms. The guards in the city were doubled. Towards the evening, bodies of gen-d'armerie were stationed about the Bourse, and on the Boulevards.

These demonstrations, which dismayed and agitated every mind, were made while Charles X. was deaf to the teachings of an awful experience, and to the fearful representations of the few honest persons whom he allowed to approach him. He left the execution of his royal will to his ministers—as if the people had nothing to do, and would do nothing, with the Ordinances, but obey them. But the people were of a different temper. In consequence of the Bank refusing to discount bills, the manufacturers perceived it had not confidence in the Government, and they immediately discharged their workmen. These artisans congregated in the different streets and reported what had happened to listening throngs. Lovers of news rushed to the offices of Journals which contained second editions, with the obnoxious ordinances. The Ministers were not willing that a knowledge of their own acts should extend to the provinces. Most of the papers put into the post-office were withheld, and the prefect of police, M. Mangin, issued the annexed

ORDINANCE.

“WE, PREFECT OF POLICE, &c., seeing the ordinance of the King, dated the 25th inst., which puts again in force articles 1, 2, and 9 of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, &c., have ordained, and ordain as follows:—

“ART. 1. Every individual who shall distribute printed writings, on which there shall not be the true indication of the names, profession, and residence of the author and of the printer, or who shall give to the public the same writings to read, shall be brought before the Commissary of Police of the quarter, and the writings shall be seized.

“2. Every individual keeping a reading-room, coffee-house, &c., who shall give to be read journals, or other writings, printed contrary to the ordinance of the King of the 25th inst., relative to the press, shall be prosecuted as guilty of the misdemeanors which these journals or writings may constitute, and his establishment shall be provisionally closed.

“3. The present ordinance shall be printed, published, and posted up.

“4. The Commissary Chief of Municipal Police, the Com-

missaries of Police, shall be enjoined to see to the execution of it. It shall also be addressed to the Colonel of the city of Paris, commander of the royal gen-d'armerie, to cause the execution of it as far as he is concerned."

Mangin's ordinance, posted on the walls in all parts of the city, heightened the general discontent. It was plain there were to be fewer papers, and each with only such small flowings of adulterated intelligence as Prince Polignac and his confederates would allow to dribble out. Newspapers with a Frenchman's coffee in the morning are as essential to his existence as sugared water and a dance in the evening. He neither does nor can he do without them: M. Mangin's ordinance was honoured with as much contempt as the ordinance of his masters. The officers of this functionary cleared the coffee-houses and reading-rooms of visiters, and shut up these and other places of resort for amusement or refreshment. By order of the police, the theatres were closed. These precautionary measures were by no means effective. The Government spies prowled in redoubled numbers, and were enabled to inform their employers that all Paris was in a state of high sedition.

At the Champs Elysées there were in the evening, as usual, several bands of itinerant musicians performing in front of the groups seated in the grand Allée, and in front of the cafés. One of these bands, composed of two men and two women, sang a few airs, accompanying themselves on the guitar, and commenced another. They had not sung three words before a well-dressed man whispered something in the ear of the leader. The music stopped, and another air was commenced. The interruption came from one of the innumerable agents of the police. The song prohibited was to the tune of one which contained a reference to the destruction of the Bastille.

In the course of the day, the gen-d'armerie were objects of popular dislike, which was chiefly manifested by words. Several shops and public buildings were closed; and, much earlier than was customary, all the shops in the Palais Royal were shut up. Young men, chiefly the sons of tradesmen, paraded the streets with walking-sticks containing small swords, which they drew occasionally and flourished in the air, at the same time uttering loud cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" As the night closed in, they were joined by persons of more fashionable appearance, with similar sticks and pistols. Crowds of artisans, with bludgeons, rushed along, vociferating "*Vive la Liberte!*" Until a late hour there were tumultuous cries; the prevailing one was "*Vive la Charte!*" The windows were

broken at the Treasury, at Polignac's hotel in the Palais Royal, and at the hotel of Montbel, the Minister of Finance, in the Rue Rivoli. No other violence was committed—except, perhaps, that, as was reported, one of the gen-d'armerie was shot after the darkness had set in. Charles X. came privately to Paris, and slept at the Dutchess of Berri's, while many of the people of Paris passed the night in devising means for opposing the arbitrary domination he had assumed. The morrow that dawned upon his fatuitous slumbers witnessed his outraged subjects in wakeful deliberation.

TUESDAY, JULY 27.

The glorious sun which arose this morning upon the city of Paris lighted the people to early co-operation against the lawless will of Charles X., and him, at a later hour, to a shooting party at St. Cloud with the duke d'Angouleme, a man after his own heart, equally weak, rash, obstinate, and blind to consequences. On Sunday the ordinances were signed, and, to the perverse obliquity of the king's mind, his signature settled the business. On the following day, Monday, he and the duke took their rifles, and indulged in field-sports, and arranged to shoot together till Wednesday. These silly men expected as little resistance from the people as from the game which rose before them, to be brought down with their rifles. If the people rose, they were game—to be brought down by the gens-d'armerie.

This morning the heads of the University issued the following prohibition to the students:—

“THE ROYAL COUNCIL of Public Instruction being informed that some students appear to be disposed to take part in assemblages which may endanger good order and public tranquillity, desiring to save the young men from the fatal consequences which would necessarily result from the disorders to which these illegal assemblages might have given rise, and from the penalties which the authorities of the University would be obliged to pronounce against the delinquents, reminds the students of all the schools of the University, for the sake of their studies—for that of their future destiny, and of their families, of the following articles.”—Then followed the 18th, 19th, and 20th articles of the ordinance of the 5th of July, 1820, and article 36 of the ordinance of the 2d of Fe-

bruary, 1823, "prohibiting students from taking part in any illegal assemblages and public disorders, forbidding them to act or to write in a collective capacity, as if they formed a corporate body, &c. &c." This notice, dated the 27th of July, was signed by the Count de Guernon Ranville.

The press—that machine which, when once in action, can no more be stayed or stopped than the orb of day—had kept its course bravely yesterday. To day some prudent constitutional journals, bowing to the ordinances and the police—unconstitutionally applied for licenses to exist, but were refused, and suicidally extinguished. A few were licensed to appear under a strict censorship, and "swung blind and blackening." Others—in disdain and defiance of the police, the censors, the royal ordinances, the traitorous ministers, and the arbitrary king—came out, self-privileged, under "the liberty of unlicensed printing," exposing and denouncing the outrages of the court, and in unmeasured language vehemently urging the people to stand forth, and vanguard the efforts of the press for the liberties of France.

On this day the journals appear to have been in the situation about to be described.

The *Moniteur*, the official paper of the government, made no allusion to the recent events. It contained an order which directed that all prefects, sub-prefects, and secretaries general should return immediately to their posts. It farther contained the following *errata* in the ordinances:—"The first article of the ordinance for the meeting of the electoral colleges should state that the electoral colleges of the departments are to meet on the 13th of September, not on the 18th—In the first article of the ordinance which lays down the rules of election, and prescribes the execution of article 46 of the Charter, instead of the words 'conformably to articles 15, 36, and 30,' are to be read '15, 36, and 50, of the Constitutional Charter.'"

The *Messenger des Chambres* appeared under a license, with this introductory notice—"Paris, July 27th. At so critical a moment we have considered whether we should let our paper appear, or cease to exist. Strong in our consciences and our principles, we have thought that an opposition journal was still necessary, not to discuss acts which we will not characterize, and which, under present circumstances, we cannot discuss, but to collect facts, to give them to the public, and to rectify them if they should be disfigured by the Ministerial journals. Thus we suspend for the present all discussion, preferring silence to a complaisant or forced mutilation of our ideas."

The *Journal du Commerce* appealed from the ordinances to the laws, and obtained a judgment in favour of the press. The following ordinance of the president, De Belleyme, authorized the printer. "Considering the ordinance of the King of the 25th, relative to the press, has not been promulgated according to the forms prescribed by the ordinance of the 27th of November, 1826, and that of the 18th of January, 1817: We order M. Selligue to proceed to the composition and printing of the *Journal du Commerce*, which is to appear to-morrow."

La France Nouvelle was honoured with a similar ordinance, addressed to its printer, M. Plassau. This recreant of the press refused to comply, and the courageous editors could not bring out their journal.

The *Courrier Français* was not published, for a similar reason, assigned by its conductors in the following spirited circular addressed to their subscribers:—

" Sir,

" Paris, July 27th.

" Yesterday evening, at the moment for putting the *Journal* to press, the printer of the *Courrier Français*, intimidated by the threats of the police, signified to us his refusal to print it. The dispute has been referred to the tribunals. We shall employ all legal means to make our right triumph; but we shall not apply for a license, which would seem to imply our submission to acts which violate the Charter and the laws.

" The citizens who have been concerned in editing and publishing the *Courrier Français* will protest to the last; and will rather make a sacrifice of their property, than yield to arbitrary measures and to violence.

" The Managers of the *Courrier Français*,

" V. DE LAPELOUZE.

" CHATELAIN."

Galignani's Messenger was not published. His whole establishment was closed.

The *London Express* was not published.

The *Constitutionnel*, a journal with 17,000 subscribers, was printed, but not published. It was suppressed by the police: a sentry was placed at the office door to prevent its distribution.

The *Universal*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Gazette de France*, and the *Drapeau Blanc*, being papers devoted to the government, were licensed and published.

The *Courrier des Theatres* appeared with the play-bills of the day only.

The *Petites Affiches*, containing advertisements only, also appeared.

The *Journal des Salons*, relating only to costumes, fashions, furniture, &c., was published.

The NATIONAL resisted and was published early in the morning, *without a license*. It contained a letter from M. Charles Dunoyer, declaring that he would not pay taxes until the ordinances were repealed.

The TEMPS resisted, and was published *without a license*.

The FIGARO resisted, and was also published *without a license*.

The *National* and the *Temps*, by secret arrangements and private presses, were printed and published in despite of the vigilance of the police. The proprietors of each of these journals, influenced by a noble scorn, refused to apply for licenses, and threatened, if force were offered to them, they would repel it by force. These courageous papers were issued *gratuitously* at the offices, and thence they were distributed, and voraciously read in every quarter. The excellent young men who conducted the *National* had contrived to circulate the paper to its subscribers, and afterward, with their own hands, they gave away a multitude of copies to the people that thronged their door, with an injunction to each individual to take arms in defence of their country against its tyrants. By this means, the news of the odious ordinances and the calls to resistance, which until then had been confined within circles, were extended throughout Paris to the stupefaction of many thousands, who were unacquainted with the proceedings of yesterday. In vain did the commissaries of police go round to all the cafés and reading-rooms to prevent the giving out of the *National* and the *Temps* for perusal; for they had been read, and the news communicated.

A Paris letter of this day well describes the anxieties and views of the people:—"I went," says the writer, "at half-past seven o'clock this morning to the Palais Royal, anxious to see the Paris Journals figuring in their barrenness—I mean, divested of that sickening mass of rubbish with which, under the name of *Hautes Politiques*, their columns used to be loaded. The *Moniteur*, the *Universal*, and the *Quotidienne* had arrived—no others were to be found in the four beautiful Pavileons 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 *Figaro*. Early as was the hour, the garden contained not fewer than 500 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 those 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. 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. This 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."

In the *Drapeau Blanc*, a court journal, there was a paragraph of extraordinary import. "It is certain that the council of the day before yesterday did justice to a pretty considerable number of functionaries whose opinions, and, in case of need, whose votes, do not agree with the monarchical spirit which animates the King's Government." There cannot be a doubt but that Charles X. and his Ministers designed to erect a despotism in France upon the ruins of the Charter.

Several hours elapsed after the publication of the *National* and the *Temps*, without a movement against the editors. The king and his guilty ministers must have seen these journals

soon after they were issued, and probably much of the interval was employed in determining what should be done with the offenders.

About noon, the police, and a large force of gens-d'armes, mounted and on foot, appeared before the office of the National, in the Rue St. Marc. They found the door fast closed; and, being refused entrance, broke in, seized the types, and carried the *redacteur-in-chef* to prison, leaving five mounted gens-d'armes to blockade the entrance of the street. The same force went to the office of the *Temps*, in the Rue Richelieu, where, the door being locked and admission denied, a smith was sent for to break it open, but he refused to act. Another smith was procured, who picked the lock and opened the door. Still there was no entrance; for the doorway within was barricaded, and a body of honest printers inside vowed to defend the blockaded pass, and the press, with their lives. The commissaries of police, however, by some means, got in, and seized the papers that remained, and the types. The crowds as yet could only oppose resentful looks, and cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" to military operations.

The people, already irritated by the reading of the journals, and aggravated by the pouring in of troops and the seizure of the presses, heartened each other with shouts for liberty and their country. Agitation prevailed throughout Paris; the Bourse was crowded to excess, and inflammatory papers were thrown in upon the assembly—"Death to Ministers, and infamy to the soldiers who defend them!"—"Aux armes, François!" The funds of course dropped as popular excitement heightened.

After this notice of the state of the daily press, and the sensation on the Exchange, and among the loungers and frequenters of the cafés, it is proper to relate incidents that concerned the people generally. At daybreak, the inhabitants of Paris were reminded, by the thunder of the artillery exercising at Vincennes, that some hundreds of pieces of cannon were ready to pour into the city and sweep the streets. So early as five in the morning several battalions of the Guards were under arms in the Champs Elysées; and by seven o'clock groups began to form in the Palais Royal. The *National* and the *Temps*, the two patriotic papers which broke the ordinances by publishing without a license, and were given away, found eager readers in the assembled crowds. These journals were likewise read to the people in the city itself by enthusiastic persons mounted on chairs, and from the windows

of the houses. There were repeated shouts of "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Down with the King!*" "*Death to Polignac!*" "*Death to Peyronnet!*" "*Liberty or Death!*" "*Vive la Republique!*"

A deputation of peers left Paris for St. Cloud; but the court had taken a headlong course, and perversely determined on enforcing obedience to its mandates. The deputies assembled, and were understood to have unanimously resolved that the ministers had placed themselves out of the pale of the law; that the people would be justified in refusing payment of the taxes; and that all the deputies should be summoned to meet on the 3d of August, the day first appointed for their convocation.

By twelve o'clock, there were at least 5000 people in the Palais Royal. The multitude was increased by printers thrown out of employment from suppression of the journals, and by workmen dismissed from the manufactories. The ferment rapidly heightened, especially among groups of electors of 12*l.* a-year, whom the ordinance disfranchised, who listened to harangues from speakers mounted on chairs. Respectable tradesmen shut their shops, and hastened to the spot to hear the exhortations of the unlicensed journals amplified and enforced at the Palais Royal. One man said, "My brothers! Frenchmen! The miserable ministry has done its worst. Will you submit to be slaves? Hear what the National says to you! (He read passages urging resistance.) Will you second the press? I know you will! Let us unite against our oppressors!" Answers of "Yes, yes! we will, we will unite!" were loudly vociferated. All the shopkeepers in the Palais Royal shut up their shops. A police officer had entered a shop to compel the taking down of a caricature, and, being beaten by the proprietor, the police were hustled and attacked.

All work was abandoned, every manufactory closed, and detachments of artisans, with large sticks, traversed the streets. Troops of gens-d'armes patrolled in full gallop to disperse the accumulating crowds. The people were silent; and in half an hour the shops throughout Paris were closed. Troops of the Royal Guard, and soldiery of the line, came pouring in. The people looked sullen and determined. Their chief points of rendezvous were the Palais Royal, the Palais de Justice, and the Bourse. There were simultaneous cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Down with the absolute King!*" but no conversation—no exchange of words with each other.

The King was at the Tuileries. In the Place Caroussel

there was a station of several thousands of the military, including the Lancers of the Royal Guard, with a great number of cannon. At the Place Vendome, a strong guard of infantry was stationed around the column, to guard the signs of royalty upon it from being defaced. Crowds of people assembled on the spot and menaced the troops.

About four o'clock, the prefect of police ordered the Palais Royal to be cleared by the gen-d'armerie. They charged with the flat of their sabres, drove out the people *pell mell*, and the gates were closed. The chairs lying about the walks in heaps were evidence of the general confusion.

Towards five o'clock there was a tumult in the Place du Palais Royal. The military fired. A gen-d'arme was killed by the people. A mounted gen-d'arme, going at a smart trot, with a despatch, was attacked by half a dozen young men, with sticks, to compel him to surrender his arms. A platoon of infantry, of the same corps, was despatched to rescue him, but, fearing they would be too late, they fired a volley (probably in the air), the people dispersed, and the orderly returned to his post.

About seven o'clock, bodies of discharged workmen flocked into Paris from the environs, and dispersed about the city. The tumult and alarm increased as rapidly.—A single phrase—the revocation of the ordinances—might have restored tranquillity. The only intimation from the government was the arrival of fresh troops and cannon.

Armourers' shops were broken open, and the arms carried off. The crowds assembled in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, unpaved the Rue St. Honoré, as far as the Rue de l'Echelle, and, overturning a couple of large common wagons in the middle of the narrowest part of the street, made a kind of intrenchment. They then broke up stones for missiles, and attacked an armourer's shop in the Rue de l'Echelle. Some squadrons of the Lancers of the Guard charged and dispersed the assailants, and finally put them to flight in the Rue St. Honoré. Battalions of the Royal Guard fired against the Rue de l'Echelle and the church de St. Roch. It was announced at those theatres which were open, that the military were firing on the people, and the audiences rushed out to join their fellow-citizens. In this affair several of the people were killed. The lanterns for lighting Paris, by hanging them from the middle of rope lines which reach from one side to the other of each street, were destroyed by parties of the people, who cut the lines and trod the lanterns beneath their feet. A

band of artisans bore the corpse of one of their fallen comrades through the Rue Vivienne. As they passed a Swiss post, in the Rue Colbert, their cries of "Vengeance" were terrible. They took the body to the Place de la Bourse, and stripped and exhibited it, surrounded by candles, and the same fearful cries and shouts of "To arms! to arms!" Others of the slain, borne to the houses of their families, were silent but irresistible exhortations to resistance. The people execrated the king as the author of all the mischief. Their force was not organized. There existed no conspiracy, and therefore they did not act in concert. But their sentiment was the same, and the common feeling portended an awful and decisive struggle.

A tradesman left his house in the uniform of the National Guard, and was hailed with shouts of rapture. This uniform, with the arms of its wearers, had been ordered to be given up on the disbanding of the National Guard some years before. Some of the citizens had retained both, and these now resumed them in defence of the liberty of their country.

Near the Rue de l'Arbre Sec, one of the National Guard was arrested. He resisted—the people flew to the rescue, and the gens-d'armes let him go: a gen-d'arme said, "These are not the orders we have received." The appearance of the National Guard heightened the enthusiasm and increased the confidence of the people.

Some of the Royal Guard quitted their casernes and joined their countrymen. At ten o'clock, a guard-house of the gens-d'armes at the Place de la Bourse was attacked, the guard expelled, and the guard-house set on fire. The building was of wood and burned fiercely: a party of sapeurs pompiers (firemen) arrived to extinguish the flames; they were resisted by the people, and allowed themselves to be disarmed.

In the course of the day, Prince Polignac was vainly followed in his carriage, as an object of attack, by a crowd of the incensed people. He was strongly guarded by military, and proceeded to his hotel in safety. At night he gave a grand dinner to his odious colleagues, under the protection of a battalion, and ten pieces of artillery. He had been closeted with the relentless king during the greater part of the day. Neither the king nor any of his ministers had dared to show themselves in public for a moment.

To-day the opinion of the English ambassador was of little use to his countrymen. They saw enough to alarm them, and a number left Paris with the utmost despatch.

Despatches were sent by the government in every direction, to hasten troops towards the capital. By the time that these orders had arrived, several departments were in arms against the ordinances, and the mayors and prefects obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of the citizens, and to leave the question of military force and military arrangement to the inhabitants. A courier despatched to the Dutchess d'Angouleme was arrested by the people, and his despatches taken from him and sent to the committee of Deputies.

In the mean while, the Deputies had applied themselves to consider the measures necessary to be adopted. One of their resolutions was, that the National Guard should be immediately organized.

At this crisis, big with certain ruin to either the government of Charles X. or the liberties of the people, a momentous paper was addressed to the Journals with a letter, dated Paris, 27th July, and subscribed "By authorization,—The Secretary of the Preparatory Reunion of free Frenchmen, D. M." The letter began thus:—"I am charged to transmit to you, with a request to insert it in your next number, the following document, which, after deliberation, was adopted this day by a numerous assembly, met spontaneously in order to concert the measures which circumstances render necessary and indispensable, for the preservation of our rights, and the establishment of a true Constitutional Government."

The document alluded to was the following:—

"MANIFESTO TO THE FRENCH—TO ALL PEOPLE—AND TO ALL GOVERNMENTS.

"A solemn act had, in 1816, laid the basis of a reconciliation between the French nation and the ancient dynasty, and fixed the conditions by which the chief of the BOURBON family should resume and preserve the exercise of the Royal authority—reiterated oaths have, at different epochs, rendered more imperious the obligations contracted by the chiefs of this family, and had made their Charter the sole title to the obedience of the French. All these oaths have been violated during the last sixteen years, by the establishment of a great number of laws, opposed in their spirit and letter to the spirit of the Constitutional Charter; but each of the attempts hitherto made against this fundamental law had an appearance of legality, and had not exceeded legislative forms, which, while they had been preserved, offered the means of reparation. The French

nation, with an equanimity which has often been called indifference or weakness, has supported itself against all the inroads of power, and all the attacks against its rights, made by the different administrations which had succeeded each other under the reign of the astute Louis XVIII. as under that of his successor. The national patience, instead of bringing back the Government to sentiments of justice, of confidence, of benevolence, had, on the contrary, inspired it with sufficient audacity to march more openly to the overthrow of our institutions—to the spoliation of all our rights—to the re-establishment of those principles of Divine right, of those Royal Prerogatives, which are in opposition to the interests and the prerogatives of the people, which cannot be regarded otherwise than as an outrage to human reason, and which England first stigmatized with her anathemas, and destroyed by her arms. The Ordonnances of the 25th of the present month, in abolishing the principal guarantees consecrated by the Constitutional Charter, have set at naught the positive terms of that Charter, and of well-considered laws, adopted by the two Chambers and sanctioned by the King according to legal forms, and have at length taught the nation that the Chief which she had deigned to acknowledge, notwithstanding four years of vices, of corruptions, and of treasons against his country, wished to govern it by his own will, and according to the caprices of his own good pleasure. By these Ordonnances the Chief of the Government has placed himself above *the Law*; THEREFORE HE HAS PUT HIMSELF OUT OF THE PALE OF THE LAW.

“In consequence, CHARLES PHILLIP CAPET, formerly Count of ARTOIS, has ceased in right to be King of France; the French are released from all their obligations to him in that character. All the Ordonnances which he may promulge will be, like those of the 25th, null, and as if they never had been given. The Ministers composing the Government of the Ex-King, named POLIGNAC, PEYRONNET, MONTBÉL, D’HAUSSEZ, DE CHANTELAUZE and GUERNON RANVILLE, are declared attainted and convicted of high-treason. It is the duty of all Frenchmen to resist, by every means in their power, the orders of CHARLES PHILLIP CAPET, or his agents, under whatever denomination they may present themselves—to refuse payment of all imposts, and to take arms, if it should be necessary, to put an end to a Government *de facto*, and to establish a new Government *de jure*.

“The army is released from its oaths of fidelity to the Ex-

King—its country invokes its concurrence. CHARLES PHILIP CAPET, his self-styled Ministers, or Counsellors, their abettors and adherents, the Generals, the Chiefs of Regiments and Officers, are responsible for every effusion of blood resulting from the resistance of the Government *de facto* to the national will.

“LOUIS PHILLIP of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, is called upon to fulfil, under the present circumstances, the duties which are imposed upon him, and to concur with his fellow-citizens in the re-establishment of a Constitutional Government; and, on his refusal to do so, he must, with his family, quit the French territory until the perfect consolidation of the new Government has been effected.

“Voted in Session at Paris, 27th day of July, 1830.

(Signed)

“T. S. Provisional President.

“G. de M. } Provisional

“J. du D. } Secretaries.”

By whom this paper was drawn up, or issued, does not appear. Although names were not attached to it, yet such a manifesto, if circulated in Paris, at such a perilous moment, was calculated to strengthen the desire of the irritated people for the dethronement of Charles X., whose person, and family, and favourites, afforded the active elements of vexatious and tyrannical misrule.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28.

The Press did its work yesterday—it thoroughly aroused the people, and this was an eventful day.

It is proper, however, to notice thus early that the ordinance against the press was the subject of legal investigation this morning.

A case was submitted to the Tribunal of Commerce on a question between Messrs. De Lâpelouze and Chatelain, editors of the *Courrier Français*, and M. Gaultier Laguionie, printer of that Journal, who, in pursuance of a notice of the prefect of police, issued in conformity with the royal ordinance of the 25th instant, had refused to print that journal until a license was obtained. After hearing the respective parties and their counsel, the court pronounced the following judgment:—“Considering that, by an agreement between the parties, Gaultier Laguionie had bound himself to print for the editors of the jour-

nal entitled the *Courrier Français*, and that all agreements legally entered into ought to be carried into effect, it is in vain for M. Gaultier Laguionie to withdraw from the obligation he had taken upon himself, on the ground of a notice from the prefect of police, enjoining him to execute the ordinance of the 25th, which ordinance, being contrary to the Charter, could not be obligatory either upon the sacred and inviolable person of the king or upon the citizens whose rights it attacks; considering, farther, that, according to the forms of the Charter, ordinances can only be issued for the purpose of executing and maintaining the laws, and that the above ordinance, on the contrary, would have the effect of violating the provisions of the law of 28th of July, 1828; the tribunal ordains and decrees that the agreement between the parties shall be carried into effect, and consequently condemns, *par corps*, Gaultier Laguionie to print the *Courrier Français* within twenty-four hours, and in case of failure in doing so, reserves the right of the editors to sue for damages; orders the decree to be carried into temporary execution upon the minutes, and notwithstanding any appeal; and also condemns the defendant in all costs of the suit."

The *Moniteur* of this morning did not contain any thing relative to the late measures, or to the state of Paris, except that the king, by an ordinance of the 25th instant, had given to the Marshal Duke of Ragusa the command of all the troops forming the first military division.

Galignani's *Messenger* appeared, and merely announced that tumultuous assemblages had taken place, but that the government would put them down by force.

This morning, the shops of Paris were closely shut, and the windows fastened and barred, as if the inhabitants of the city were in mourning for the slain, or in apprehension of approaching calamity.

The *tocsin* sounded, and the people flocked in from the faubourgs and different quarters of the city.

That exterminable enemy to oppression, the press, had been at work during the night. Handbills were profusely distributed, containing vehement philippics against the king and his ministers, and summoning every man to arm for his country, and to aid in ejecting the Bourbons. Placards were constantly posted up, and eagerly read.

During the preceding night an organization of the people had been arranged.

All the arms that could be found at the theatres, and remaining in the shops of armourers that had not been visited the

evening before, were seized and distributed. Every other kind of property was respected.

Small parties of the military were stopped and disarmed by the multitude, and the soldiers confined.

Numbers of the National Guard in uniform, and with arms, paced the streets, and were allowed to pass by the gens-d'armes:—not a word was spoken; they merely exchanged looks.

No vehicles were in the streets; they were interdicted, and their passage rendered impracticable.

Strong detachments guarded the different hotels of the ministers.

Loud cries and shouts were constantly heard of “Down with the Jesuits!”—“Down with the Bourbons!”—“Death to the ministers.”

Each man strove to provide himself with a musket, a pistol, a sword, a pole with a knife or some cutting instrument to form a weapon of offence. The greater part had bludgeons; a few had rifles.

Troops continually arrived from St. Denis, St. Cloud, and other military stations.

Rude barricades were hastily thrown up in different places to prevent the attacks of cavalry.

Several telegraphs, including that on the church des Petits Peres, were dismounted.

Groups of the people armed with sticks, bayonets, pikes, and muskets, removed or effaced all the insignia and emblems of royalty. A red flag was hoisted on the gate of St. Denis, amid the shouts of the people. Tri-coloured flags were promenaded in the streets, and tri-coloured cockades and breast-knots were worn not only by the French, but by the English and foreigners of all nations. The royal arms and other signs of the government of Charles X. that were moveable were burned in the *Place Publique*.

All Paris was in insurrection. Every movement of the people portended a terrible conflict. The government reposed in security upon a crippled, blind, and implacable dignity.

An ambassador wrote to Prince Polignac to ask a guard, in order that the servants of the embassy might go out without danger. “I have no time to write to the ambassador,” said the prince to the bearer of the letter; “but you may assure him that all this is nothing! in two hours every thing will be quiet!”

The following document was in the course of signature by the representatives.

PROTEST OF THE DEPUTIES.

“THE UNDERSIGNED, regularly elected deputies by the Colleges of Arrondissements, by virtue of the royal ordinance of the —, and conformably to the constitutional Charter, and to the laws relative to elections of the —, and who are now at Paris,

“Consider themselves as absolutely obliged by their duties and their honour to protest against the measures which the advisers of the crown have lately caused to be proclaimed for the overthrow of the legal system of elections, and the ruin of the liberty of the press.

“The same measures contained in the ordinances of the — are, in the opinion of the undersigned, directly contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chamber of Peers, to the public rights of the French, to the attributes and to the decrees of the tribunals, and calculated to throw the state into a confusion which equally endangers the peace of the present moment and the security of the future.

“In consequence, the undersigned, inviolably faithful to their oath, protest in concert, not only against the said measures, but against all the acts which may result from them.

“And considering, on the one hand, that the Chamber of Deputies, not having been constituted, could not be legally dissolved, on the other, that the attempt to form a new Chamber of Deputies in a novel and arbitrary manner is directly opposed to the constitutional Charter and to the acquired rights of the electors, the undersigned declare that they still consider themselves as legally elected the deputation by the Colleges of the arrondissements and departments whose suffrages they have obtained, and as incapable of being replaced except by virtue of elections made according to the principles and forms prescribed by the laws. And if the undersigned do not effectively exercise the rights nor perform all the duties which they derive from their legal election, it is because they are hindered by absolute violence.”

Among those who signed this protest were,

MM.

L'ABBE de POMPIERE.

SEBASTIANI.

MECHIN.

PERRIER (Cassimir).

GUIZOT.

AUDRY de PUYRAVEAU.

MM.

ANDRE GOLLOT.

GAETAN de la ROCHEFOUCAULD.

MAUGUIN.

BERNARD.

VOISIN de GARTEMPE.

FROIDEFOND de BELLISLE.

MM.

MM.

VILLEMALIN.
 DIDOT (Firmin):
 DAUNOU.
 PERSIL.
 VILLEMOT.
 De la RIBOISSIERE.
 BONDY (Comte de).
 DURIS-DUFRESNE.
 GIROD de l'AIN.
 LAISNE de la VILLEVEQUE.
 DELESSERT (Benjamin).
 MARCHAL.
 NAU de CHAMP-LOUIS.
 COMTE de LOBAU.
 BARON LOUIS.
 MILLAUX.
 ESTOURMEL (Comte d').
 MONTGUYON (Comte de).
 LEVAILLANT.
 TRONCHON.
 GERARD (le Général).
 LAFITTE (Jacques).
 GARCIAS.
 DUGAS MONTBEL.
 CAMILLE PERIER.
 VASSAL.

ALEXANDRE DELABORDE.
 JACQUES LEFEBVRE.
 MATHIEU DUMAS.
 EUSEBE SALVERTE.
 DE POULMER.
 HERNOUX.
 CHARDEL.
 BAVOUX.
 CHARLES DUPIN.
 HELY d'HOYSSEL.
 EUGENE d'HARCOURT.
 BAILLOT.
 GENERAL LAFAYETTE.
 GEORGES LAFAYETTE.
 JOUVENCEL.
 BERTIN de VAUX.
 COMTE de LAMETH.
 BERARD.
 DUCHAFFAUT.
 AUGUSTE de SAINT-AIGNAN.
 KERATRY.
 TERNAUX.
 JACQUES ODIER.
 BENJAMIN CONSTANT.
 &c. &c. &c.

A Deputation was formed of the following eminent Deputies:—Messrs. General Gerard, Count de Lobau, Lafitte, Casimir Perrier, and Manguin. Amid the fire of musketry they went to the Marshal Duke of Ragusa. M. Lafitte represented to the Marshal the deplorable state of the capital, blood flowing in all directions, the musketry firing as in a town taken by storm. He made him personally responsible, in the name of the assembled Deputies of France, for the fatal consequences of so melancholy an event.

The Marshal replied—"The honour of a soldier is obedience." "And civil honour," replied M. Lafitte, "is not to massacre the citizens." The Marshal said, "But, gentlemen, what are the conditions you propose?" "Without judging too highly of our influence, we think that we can be answerable that every thing will return to order on the following conditions:—The revocation of the illegal Ordinances of the 25th

of July, the dismissal of the Ministers, and the convocation of the Chambers on the 3d of August."

The Marshal replied that, as a citizen, he might perhaps not disapprove, nay even might participate in the opinions of the Deputies, but that as a soldier he had his orders, and he had only to carry them into execution—that, however, he engaged to submit these proposals to the King in half an hour.

"But," said the Marshal, "if you wish, gentlemen, to have a conference on the subject with M. de Polignac, he is close at hand, and I will go and ask him if he can receive you."

A quarter of an hour passed, the Marshal returned with his countenance much changed, and told the Deputies that M. de Polignac had declared to him that the conditions proposed rendered any conference useless.

"We have then civil war," said M. Lafitte. The Marshal bowed, and the Deputies retired.

It had been known among the people that the Deputies were to have a communication with the Duke of Ragusa; and during the conference and for some short time after, though the public feeling was intense, the assembled multitude was perfectly still, and mixed freely with the troops. As soon, however, as Polignac's answer was made known, "that Ministers would enter into no compromise or concession," war, and war to the knife, commenced; and never were witnessed more heroic acts of personal bravery, and more generous disregard of selfish feelings, than were displayed by the citizens of Paris on this memorable day and night.

The people were induced to maintain their right to the inestimable blessings of a free press, and good government, by the only argument to which despotism yields. The drums of the National Guard beat "to arms!" The populace answered the call amid the incessant ringing of the tocsin, and the struggle began in earnest.—About two o'clock, a cannon, on the bridge near the *Marché aux Fleurs*, raked with grape-shot the quay, and the troops were resolutely attacked by the people, and several of the guards led off killed or wounded. Many unlucky citizens, who ventured into places exposed to the fire, suffered for their temerity. A studious-looking person, quietly walking the quay with folded arms, was struck dead by a shot from the other side of the river. At the corner of an adjoining street lay an old man, with his back to the wall, apparently sleeping composedly in the midst of the loudest discharges of musketry; a wound

was gaping in his breast, and the blood bubbled up—he was dead.

There was a tremendous fight in La Halle, the great market-place of the Rue St. Denis. The Royal Guard were early in possession of it. All the outlets were speedily closed by barricades, from behind which, from the corners of the various streets, and from the windows of the houses, the people blazed on the guards, and there was a terrible slaughter on both sides. The hottest engagement seems to have been in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Palais Royal, where the military were in great force, and the people resisted their assailants with desperate determination.

At the Place de Grève they fiercely contended with the mercenaries of the palace, the Swiss Guards, and compelled them to fly with great loss.

But the most obstinate contention was for the possession of the Hotel de Ville, the Guildhall of Paris. It was lost and won repeatedly in the course of the day.

Furious engagements took place at the Ports St. Denis and St. Martin, in the Rue St. Martin, on the quays, in the Boulevards, and at the Place Vendome.

In the Rue Montmartre an attack was made by the Duke de Ragusa in person. During part of the day the Place des Victoires was occupied by some troops, among whom was a part of the 5th regiment of the line, who had long gone over to the National Guards established at the Petits Peres. About two o'clock, the Duke de Ragusa arrived at the Place at the head of fresh troops. He drew them up opposite the Rues du Mail, des Fossés Montmartre, Croix des Petits Champs, and Neuve des Petits Champs. He immediately commanded a charge, and on both sides several men were killed or wounded. The Marshal directed his troops down the Rue du Mail, and scoured the Rue Montmartre without much difficulty till they reached the Rue Joquelet, where the people were prepared. Each house was armed and guarded. The black flag was displayed on the Porte St. Denis and other edifices.

For extended particulars recourse must be had to the accounts furnished by the letters of persons who were eye-witnesses of the conflicts.

One of these letter-writers says, "I was in town early in the morning, and found not only the people armed in considerable numbers, but the National Guard was forming in all quarters. In breaking up this body, the government had forgotten to take their arms. The Hotel de Ville was forced and occupied

by a party early this day, and the most tremendous conflict took place between the besieged and a regiment of Swiss and the Royal Guard, who occupied the Place de Grève and the Quais. Thousands of people poured in their fire on the exposed troops. They had armed themselves from the arsenal, which had been taken early in the morning, and from different guard-rooms of the gens-d'armes and troops, which had been pilaged and burned in the course of the night. The Hotel de Ville is riddled with balls, but was never retaken;—I saw a great part of this fight from the opposite side of the river, where I was, au Marché aux Fleurs; close to me was a detachment of the 5th of the line, who refused to fire. As the artillery 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. Michael, creeping down along the balustrades of the bridge, and luckily got over without mischief. The balls whistled over me like hailstones. 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 devil fell upon me, killed by a ball in the forehead. In walking quietly along in front of the grand façade of the Louvre, where there was no fighting, suddenly one of the National Guard fell close to me from a shot from the windows of the Louvre."

The annexed statement is from a second letter writer:—"At an early hour I proceeded to town by the Avenue de Neuilly, and the Champs Elysées, to the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. Every shop was shut, all business was at a stand, and from distance to distance along the streets numerous groups were to be seen in earnest conversation, receiving and communicating rumours which were every where afloat. On reaching the Boulevard I saw, for the first time, a single individual step out from his house, accoutred with the arms, and dressed in the full uniform, of the suppressed National Guard. I could not avoid regarding his appearance, in this isolated situation, as an act of boldness and heroism 'above all Greek—above all Roman fame.' The value of the example was instantly appreciated by the groups of the yet unarmed citizens, who now studded the streets and Boulevards. At every turn he was greeted with the cheering shouts of—'*Vive la brave Garde! Vive la Garde Nationale!*' It was not long until he was joined by others, who, though less perfectly equipped, were not less zealously devoting themselves to the cause of liberty, and to

the preservation of the public peace. I had occasion also to go to the post-office ; but, on walking up the Rue de Marche St. Honoré, I observed at the upper end of the market-place, through the intervals of the small groups of people who were standing in the street, the glancing of arms, and in an instant afterward 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 ; so unconscious was I of immediate danger that 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 cool-blooded and atrocious piece of violence. With the others who escaped I retired into the adjoining booths in 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. I must say, however, that if it was the object of those who directed the massacre to break down the spirit of the people, and to reduce them to a state of abject submission to arbitrary power, the purpose, in every instance which I had an opportunity of observing, was signally defeated by the very measures to which they have themselves had recourse. The union and strength of the popular cause, and the known weakness of the government, every where excited a spirit which could not have been overcome even by the temporary triumph of the troops, and which, now that it has been attended with a greater and a more prompt success than could have been anticipated, will not, I trust, be abused by any of those violent reactions which too often follow a successful popular insurrection. Insurrection, however, is a word which, in the ordinary sense of the term, can scarcely be applied to a case, like

the present, of resistance to actual oppression, and of vengeance on the instruments employed in the slaughter of unoffending citizens. Having failed in my object of proceeding to the post-office, I directed my steps towards the prefecture of police, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure passports ; but on the way I ascertained that that quarter of the town was already the scene of a violent struggle, and that the Hotel de Ville, which is not far distant, was the leading object of attack on the part of the armed populace and the National Guard, which had already mustered in considerable numbers. On passing through the Place Louis XVI., on my way to the Barriere, I found it encumbered with troops of all arms. A regiment of the Guard had just arrived from Versailles : a strong park of artillery had taken up its position along the garden front of the Tuileries ; and the other parts of the place, which during the last revolution was distinguished by so many atrocities, was filled with several regiments of cavalry, the men having been allowed to dismount, but every one standing by his horse's head, prepared on the first word of command to be again in his saddle. In place of seeking for by-paths as I had formerly done, I now thought it safest to tread my way through the middle of the troops, and without any serious impediment reached Neuilly."

A letter from another eye-witness is still more descriptive. He says,—

"I hastened at an early hour to the General Post-Office, Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, and I found the building comparatively deserted ; the clerks had not arrived—no one was there to conduct the business of the establishment ; all was terror and alarm. I had not remained there long before a party of the young students of the Ecole Polytechnique arrived, armed, and in military order. Some mounted guard, others took possession of the Bureaus—all resolved on maintaining order and on preventing pillage. When order was established, I proceeded to the Place Louis XVI., traversing the Rue St. Honoré, Louvre, and Place du Carousel. At the Palais Royal, the people were maintaining a brisk fire against the Royal Guards and Lancers. In the Place du Carousel the troops were assembled and assembling, and it was every where stated that the ministers were assembled at the Tuileries. The gardens of the Tuileries were closed. A few infantry mounted guard. Along the quay all was comparative tranquillity. In the Place Louis XVI. a party of artillery were stationed, and some troops of the line ; there were six pieces of cannon. I proceeded to—

wards the hotel of the British ambassador—all shops were closed—each man was arming himself; a general slaughter seemed inevitable if the troops remained. Early in the morning, however, the 5th regiment of the line went over to the people, and afterward fought side by side with them. I then proceeded to the Boulevard de la Madeleine. The people were assembling, and with large clubs were destroying all the lanterns or reverberes. This they did in order that when night came on they might profit by the darkness to fire upon the troops. On the Boulevard I was run down by a party of gens-d'armes, and compelled to take to flight. Immediately afterward news arrived that General Gerard was leading the people and two regiments of the line which had gone over to the popular cause, and were proceeding to the Place Vendome. The news was true. I joined the mob near the Rue Richelieu, and proceeded down the Rue de la Paix to the Place Vendome. The Place Vendome was in the occupation of the King's troops, who fired upon us. Women and children, however, remained by our side. No one gave way. All exclaimed, 'Brave General Gerard, we will never forsake you!' The mass rushed on to the Place Vendome—routed the troops—took possession of the ammunition—and hoisted the tri-coloured cockade and flag. The people then rushed along the Rue St. Honoré, to attack, by a back street, the hotel of Prince Polignac; but six pieces of loaded cannon stared them in the face, and for a moment the people retired. The noise of the roaring of cannon in the direction of the Porte St. Martin then attracted attention, and all rushed to that spot. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry were there assembled: but all were ineffectual. I proceeded to the Rue St. Martin. Every man was armed. Women were occupied with their children in unpaving the streets, and carrying the great stones into the houses in order to shower down upon and crush the military. Enthusiasm was at its highest pitch. The military were routed and dispersed in that direction—as also in the direction of the Rue St. Denis, and the people became masters of two pieces of cannon. I saw upwards of fifty citizens shot within twenty yards of where I stood near the port St. Martin, and more than 100 soldiers. The Royal Guards were here defeated, and the Swiss cut to pieces. When the popular party were victorious in this quarter, we all rushed to the Hotel de Ville. The brave and animated youth of the Polytechnic School were there. The Swiss were in possession of the hotel, and hundreds of the citizens were slain every half hour. The contest lasted two hours.

The people at last entered the hotel, fought manfully, foot to foot and hand to hand, against the Swiss troops, in the interior of the building, and for a time were masters. But a regiment of the line arrived; Lancers, Royal Guards, Artillery, and gens-d'armes also presented themselves, and in their turn the people were defeated, and at nightfall the Hotel de Ville was in possession of the King's troops. At least 700 persons lost their lives on Wednesday in this affair of the Hotel de Ville. Troops now continued to pour in on all sides, and Paris was in a state of siege. A provisional government was now announced. General Lafayette and General Gerard put themselves at the head of the National Guard. In less than three hours the National Guard mustered 30,000, and had six pieces of artillery in their possession."

M. Collard, one of the combatants on this day, residing on the Rue Mortellerie, at the corner of the Place de Grève, relates, that "about one o'clock in the afternoon, a party of the royal guards and of Swiss, to the number of nearly 800 men, debouching by the Quay, appeared on the Place de Grève. A brisk fire commenced, but the National Guards, not being in sufficient strength, were obliged to give ground, and to suffer the Royal Guards to take possession of their post. The Royal Guards had scarcely made themselves masters of the Hotel de Ville, when they were assailed on all sides with a shower of bullets from the windows of the houses on the Place de Grève, and in the streets abutting on the Quay. The Royal Guards resisted vigorously, and killed many more in number than were killed of themselves. But still they were dislodged, and directed a murderous retreat along the quay, their firing by files and by platoons succeeding each other with astonishing rapidity. They were soon joined by fresh troops of the Royal Guard and of Swiss, including 100 cuirassiers of the Guard, and four pieces of artillery, each of them escorted by a dozen artillerymen on horseback. With this terrible reinforcement, they again advanced on the Hotel de Ville, and a frightful firing began on all sides. The artillery debouching from the Quay, and charged with cannister shot, swept the Place de Grève in a terrific manner. Mountains of dead bodies covered that immense place. They succeeded in driving the citizens into the Rues de Mâtroit and du Mouton, and entered for the second time that day into their position at the Hotel de Ville. But their possession of it did not continue long; for they were soon again attacked with a perseverance and courage truly sublime, and almost irresistible. Their artillery, ranged before

the Prefecture of the Seine and the Hotel de Ville, threatened death to thousands. The repeated charges of the cuirassiers were violent, but the citizens did not give way. Immoveable in their position, they expected and received death, with cries of "*Vive la Liberté!—Vive la Charte!*" Their heroic and generous efforts proved fatal to many. The heaps of dead bodies showed the diminution in the numbers of the people. They would perhaps have been defeated, had it not been for one of those little accidents which sometimes occur in such circumstances, and which decided the victory in their favour. A young man, bearing in his hand a tri-coloured flag, advanced under a shower of bullets upon the suspended bridge which joins the Grève to the Quay of the city, and mounting to the façade of the pillar on the side of the Grève, he there planted the national colours. The sight of the flag of liberty reanimated the courage of the brave French. They returned to the charge with new ardour. But unfortunately, at the first fire of the Guards, the brave young man was struck by one of their bullets. He rolled down to the foot of the ladder which he had so bravely mounted, and his lifeless body fell into the Seine. It was then, that in their rage and courage, forgetting every thing but the disaster of their brave brother, the besiegers rushed on the assassins, got possession of their artillery, and discharged it against them. From that time the victory was not doubtful. The cause of liberty had triumphed, but it cost the country much noble blood—1200 having been either killed or wounded, of those who had generously taken arms for the defence of their liberties and of their country. 'Grand and noble victory!' thy country hath paid dearly for thee. Let us hope that the liberty which thou hast acquired for us will not again be taken from us. Let us hope that no sacrilegious tyrant will again lay his impious hands upon our institutions. The soldiers of the *ci-devant* king lost on that murderous day about 600 men, four pieces of artillery, and 40 horses. The house, No. 1 of the Place de l'Hotel de Ville, at the corner of the Quai Pelletier and of the Place de Grève, has been riddled with bullets. All the glass has been broken; the corner and front of the house has been beaten down and destroyed by the artillery of the Prefecture. The house, No. 3, Rue de Mouton, have been thrown down under the Port Cochere by the cannon-balls. The houses in the vicinity have also been riddled with bullets."

When the Deputies were informed that Polignac refused to listen to their proposition, his determination was communicated to the inhabitants; at the same time, they received notice that reinforcements of troops were arriving, that hostilities would be commenced by the military forthwith, and that, therefore, it was indispensable to fortify the houses as quickly and as well as possible. This intimation of the unrelenting disposition of the heartless government confirmed the people in their resolution to win freedom or die in the struggle. Instruments that could become weapons of offence were converted to that purpose. Brickbats and stones were carried into the upper rooms, and piled in heaps for hurling on the soldiery, and the flower-pots were devoted to the same end. Paving was ripped up and broken with hammers by old men that could not turn out, and by the women and children. The gates and doors were kept open to afford places of momentary retreat to the people from the charges of the military. Bullets were openly cast in the shops by the daughters of respectable tradesmen, while their fathers were fighting in the streets. These shops were ammunition stores; bullets were given to all that came, hot from the moulds; and the girls went on casting, while their wounded friends were brought in and laid on mattresses, previously prepared and spread out for the disabled that might need succour.

A little after eleven o'clock, Rothschild's establishment was suddenly closed, in consequence of the approach of a body of the people, armed and preceded by drums and fifes, marching towards the hotel. They assaulted the gates, the porter opened them, spoke mildly to the assailants, and they marched away in good humour.

About twelve, a body of at least 5000 cavalry were at the Palace of Deputies; there was a detachment from these of a body of gens-d'armes in pursuit of a crowd of men with bludgeons; they charged them with the flat of the sword, and took away their sticks.

At two o'clock, volleys of musketry and a tremendous roar of cannon announced that hostilities were raging against the armed citizens.

The sittings of the courts of Justice were broken up. The Bourse was shut, and destined for a prison for the disarmed and captured military.

The pupils of the Polytechnic School came among the people, and directed their evolutions.

Many of the Swiss Guards were exposed to massacre; for

they were thrown upon the mercy of the people. By singular mismanagement, they arrived in small detachments of about twenty, which were rushed upon and surrounded by crowds of 200 or 300, who demanded their muskets. They threw them into the hands of their victors, who in no instance maltreated an individual of this obnoxious force; but on the contrary, as it was necessary to secure them, the people put a long loaf under the arm of each prisoner, and marched them all off to the Bourse, which was turned into a place of confinement, and kept by the National Guard.

The people were sometimes destitute of ammunition. Only certain shops were licensed to sell gunpowder, and each was restricted to a very small stock. The little in these places was quickly secured, but it was trifling compared with what was consumed and wanted. Some was brought from the Polytechnic School by the pupils, and some had been found in the guard-houses destroyed the night before.

The National Guard gradually formed themselves into companies, and bravely withstood the musketry and bayonet of the troops of the palace, and at every opportunity harangued the soldiers, exhorting them to remember that they were making war on their countrymen. Every individual of the National Guard that turned out was a volunteer of the first class in the deadly strife for liberty. Their services could not be commanded, and were scarcely expected. Half of the people whom they aided were not armed; they saw men giving their bodies and limbs to increase the awful struggle for liberty, and, as they had themselves contended for it, they now, although disbanded, once more took up arms for the good old cause.

When the bridges were raked by the cannon, the people retreated to the colonnades, waited till the military came over, and enfiladed and fired upon them from behind the pillars and recesses.

On a place, or street, being left clear by the absence of the military, the people instantly drilled, and taught the inexperienced how to fall in, keep in line, wheel to the left and right, and march.

The Rue St. Honoré, the Rue Richelieu, and the principal scenes of action, were strewed with broken glass. Immense quantities of bottles had been thrown from the windows at the military, and served the double purpose of missiles, at the moment, against the soldiers, and annoyances to the horses of the cavalry.

So early as ten in the morning, shots were beginning to be

frequent ; a symptom of open war, on the part of the people, showed itself in a bonfire at the end of the Rue St. Denis, made of the window-shutters of the printer of a journal of the Court. The National Guard, in an old uniform of blue, with red facings, belts once white, but now tawny, and rusty firelocks, were cheered heartily with the cry, "*Vive la Garde Nationale!*" One or two, by their awkward manner of carrying their muskets, or by losing their caps, too big for the heads they surmounted, excited also the mirth of the people. They were repairing towards the Hotel de Ville, which, during the day, was taken and retaken more than once, and on each attack was vigorously assailed, and as stoutly maintained. The fire of the defenders, from the upper parts of the building, was sharp and loud on the air ; while the deeper boom ! boom ! of the cannon thundered from below. The façade, and the front of the opposite houses, particularly one at the extremity of the Rue la Vannerie, attest, by many a star, the fierceness of the engagements. The ports St. Martin and St. Denis, the Rue St. Honoré, &c. bear the like honourable testimony to the valour of the people.

The 5th regiment were ordered "to make ready!" to fire on the people on the Boulevard. They obeyed the order, and waited for the word "present!" It was given, and they turned their pieces on their colonel, waiting for singular coolness for the word "fire!" He is said to have immediately broken his sword upon his knee, torn off his epaulets, and retired. The people threw themselves into the arms of the soldiers, who received their embrace, but maintained their position. "*Vive la Ligne!*" was afterward a constant exclamation with the people.

When the cavalry of the Guard charged for the first time, an officer belonging to a squadron cried out to the people, with tears in his eyes, "For the love of God, in the name of Heaven, go to your homes!" When the Gardes du corps were ordered to fire from their hotel on the Quay Orsai, they must have levelled their pieces above the heads of the people ; for no individual fell or was wounded. In the streets they appeared to feel they were on a grievous duty. They were no way elated, but seemed filled with gloomy anticipations of the issue. In action they spared many of the people. Most of the station houses of the *gens-d'armes* were burned. The Guards within usually submitted to the summons of the people, and withdrew quietly.

Parties of the 15th regiment went at quick march through

the streets, and were every where greeted with acclamations of "Vive la Ligne!" As far as the observation of an eye-witness extended, the duties of the line on this day were purely passive. Detachments were posted in different places; and a soldier was occasionally led off, struck by a chance shot. They stood quietly where they were drawn up, gently keeping back the people whose curiosity was pushing them too far for their safety, and complaining to the citizens who stood near of the hardship of remaining drawn up, under a hot sun, without meat or drink the live-long day. Their officers looked pensive, and, at every louder report of firearms, shrugged their shoulders and cast up their eyes.

Detachments of the Royal Guard and of the Swiss posted themselves at corners, where they were out of the reach of the citizens' fire, and, advancing by turns, fired down the street at any living object perceptible. The people, in like manner, took their opportunities from windows, doorways, and projections. It was certainly a blunder to bring the cavalry into narrow streets. The armed populace lined the windows of every house, and carried destruction into the ranks of the cuirassiers and lancers.

The lancers of the Guard were true pretorian troops. Their ferocity was unsparing, and they were marked out by the people as objects of especial attack. The loss of the cuirassiers and lancers was consequently very great. They were assailed with every hurtful missile that could be procured. Several of the cuirassiers were dreadfully burned by aquafortis, thrown on them from the windows by the infuriated relatives of citizens whom they were charging in the streets.

It was reported that the Garde Royale and the Swiss had received a gratuity from the court of ten francs each in the morning. On the bodies of these soldiers, when slain, was found more money than privates could command in ordinary times.

Bravery and mercy were characteristic of the noble people throughout the day. The firm stand was made, and the gallant fight was fought, by the artisans, the workmen, the "unwashed artificers,"—men derided by gentry whose

noble blood,
Had crept through scoundrels ever since the flood.

There were women, too, that hazarded their lives; and, besides the brave youth of the Polytechnic school, boys joined in the struggle, and fought with their fathers. Mothers of lion

hearts, equipped, and sent forth their sons to battle. A courageous stripling, distinguished by remarkable deeds, proved, when the fight was over, to be a female. Prodigies of valour were performed by a woman armed with a brace of pistols.

A boy of ten, with folded arms, and pistol, quietly waited for an officer of the ferocious lancers of the Guard ; and, at the moment he came up, shot him dead upon the spot. Another lad, on the approach of some gens-d'armes, dived under the horse of the foremost, and as he came up turned round, took aim at his man, and brought him to the earth. A third boy, a mere child in appearance, crept under the horses of a troop of cavalry, till he found room to get up between two ; he then rose with a pistol in each hand, stretched out his arms, shot the man on each side, and escaped undetected. At the suspension bridge, at the Place de Grève, a brave youth said to the armed citizens, " We must cross this bridge—I will set the example. If I die, remember, my name is Arcole." Saying these words he started. He had scarcely reached the middle of the bridge when he fell, pierced by countless musket-balls. The witnesses of his heroism, retained his name, and the bridge which was the theatre of his sublime devotedness, is now called the " Bridge of Arcole."

An American captain, who lodged at a hotel in the Rue Richelieu, saw, from his window, what, he says, if it had been related to him, he could not have credited. A body of the Swiss Guards were drawn up in close column. One of the people coolly stationed himself at the corner of a barricade, loaded and discharged his rifle eighteen times, at each fire killed his man, and then retreated, apparently for want of ammunition.

M. Staffel, a native of Alsace, a boot-maker, residing in Passage du Seumon, who was arrested for having taken too active a part in the troubles which accompanied the expulsion of M. Manuel, fought with great courage. He, with others, contributed to disarm ten men of the Royal Guard, whom he afterward saved from being massacred.

Among the citizens who were sheltered behind the streets St. Germain l'Auxerrois, de la Sonnerie, and de Veau qui Tete, a young man of the faubourgs, armed with a good musket, but never having handled one before in his life, was very much embarrassed how to-use it. A brave soldier of the old army, M. Gorgot, ancient director of military hospitals, residing at No. 17 Rue de Ponceau, entreated the young man to lend him his piece for a few moments, and retired behind the corner of the Café Secretain. Suddenly a column of Swiss de-

bouched upon the Place de Chatelet, on which our brave soldier presented, fired, and a Swiss fell. The whole column fired on him. He retreated behind the house, reloaded his piece, came out again, and fired a second shot with the same success, in spite of the shower of balls with which he was assailed. Several armed citizens, to about the number of sixty, followed his example. The Swiss column was terrified, wheeled round, and retired in disorder, leaving the place covered with their slain.

When the fire of a piece of cannon was causing great carnage among the crowd in the Rue Planche-Mibray, one of the brave people cried out, "Who will come with me and take that piece?—I will only have men who are unarmed." Followed by eight or ten men, he rushed forward, and a bullet reached him just as he was about to obtain his object. His comrades dispersed, but the wounded man got up, and was conducted to a neighbouring temporary hospital, which had been established at the house of the commissary of police. M. d'Estree, a skilful surgeon, who passed three days in alternately fighting and attending to the wounded, extracted the ball, and, through his care, the courageous fellow was enabled to go out again. "Cowards," cried he, "you have abandoned me just at the time when the cannon would have been ours. Follow me, and repair your disgrace." He went forth again, exposed himself to the fire of the piece, and in about five minutes it was in his possession. It was then seven o'clock. Twelve hours afterward this undaunted patriot expired at a few paces from the scene of his courageous exploit. He belonged to the class of "the people."

As soon as the terrible conflicts had subsided, and the military had withdrawn, the people were in security, and made instant preparations for the next day by strengthening the barricades and increasing their number. They were assisted by women and even children. The remainder of the afternoon and evening, and the whole of the night, was spent in raising these important obstructions to the evolutions of cavalry. Excellent materials were at hand in the paving-stones, which in Paris are squared to about the thickness of a foot cube. They were dug up and piled across the streets in walls breast-high, and four or five feet thick. These walls were about fifty paces distant from each other. Hundreds of the finest trees were cut down for blockades. Nothing could be more effective for the defence of a large open town like Paris, traversed in every direction by

long narrow streets, overlooked by houses of six, seven, and eight stories, than such barriers scientifically constructed. All the means that industry and ingenuity could devise in so short a time, were carried into execution, for the energetic stand and assault determined to be made against the military in the morning. During the evening the boulevards, usually so gay, presented a curious scene of desolation. Numbers of fine trees were thrown across the road, and formed green barricades, at short intervals. Fiacres and diligences contributed to fill up the gaps. The *Messageries Royales*, and those of Lafitte, Gaillard, and Co., were never before so honourably employed. In their eagerness for materials to construct barricades, the people assailed the gates of the Palace of Justice, and lowered and carried them off, for barriers to obstruct the cavalry. Not a single lamp gave its light in support of the fading day—a lamp, indeed, was nowhere extant in Paris, all had been demolished the preceding night—and the cafés, in happy times brilliant with reflected lustres, were closely bolted and barred. No man wanted news where each was a minister and creator of news.

During the day, in the intervals between the conflicts, the inhabitants not engaged in them stood at their doors with folded arms and pale faces, listening to the repeated bursts of firearms and explosions of artillery, that seemed to threaten the destruction of the city. Occasionally an honest man, with a musket on his shoulder, was heard indignantly exclaiming, “Three days ago, and all was peace; we had trade, commerce, security; the elections over, the Chambers on the point of meeting, every where obedience to government: and now—” the loud roar of a cannon filled up the pause, and answered more emphatically than words.

Many of the people lost their lives by impetuously rushing in multitudes to attack the military. Those that were behind furiously pushed on, *pell mell*, and those in front that fell either wounded, or from stumbling, could never rise again. This was the case especially in a terrible engagement near the church *Madelaine*. When it was over, there was a mound of 150 bodies of the people, many of whom fell, probably, from losing their foothold, and were trampled to death. They had been fought over, and formed a rampart which their comrades unconsciously mounted in their eager assaults against the common enemy. It was the finest weather of July, the heat of the sun was great, and the combatants had fallen at the height

of physical excitement. In two hours from the end of the engagement the bodies in this barrier exhibited signs of rapid decomposition, and became, within that short space, of a grass-green colour. During the night all signs of this carnage had disappeared. The bodies had been carried off and buried, and the place washed down; in the morning a stranger could not have imagined that twelve hours before it had been a stage of sanguinary slaughter.

Lady Stuart de Rothesay left Paris. This thoroughly alarmed the English, and they were eager to follow her, but the bureaux were closed, and no passports were issued. As many as could took their departure without passports, having been first stopped and made to cry "*Vive la Charte!*" by the people, who tore off the *fleurs de lis* from the dresses of the postillions.

It was the policy of the government—if the misrule of Charles X. could be called government—to prevent intelligence of the insurrection in the metropolis from being known in the provinces, and orders were issued that the mails should not be allowed to pass the barriers. A regiment that went over to the people took charge of the London mail, and effected its departure.

On the termination of the conflicts to-day, there was scarcely a street in the centre of Paris in which the gutters were not running with blood.

In the palace of St. Cloud, whence they could see the flames arise, and hear the roar of the cannon, the volleys of the musketry, and almost the cries of the wounded and the groans of the dying, Charles X. and his attendant minions regulated the scenes of the bloody drama acting by their order.

At midnight, the *tocsins* swung alarm from every steeple in Paris, and the cry "to arms!" was universal.

THURSDAY, JULY 29.

During the night the military were inactive, and this interval was employed in constructing barricades and making preparations for an awful strife.

At three o'clock this morning M. Mangin, the prefect of police, quitted Paris, almost out of his senses.

At daybreak the *tocşin* sounded "To arms!" and the people began to assemble rapidly and in great crowds. The military, whose guard-houses had been destroyed, were chiefly quartered at the Louvre and the Tuileries. The Swiss and the Royal Guards were chiefly posted in the houses of the Rue St. Honoré and the adjacent streets.

The brave National Guards assembled on the boulevards, in the Place de Gréve, and in other places, with the certainty of death if defeated. At the same time, the students of the Polytechnic School joined the citizens nearly to a man; they then separated, proceeding singly to different parts to take the command of the people, and nobly repaid the confidence reposed in them.

In the Rue Richelieu, and all the neighbourhood of the Rue St. Honoré, the parties were *en face*. The 3d regiment of Guards maintained the appearance of determination to fight. The people were accumulating frightfully. Not a word was spoken. The garden of the Tuileries was closed. In the Place du Carousel were three squadrons of Lancers of the Garde Royale, a battalion of the 3d regiment of the Garde, and a battery of six pieces, also of the Garde. The Tuileries and Louvre were occupied by a regiment of Swiss Guards. A few were eating their breakfast; all the rest was on the *qui vive*, ready to mount or fall in.

In an hour an immense force was brought to bear on several points. The Hotel de Ville was attacked, carried, and became the *point d'appui*. The depôt of artillery in the Rue du Bac (St. Thomas d'Aquin) was also carried, and the cannon carried off to the most important points, and worked with amazing coolness and effect by those heroic youths.

At M. Lafitte's were assembled the greater part of the deputies then at Paris. They were making arrangements of the greatest importance. General de la Fayette was proclaimed Commandant-General of the National Guard. This venerable and consistent adherent to liberty from his earliest years had received the command the evening before, and he issued the following announcement:—

STAFF OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

"General Lafayette announces to the Mayor and members of the different arrondissements, that he has accepted the Command-in-chief of the National Guard, which has been offered to him by the voice of the public, and which has just been unanimously conferred upon him by the Deputies now assem-

bled at the house of M. Lafitte. He invites the Mayor and Municipal Committees of each arrondissement to send an officer to receive the orders of the General, at the Town Hotel, to which he is now proceeding, and to wait for him there.

“By order of General LAFAYETTE,
“Member of the Constitutional Municipal
Committee of the City of Paris.”

“LAFITTE.

“CASIMIR PERRIER.

“GENERAL GERARD.

“LOBAU.

“ODIER.”

Lieutenant-General Count Gerard was appointed Commandant-General of the regular forces of the nation.

The institution of a Provisional Government was indispensable. A municipal commission was to watch over the common interests in the entire absence of a regular organization. MESSRS. AUDRY DE PUIRAVEAU, COMTE GERARD, JACQUES LAFITTE, COMTE DE LOBAU, MANGUIN, ODIER, CASIMIR PERRIER, and DE SCHONEN, composed this Commission.

A body of armed citizens were in want of a leader. M. Evariste Dumoulin immediately proceeded to the house of General Dubourg, 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 a quarter of an hour a uniform was brought. The General, with a party which augmented every instant, marched to the Place de la Bourse. There General Dubourg delivered an harangue, and marched with his corps of citizens for the Hotel de Ville. It was already in possession of the national troops, and General Dubourg entered. M. Dumoulin went immediately to M. Lafitte’s, where the deputies were assembled, to make known these proceedings, and General Lafayette immediately set out at the head of the National Guards; and amid universal acclamations, to the Hotel de Ville, where he was installed in his functions. General Dubourg was appointed to command at the Bourse.

In the course of the proceedings to-day there appeared the following

PROCLAMATION.

“THE AUTHORITIES who derived their title from the Charter have torn it to pieces, pronounced their own condemnation, and abandoned all their posts; all good citizens have now only to follow the dictates of their own courage and conscience. The people have taken up arms; they have maintained order, and are on the point of reconquering all their rights; but organization is still called for in every direction. To obtain it, it is earnestly desired—

“1. That the Deputies of the departments assembled at Paris will immediately proceed to the Hotel de Ville, which is become the centre of organization, there to consult on the measures to be taken.

“2. That the mayors of Paris do immediately repair to their respective mayoralties, to wait the instructions that will be sent to them for the maintenance of order, and the defence of persons and property.

“3. That each of the mayors will send one of his deputies to the Hotel de Ville, to join in forming a commission to deliberate upon the interests of Paris.

“4. The members of the definitive bureaux of the colleges of Paris at the last elections will meet at the chief places of their respective mayoralties, to form together with the mayors a permanent council.

“5. The Deputies of Paris are specially invited, in the name of the duties imposed upon them by their nomination by their fellow-citizens, to proceed immediately to the Hotel de Ville.

“6. All persons employed at the prefecture are required to repair to their posts to execute the orders of their superiors.

“7. The legions of the National Guards will muster in their respective arrondissements, in order that they may, by the usual measures, protect persons and property.

“For the Provisional Government.

“Hotel de Ville,

“J. BAUD.

“July 29.

“By order of Gen. DUBOURG.

“Colonel ZIMMER.”

“A true copy,

“BIERRE, elector of the 11th arrondissement.”

The Provisional Government sat at the Hotel de Ville, and resolved, 1st. To hoist the national colours; 2d. To defend Paris; 3d. To dethrone Charles X.; 4th. To perpetuate a

constitutional monarchy; 5th. To appoint the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and, 6th. To assemble the Chambers on the 3d of August.

The Provisional Government made the following appointments, viz. :—

GUIZOT, Public Instruction.

General GERARD, Minister of War.

SEBASTIANI, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Duke of BROGLIO, Minister of the Interior.

Vice-admiral TRUGUET, Minister of Marine.

Baron LOUIS, Minister of the Finances.

DUPIN, sen., the Seals.

BAVOUX, Prefect of the Police.

CHARDEL, Director of the Post-office.

ALEXANDRE LABORDE, Prefect of the Seine.

General Lafayette, who had been in arms for the independence of America, and in arms for the liberty of France in the Revolution of 1789, now—again in arms for the freedom of his beloved country—issued the following

“ORDERS OF THE DAY.

I.

“THE GENERAL commanding in chief, on issuing this his first Order of the Day, cannot refrain from expressing his admiration of the patriotic, courageous, and devoted conduct of the population of Paris. They won their freedom in 1789, and France will owe them the same obligation in 1830. The commandant-in-chief considers it a cause for great satisfaction, to the capital and himself, that he is aided by the co-operation and counsel of General Gerard, whose name alone promises every thing for France, and for all Europe, but towards whom the Général-in-chief feels bound to express his personal gratitude for his conduct towards his old friend on this important occasion. The generous conduct of the citizens of the capital is a sufficient guarantee that they will maintain that which they have conquered, but the necessary repose must be united with the noble efforts which the country and the cause of liberty still require from them. The Commandant-in-chief is therefore occupied in regulating the duty in such manner that

a part only of the citizens need be under arms on each day. Orders in this respect will be published.

“MY DEAR FELLOW-CITIZENS AND BRAVE COMRADES,

“The confidence of the people of Paris has once more called me to the command of the public forces. I accept with devotedness and joy the duties intrusted to me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strongly supported by the approbation of my honourable colleagues now in Paris. I make no profession of my principles—they are already well known. The conduct of the population of Paris during the last days of trial has made me still more than ever proud of being at their head. Liberty shall triumph, or we will all perish together.

Vive la Liberté! Vive la Patrie!

“July 29.

“LAFAYETTE.

II.

“THE NATIONAL GUARDS of Paris are re-established.

“The colonels and officers are invited to re-organize immediately the service of the National Guards. The sub-officers and privates should be ready to muster at the first beat of the drum. In the mean time, they are requested to meet at the residences of the officers and sub-officers of their former companies, and enter their names upon the roll. It is important to re-establish good order, and the Municipal Commission of Paris rely upon the accustomed zeal of the National Guards in favour of liberty and public order. The colonels, or, in their absence, the chiefs of battalions, are requested to present themselves immediately at the Hotel de Ville, to consult upon the first steps to be taken for the good of the service. This 29th of July, 1830.

“LAFAYETTE.

“A true copy, &c., ZIMMER.”

While the authorities were deliberating, a letter was delivered to General Gerard from the commander of one of the regiments of the garrison of Paris, stating that, if the General would send a Colonel, the regiment would obey his orders. The General immediately sent one of his aids-de-camp, who took the command of the regiment. The same happened with another corps. General Gerard took the command of both, and in an energetic speech thanked them for preferring their country, and real military honour, above all things.

General Dubourg was elected General of the National Guard at Paris, and issued the following Address :—

“ CITIZENS,—

“ You have elected me, by universal accord, to be your General, and I trust to prove myself worthy of the choice of the National Guard of Paris. We fight for our laws and our liberties :—citizens, the triumph is certain.

“ I engage to respect the orders of those who have been placed over you, and to obey them implicitly.

“ The troops of the line have already joined us, and those of the guard are ready to give their adhesion. The traitors who have excited a civil war, and who believed themselves able to massacre the people with impunity, shall be compelled to render an account, before the tribunals, of their violation of the laws and of their bloody conspiracy.

“ Le General DUBOURG.

“ Paris, July 29.—At the head-quarters of l’Hôtel de Ville.

“ The general rendezvous is at l’Hôtel de Ville. Whave powder.”

The Deputies, availing themselves of the popularity of Lafayette, addressed the people of Paris in a proclamation commencing with his heart-stirring name.

PROCLAMATION OF THE DEPUTIES.

“ *Head-Quarters of the National Guards of Paris.*

“ GENERAL LAFAYETTE has been to-day, as he was in 1789, nominated General-in-chief of the National Guards. Count Alexander de la Borde, one of the deputies, resumes his functions as Chief of the Staff, M. Audray de Puyraveau, merchant, another deputy, has been appointed by the General-in-chief to be his first aid-de-camp. To Arms! To Arms! Brave Citizens of Paris! To Arms, ye National Guards! We call upon you in the name of the nation. The women are invited to make up tri-coloured cockades, the only national colour.

“ BRAVE CITIZENS OF PARIS,—Your conduct during these days of disaster is above all praise. While Charles X. abandoned his capital, and gave you up to gens-d’armes and Swiss, you defended your homes with a courage truly heroic. Let us but persevere and redouble our ardour,—let us but put forth a few more efforts, and your enemies will be overcome. A general

panic has already taken possession of them. We have stopped the courier they had despatched to Dijon for reinforcements, and to recommend the Dutchess d'Angouleme not to return. A Provisional Government is established ; three most honourable citizens have undertaken its important functions. These are Messrs. Lafayette, Choiseul, and Gerard, in whom you will find courage, firmness, and prudence. This day will put an end to all your anxieties, and crown you with glory.

(Signed)

“ LES DEPUTIES DE LA FRANCE.”

“ July 29.

Other addresses and proclamations were issued by the provisional government and its functionaries. The Bourse was made a state prison and hospital. The large place in front of the Bourse was the depôt of arms for the people and the rallying point. General Dubourg's exertions, at that post, were unremitting.

Meanwhile the youths of the Polytechnic School took command of the artillery and directed the movements of the people. Lads of fifteen commanded regiments of men of forty, fifty, and sixty years of age, and they obeyed those well-disciplined and brave boys with all the eagerness and submission which a royal army would display towards an ancient general. They mustered their forces on the Place de la Bourse, and set off for the Place de Grève : they were greeted in all the narrow, dirty, little streets, by shouts of “ Vivent les Bourgeois ! ” “ Vive le Liberté ! ” “ Vive la Charte ! ”

The National Guard, at the head of a body of citizens, marched to dislodge the Swiss and Royal Guards, in the Rue de Richelieu, and the Rue St. Honoré. It proceeded—greatly surprised by not seeing any troops. It reached the theatre Français, and not a soldier appeared. Suddenly, the windows of the houses opposite the theatre, and consequently behind the detachment, were thrown open, and three or four Swiss stationed at each window commenced a murderous fire. The number of the dead and the wounded increased with frightful rapidity, and the front of the theatre was covered with dead bodies. The citizens, receding behind the pillars of the theatre, took every possible position for continuing the assault with success. At the end of an hour the besieged capitulated. They were made prisoners, amounting to about 40 soldiers and officers, and among them a captain of the Royal Guard. The people marched their prisoners to the Place de la Bourse ; but those who had families were allowed to go and dine with them, upon giving a promise to return again in the evening.

The neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville was the theatre of a dreadful conflict. The people occupied the Quay Pelletier and the Place de Grève. After a most sanguinary struggle they were slowly beaten from the Quay into the Place de Grève, which, with the Hotel de Ville, they maintained with unexpected heroism.

At the Place de Grève thousands of the finest troops in the world found themselves engaged with citizens variously armed. Here a small party of elderly National Guards, with a courage only equalled by that of the beardless students of the Polytechnic School, opened their fire on the Garde Royale—horse and foot, and artillery, French and Swiss—taking especial care to avoid injuring the regiments of the line, who remained grave spectators of the slaughter that ensued. The Royal Guard attacked the pupils of the Polytechnic School, in order to carry off their cannon, the latter perceiving the fault committed by the Guard in attacking them in front, instead of endeavouring to make a diversion on their flanks, cried out, “they don’t know their trade—we shall defeat them.”—The end verified their assertion :—they were the victors after a dreadful carnage.

In another direction were the people of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine and Marceau, desperately fighting with pikes, or other less offensive weapons—thousands of women and unarmed people looking on and encouraging the citizens.

The people were fired upon from the windows of the Archbishop’s palace. They attacked it, and finding in the state apartment a stand of arms, with gunpowder, they destroyed all the furniture, except what they threw into the Seine, or sent to the Hotel Dieu for the accommodation of the wounded. Much of the plate followed the furniture into the river; part of it was recovered and lodged in the Hotel de Ville. The people would not allow pillage. Two or three men detected in plundering were shot upon the spot.

At a very early hour this morning the Swiss were posted to defend the Louvre. Three of them were placed behind each of the double columns on the first floor, and others at different parts of the palace, whence they could fire in security. The people resumed the breaking up of the pavement in the streets contiguous. At half-past four, at the extremity of the Rue des Poulies, a narrow short street leading from the Rue St. Honoré, the people were forming a barrier with the paving-stones on the left of the Louvre. Upon this point a fire was commenced by the Swiss, and kept up for several hours, without intermission, dur-

ing the whole progress of its erection. Shots from a window of the house next the spot divided the attention of the Swiss; but many of the populace fell. One, after he had received his death wound, shrieked out to his associates, "*Vive la Nation!*" and instantly dropped upon the stones at which he was at work. This event drew forth loud shouts of vengeance from his companions, and seemed to make a momentary impression on the royal troops. When the barrier was completed, the people began a brisk fire from their intrenchment, and the assault and defence were obstinately maintained.

The attack on the Louvre was from three points—on the side of the grand front, opposite the Pont des Arts, and at the entrance of the Carousel on the quay side. A body of the Swiss near the Rue de Coq, commanded the Louvre, and were engaged with the people. The officer of this detachment, and M. Duval Lacamus on behalf of the people, agreed to observe a truce for an hour. While these gentlemen were conversing together, a public functionary pointed his musket and was going to fire. The officer reproved him severely, and ordered his soldiers to carry him to the guard-house.

The truce having come to an end, the attack was renewed, and the fire on each side fiercely kept up. In the heat of the assault two of the assailants climbed the barrier, and springing forward, gained the iron railings enclosing the front of the Louvre, where there is a dwarf wall, about two feet and a half high, under which they lay down, and began to fire upon the troops. They were followed by two of the National Guard. One of them carried a large tri-coloured flag, with which he contrived to crawl to a water-butt standing close to the railing, and from behind it he managed to place the flag, with his gun and bayonet, on the railing of the Louvre. This courageous act was hailed with reiterated cries of "*Vive la Nation!*" and the example was followed by others; and thus the assailants were protected by a double intrenchment, and continued the assault with increased energy. A young man daringly climbed the gate, and forced it open. About 200 of his fellow-assailants detached themselves, and passed it in the face of heavy volleys of musketry. The main body soon rushed after them; the greater part of the Swiss fled to the Tuileries, and in a few minutes the Louvre was in the possession of thousands of the people, and the tri-coloured flag flying from its windows. The Swiss that surrendered were marched prisoners to the Bourse.

A body of 5000 or 6000 people assailed the Tuileries:

they had to combat two regiments of the Royal Guards posted in the Garden of the Infants, and three strong detachments of Lancers, Cuirassiers, and Foot Grenadiers, occupying the Carousel, supported by a reserve of Artillery planted in the Garden of the Tuileries. The attack commenced in the Garden of the Infants. The Royal Guards permitted the first assailants to approach, and there the contest ended almost as soon as it was begun, by the slaughter of the front rank. Almost at the same instant, fresh assailants drove back the defenders of this important post. In the midst of a constantly rolling fire the iron railings were broken down. This, which in the end rendered the people masters of the Tuileries, was effected with extraordinary resolution and rapidity. Still resistance was offered with bloody obstinacy on other points, particularly the Pavilion of Flora, from which a constant firing had been kept up from seven in the morning upon the Pont Royal, and many were killed. Musket-shots, from the apartments of the Dutchess of Angouleme, were fired without cessation. As soon, therefore, as the Pavilion of Flora was taken, every article of furniture, and thousands of scattered papers, among which were proclamations to the troops to stimulate them against the citizens, were thrown out of the windows. Twice the Palace of the Tuileries was taken and abandoned, but the citizens were finally victorious, and two tri-coloured flags were planted on the central pavilion. Except the destruction of the furniture above mentioned, little excess was committed. Arms, of course, were eagerly seized wherever found, but the only trophy carried off by the victors was a very richly ornamented sword, said to belong to the Duke of Ragusa.

It was by a breach in the beautiful exterior railing of the palace of the Tuileries that the people entered on the Rue Rivoli side: the damage to it did not extend beyond twenty feet, which was of necessity broken down.

An ensign, who presented himself in the Place de Carousel, when the attack was going to commence, advanced in ordinary time up to the triumphal arch, without a single retrograde motion, although more than a thousand musket-shots were fired at him from the Castle. He then intrenched himself behind the arch, where he kept his ground until the Castle was taken by the Parisians.

One of the first of the people that entered the palace through the Pavilion of Flora (from the windows of which part the fire had been tremendous, and the people had suffered the most) found himself with two Swiss, and a hand-in-hand struggle en-

sued. The crowd rushed in, and the three were precipitated through the window, but none of them was hurt.

An Englishman, who came up just after the people had taken the palace, succeeded in gaining entrance, and relates as follows:—

“A flight of papers from the windows of the Tuileries that look on the bridge showed that the sanctuary of Majesty was in the act of being invaded. The gate of the garden was open. I ventured in with the rest. The smashing of glass and window-panes gave me to fear that the work of destruction was beginning. At last I found myself in the hall of the Tuileries.—Men, armed and unarmed, were rapidly ascending the staircase. I stood hesitating; the troops had just retired hastily to the Champs Elysées and some were still firing on the besiegers at one corner of the Carousel. It was like venturing into the lion’s den with a possibility of his return. A young Frenchman passed me, saying aloud, that it was an occasion not to be let slip. I thought so, too, and mounted with the rest. I beheld vast and magnificent rooms, to which the grandest apartments of new-furnished Windsor are not comparable, trod by men armed and unarmed, artisans, simple blue-frocked peasants, who had never, except as workmen, perhaps, set foot on floors *parquetés* and *cirés* before. The most private recesses of royalty were laid open to the vulgar gaze. I observed a party curiously examining the toilette-table of a splendid bed-chamber, understood to be that of the Dutchess de Berri. Her perfumed soaps were submitted in turn to sundry noses, and the other particulars of a lady’s toilette were scrutinized, with various reflections. The state-bed, with its rich silken draperies, was gazed on by profane eyes, and touched by profane hands. In my progress through the apartments, I remarked the originals of several well-known prints. There was LOUIS SEIZE distributing alms on a winter’s day, on one side of the room, and on the other, gazing on a map of the world. There, too, was LOUIS DIX-HUIT, a crafty old gentleman, reposing in his arm-chair, and looking at once, as a soldier termed him to an English party, in 1814, ‘both the *père* and the *mère* of his people.’ These were portraits that awakened no animosity. But in the Salle des Maréchaux, one portrait—only *one*—was no sooner seen than it was torn out of the frame and rent in tatters. It was ‘Ragusa’—the ‘double traitor Marmont.’ The vast magnificent apartment, with the throne, the state bed-chamber of majesty, the royal cabinet, were successively explored. On the floor of the latter, they scattered

sundry fragments of books and half-torn papers. I picked up two at hazard ; one was in print, the other manuscript : both related to priests ; it was a *sors Virgiliana*, that told the character of the imbecile Monarch, his folly, and his fate. I was more curious to observe the conduct of the multitude on the occasion, than inquisitive after the details of sumptuous and costly royalty. The thought that first led me into the Tuileries was this : I will go in with the rest, that there may be at least one impartial evidence of the conduct of a French mob, under circumstances of strong temptation and peculiar aggravation. I cannot say that I observed a single act of downright plunder. One or two men, whom I remarked looking up and down a solitary apartment, wore that sinister air which betokens an intended unlawful appropriation : but this was only surmise ; they took nothing while I remained. An elderly artisan, who had picked up some trifling matter, and had apparently been charged therewith by some of his comrades, was exclaiming loudly against their injustice, and drawing a distinction between the appropriation of something by way of memorial and the baseness of plundering. Neither was the spirit of destruction abroad. It is true, the silk curtains, whose *couleur rouge* stimulated the beholders, were not respected. The armed men were busy hewing them with their swords into portions convenient to wear as scarfs, and several had already arrayed themselves in this, one of the three popular colours. Chandeliers were also a little damaged : but this was done inadvertently, by men carrying muskets and bayonets with too little deference to those superb ornaments. The simplicity of a blue-frocked peasant had nearly caused the destruction of the plate glass which fills one of the large compartments at the end of the throne-room. He was walking hastily along, as through an empty door-way, and seemed not a little astounded at being violently repelled by what had appeared to him empty space. The only instance of plundering I witnessed was one of the least reprehensible, though in its consequences likely to have proved the most pernicious. His majesty's private stock of wines had been discovered : the day was hot—every throat was parched. I myself had a little before envied a draught of the Seine water, which a man was lading round in a wooden bowl to the droughty conquerors of the Louvre. The bottles were no sooner detected than, without the trouble of drawing corks, they were decapitated, and the rich contents poured down the throats of grimy citizens, in such continuous streams as threatened the subversion of what intellect the bottle-drainer

possessed. I cannot, however, be severe on a fault in which I participated. The temptation proffered me by a polite tri-coloured warrior, who presented me with a bottle he had just broached, was not to be resisted on a day when every thing exhorted to drink. It was some of the finest Madeira I had ever tasted. In another room, I remarked other partisans busily satisfying the cravings of an insatiable thirst : but not always with equal good fortune. An individual who had impatiently knocked off the head of a bottle, and poured into his mouth as much as his wide capacity could contain, spit it out again with a wry face, and many and vehement exclamations of disgust. I examined the label on the bottle—it was *véritable eau de Seidlitz!* I consoled the unfortunate craftsman, like Ludovico in the ‘Mysteries of Udolpho,’ by telling him the good wine was serving out in the next room.”

M. Eugene Lovat, whom courage had placed at the head of the assailants, remained in the palace with his pistols in his hand, for the preservation of the property, till nine o'clock at night. He called one of the people, a workman, to assist in preventing any thing from being stolen. “Be quiet, my captain,” said the man, “we have changed our Government but not our consciences.” Two other artisans who entered among the first into that part which the Dutchess of Berri inhabited, found there a casket of bronze, enclosing a large sum in gold. Overcome by the load of it, at the court of the Louvre, they asked a citizen to join them in protecting the treasure. The three carried it to the Hotel de Ville, where the precious burden was deposited, without asking or receiving any reward. At the gates of the palace, an individual was found pillaging, and shot. Every body caught pillaging was severely chastised, and compelled to surrender what he had taken. Some men who found new trousers in one of the guard-rooms, put them on over their own. The trousers were immediately torn off by their comrades, with a unanimous cry,—“We came here to conquer, not to rob.” Two workmen found in one of the apartments a pocket-book, containing a million in bank notes—they delivered it up without abstracting any thing from it, and would not even give their names.

Scarcely any damage was committed after the first general rush into the palace, when the people tore down the curtains for flags and sashes to wrap round them ; and converted gilt mouldings into pike staves. At that moment of excitement they threw papers out of the windows, with birds of Paradise, rich feathers, and gay millinery. Some of these were after-

ward collected, and with other articles of value, which had been removed from their places, were deposited at the Hotel de Ville. The picture of the coronation of Charles was entirely destroyed. A statue, in silver, of Henry IV., while a boy, and a colossal statue of Peace, in silver, were not touched. The bust of Louis XVIII. was for a moment removed; but, it being recollected that he gave the Charter, it was, by a good feeling, restored to its place. Among the curiosities brought to light by the rude hands of the captors was a long dress, lined with hair; at one extremity was an iron collar, and at the other a chain. The use of this vest in such a place could not be explained by the crowd. It was the hair-cloth dress worn by his most Christian Majesty, in penance for sin.

In the rage of conflict, while the energies of the people were simultaneously wrought to the utmost possible height against their enemies, they looked out for each of themselves that fell. If a dropped man was wounded, he was instantly succoured by his nearest comrades. In a moment they were as brothers to him; two or three desisted from the carnage, lifted him, stanchd the blood, bore him off in their arms, placed him with soothing on the first shutter or a rude litter, and conveyed him at once to where surgical aid awaited the arrival of these constant casualties; and then flew back to the attack. If the man fell dead at once, they stood upon his body, as upon an altar consecrated to freedom, and, animated by his departed spirit, fought with deadlier purpose. The Hotel Dieu was the chief hospital for the wounded; they were borne thither in crowds, during the fury of the engagement. The way before this hospital became a piteous and exciting scene: eyes unused to weep dropped tears for the passing sufferers, and manly bosoms heaved with fierce resolves to avenge their gushing wounds, and hold a death-grapple with the phalanxes of the scorned and detested tyrant.

One of the pupils of the Polytechnic School was killed in the Tuileries. His body was raised with respect by those whom he had conducted to victory, placed on the seat of the throne itself, and covered with pieces of crape which were collected by chance. It remained there till his brother, and other members of the family, came to claim his glorious remains.

The care of the Tuileries, for the remainder the day, was committed to the brave fellows who took it. They were principally of the working classes, and at night presented a most grotesque appearance. Here might be seen a young fellow of twenty or twenty-two carrying a halberd of the time of Fran-

cis I., inlaid with gold, dressed in a smock frock and trousers, with the casque of a cuirassier on his head. There another, with a blue shirt and trousers, encumbered by the long sword of a horse grenadier, and capped with the brass helmet of a pompier; with a pistol or two to complete his armament. Farther off was a negro in livery, posted as a sentinel, with a cavalry carbine, and the broadsword of a Sapeur—joked with occasionally upon his not being white. On the Place du Carrousel was a very fine young fellow, apparently a labourer, in a canvass jacket and trousers, without stockings, wearing the feathered cocked-hat of a marshal of France, captured from the wardrobe of the King—his fellow-citizens laughing at his pride, and he bearing it with the most imperturbable gravity. Near to him was a man with one sleeve from the red coat of a Swiss over his own, an archbishop's glove on the opposite hand, and a Lancer's spear on his shoulder. Among them were four Irish mechanics, who arrived "fortunately" in Paris "that very day," on their way to Charenton:—the thing was not to be withstood, so in they went with "the boys," and—"sure they must stay and do their duty!"

It was almost impossible for the cavalry to act efficiently in the unpaved streets, blocked at short distances with stone re-doubts thrown across, and holes in the ground filled with water. But the greatest obstacle to the military was the invincible courage of the people. It was evident that the troops were dejected. Some of them had not tasted food for thirty hours; and they fought, moreover, against their own countrymen. The Swiss were still more dejected; for they apprehended that no quarter would be shown them. They were wrong. The people fought like lions; but they spared the lives of all who surrendered. Many of the Cuirassiers surrendered their swords. The Lancers of the Guard—the finest body of men in the country—fought with heroism and constancy, and were dreadfully cut up. Many of them, private soldiers, were young men of family. The manner in which the Swiss fought, and the nature of the engagement, may be taken from the following instance:—A company of them defended one portion of the Rue St. Honoré, and were reduced to sixty. They fought in three lines of single files. The people occupied the whole breadth of the street in front of them. In this position the foremost Swiss soldier would fire, or attempt to fire, and was certain to fall pierced with balls before he could wheel to gain the rear. The same occurred to the next, and so on until they had every one fallen.

The contest in the Rue St. Honoré, at the Louvre, the Tuileries, and at the Place de Gréve, was maintained with the most deadly obstinacy. The Rue St. Honoré, for two days, was a perpetual scene of slaughter. The Louvre, except the picture gallery, was on all sides attacked and defended at the same moment, and for hours. In the court of the Louvre a field-piece was planted, which commanded the Pont des Arts, being exactly opposite the Institute. Here the fighting was so dreadful, and so maintained, that the front of the Palace of the Institute is speckled with musket and grape shot. One cannon-ball smashed a portion of the wall, and, from its elevation, did dreadful execution in sweeping the bridge. The attack on the Tuileries was over in two or three hours. A young fellow marched on with a tri-coloured flag at the head of the attacking bourgeois. A thousand balls, fired from the front of the Chateau, whistled by him without touching him. He continued to march, with *sang froid*, but with, at the same time, an air of importance, up to the triumphal arch, and remained there until the end of the battle.

While the people and the military were combating at the Place de Gréve, the Louvre, and the Tuileries, troops were arriving by the Champs Elysées. A great party of the people, and many National Guards, with two pieces of cannon, were hastening along near the Place Louis XVI., towards the Barrier St. Etoile, when a large troop of dragoons arrived, made a desperate charge, and cut down the people without mercy, who made a very bold stand. Many of the soldiers solemnly vowed that they would not continue to obey orders to massacre their brothers and sons. Their numbers were thinned; they were fatigued, disheartened, discomfited, beaten, and fled. At Chaillot, a district of Paris verging on the route to St. Cloud, the inhabitants, though few in number, sustained the fire of five regiments of the Guards, who attempted to effect their retreat by the Barrier of Passy.

At length all the royal troops left the capital by the way of the Champs Elysées, and in their retreat were fired upon by the people.

From imperfect statements of occurrences, hastily written at the moment, without data as to time, it has not been possible to state the events of this decisive day in their order. The result, however, is indisputable.

The people, with undaunted intrepidity, opposed the veterans of the royal army, withstood the assaults of cavalry, and in-

fantry, and artillery—became themselves the assailants, and finally conquered.

During ten hours the warfare raged without ceasing. The national flag was successively planted on every public edifice where the Bourbon flag flew. At four o'clock in the afternoon there was not a man in arms against the people of Paris.

After the troops had quitted the capital, there was an immediate calm. Holes were dug in the streets or public gardens, and many of the dead collected together and interred. The wounded were conveyed by hundreds to the Bourse, the Hotel Dieu, and other public hospitals.

The citizens, after two or three hours' repose, were again summoned to prolong their exertions, and redouble their energy, upon information that an attack was threatened the next day. This rumour was unfounded. The enemy had fled to return no more. It was a victory so complete as to utterly astound and leave the parasites and minions of the arbitrary king without a single hope.

In the army of Charles X. the loss of officers was beyond all proportion greater than that of the privates. They were picked out of the ranks with fowling-pieces or rifles. Prior to the taking of the Tuileries, the Guards and Swiss lost three-fourths of their superior officers, most of them by rifle balls. A gentleman, well known in the fashionable circles of Paris, boasted and was believed to have killed fourteen officers by his rifle alone.

Where the great battles were fought, the dead lay as they had fallen, in heaps. Where the combats were accidental, there were frail memorials of the recent deadly strife. "Here and there," says a writer, "you turned aside to avoid a puddle of blood, or the stark corpse of some unhappy veteran, that lay covered only by the gray military cloak.—I noticed a deserted corpse that lay in a corner, with a label attached to the breast. It was evidently one of the humblest citizens, and the address was 'Rue St. Antoine.'—Honour to whom honour is due."

At the beginning of the conflict, on the 27th, the people of Paris were without leaders and acted without concert; and during the three days displayed bravery and virtue that will ensure to them lasting fame. The following are a few individual characteristics of to-day.

M. Auguste Pascou, a young student at law, during the taking of the Swiss barracks in the Rue de Babylone, per-

ceiving that his comrades, terrified by the first firing, were beginning to retreat, got upon an eminence, where he remained during the whole of the attack, unceasingly exciting them, both by his words and example, although he had received two gun-shot wounds. A short time afterward he was at the taking of the Tuileries.

A young man, mounted upon a valuable horse, and from his dress and equipments evidently wealthy, applied every where, in vain, for arms, that he might join in the common defence. He perceived a good musket in the hands of a man whose dress declared him to be a poor scavenger. "My friend," cried the young man, "I will give you 100 francs for your piece." "Oh, no, sir," replied he, "it is my best friend." "I will give you 500 francs." "No, sir; it has already brought two of our foes to the ground, and it will bring down more still. I shall keep my good friend."

An unfortunate workman, covered with blood and sweat, asked for a little nourishment. During the two days on which he had been fighting he had eaten nothing. An individual welcomed him. He was scarcely seated, when a firing was heard. He threw away the bread, and, hastening to join his countrymen, fell from exhaustion, and died.

Some artisans passed along the boulevards, under the command of one of their comrades, who had been appointed their chief on account of his good sense and experience. At the point of their weapons were loaves of bread and fowls, which had been distributed among them. Several of the troop, finding themselves opposite a wine vault, separated for the purpose of getting some spirits, but returned to their ranks at the voice of their Commander. "To-day," said he, "not one drop of brandy—not one drop of wine, without water, must any of us drink. We must carry all drunkards to the guard-house." All the brave men set up an immediate cry, "Our Captain is right," and went their way to fight, without any other than their generous and ardent love for liberty and their country.

At night, when all was over, a person going home overtook half a dozen workmen of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and Marceau, who, with the utmost gentleness, kept the crowd from pressing on three other men who were slowly moving in the centre. The demeanour of those guards and the crowd indicated pity and respect. The group within was composed of two of the men from the Faubourg, and a wounded trumpeter of the Grenadiers à Cheval, who had fallen while sound-

ing a charge of his regiment. He had been conveyed into a neighbouring house after the battle by some of the combatants, and was now deemed able to walk to the Hotel Dieu. At the Place du Chatelet the party halted, and something was said to the wounded man, who wished to decline (gratefully, however) an offer. "Bah!" said one of his supporters, "a drop of good wine never did any man harm," and they entered a cabaret. His conductors were his captors.

A young National Guard, having committed a mistake in one of the movements of his exercise, was laughed at by the spectators. "I made no mistake," said he, "in fighting yesterday the enemies of liberty."

The hardihood of the children was a striking feature to day, as it had been before. The Marquis of Chabannes, who commanded the Lancers, was killed by a boy of fourteen. Armed with a pistol, he seized the bridle of the Marquis's horse; the horse, to disengage himself, lifted his head violently, and raised the boy from the ground. In that position he blew out the Marquis's brains.

It was impossible for a man's courage to fail him, seeing, as he went along, old men, children, and women, of all classes, providing for their defence by strengthening the barricades, opening all the doors of their houses, and mounting stones up to their rooms to whelm upon their enemies.

Women were eminently conspicuous for heroism. At one of the barricades the people were resisting the onset of a body of Swiss Guards. A number of females, rushing from a lateral street with pitch-forks and knives, and similar instruments of destruction, fell on the rear of the Swiss, and in the twinkling of an eye numbers of them were weltering in their blood. At one point a woman headed the bourgeois, and was the boldest of the combatants—if degrees of bravery can be admitted in this most memorable conflict of modern times. A woman, in man's clothes, fought at the attack on the Swiss barracks in the Rue Plumet. Youths, not more than from twelve to fifteen years of age, were pushed out of their homes by their mothers, who commanded them to go and fight for their liberties. These women showed no marks of fear; they held loaded pistols in their hands, and some were carrying paving stones into the houses to dash upon the soldiers. So great was the universal excitement, and the disregard of personal danger, that many ladies in the second rank of life ac-

accompanied and assisted their sons in making common cause with the people, and went from street to street encouraging their relations during the hottest of the fight. At the attack upon the Louvre, women advanced during the firing of the troops to rescue and pull out the wounded, and send them where they could have surgical aid.

On this day the students of the Polytechnic School made the most valorous attacks and defence. They fired away and headed the citizens two days and nights against the troops. Some of these boys of ten and twelve years old, with pocket pistols in their hands, crept under the muskets of soldiers, levelled against the citizens, and, when near enough, fired their pistols in the bellies of the soldiers. A boy of less than ten returned from a charge with two bayonet wounds in his thigh, and yet refused to yield his arms.

At the capture of the Tuileries another pupil, who was also at the head of the armed citizens, presented himself at the railings. A superior officer immediately approached. "Open," said the young commander, "if you do not wish to be all exterminated; for liberty and force are now in the power of the people." The officer refused to obey his summons, and pulled the trigger of his pistol, which did not however go off. The young pupil, who preserved all his coolness, seized the officer by the throat and directing his sword against it, said, "Your life is in my power; I could cut your throat, but I will not shed blood." The officer, affected by this act of generosity, tore from his breast the decoration which he wore, and presented it to his enemy, saying, "Brave young man, no one can be more worthy than you to wear such insignia; receive it from my hand. I have worn it till now with some credit, and I am certain that you will continue to do the same. Your name?"—"Pupil of the Polytechnic School;" and the young man immediately rejoined his companions.

In one of the skirmishes with the Royal Guard, that body had, after its repulse by the citizens, left a piece of artillery in an unoccupied area, to which, however, there was still danger in approaching on account of the firing. A pupil of the Polytechnic School, who was at the head of the armed citizens, ran up to the piece, which he seized with both his hands. "It is ours," he said, "I will keep it—I will die rather than surrender it." A cry was heard behind him, "The brave are dear to us—you will be killed—return!" The young man heard not a word, but held the piece more tightly in his embrace, in

spite of a shower of balls which rained around him. At last the Royal Guard was obliged to retire still farther by the fire of the citizens, who kept continually gaining ground, and who at length reached the piece and saved the youth who had so bravely seized it.

The gratitude of the people to the pupils of the Polytechnic School almost reached veneration. One of these fine young men, who had taken no rest for the last three nights, fell asleep from weariness on one of the mattresses designed for the wounded. When evening arrived, he was taken, without knowing it, to the Hotel de Ville, and when the appearance of his uniform excited acclamations wherever he passed, those who carried him said, "Respect his misfortunes." The crowd took off their hats and passed on.

The feeling of honour among the people respecting property which fell into their hands was most remarkable. One man who considered he had a right to a watch was shot. A few who appropriated to themselves some effects of the officers of a large depôt of gens-d'armes were stripped, and some of their clothes burned, along with the epaulettes, furniture, &c., of the officers. Where officers, soldiers, &c. surrendered their posts, their property was respected. Some poor workmen, having forced the shop of a gunsmith who had already surrendered his powder, sought for more in all quarters, even among his furniture. In one of his drawers, they found some money and a bill. One of them shut the drawer instantly, and said, "This is not what we were looking after."

Throughout the entire contest there was no pillage, no disorder of any sort. The wounded soldiers were taken as much care of as the wounded citizens. In fact, the instances of generosity, of devotion to the "good old cause," and of respect to the laws, were without number. They did not even maltreat one of their inveterate enemies—the gens-d'armes of Swiss. They took their arms only to turn them instantly against the troops who still continued to resist.

Foreigners of all nations, English, Germans, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese, individuals of every country in Europe, who happened to be at Paris, openly declared for the people of Paris, and many personally aided in the struggle.

Several young Greeks, residing in Paris to finish their education, took a very active part in the combats. At the moment of danger they got arms, and mixed themselves with the masses

of people who were courageously fighting in the streets of the capital.

Many Italians were in the hottest of the engagements, and some led on the citizens.

An officer of the Royal Guard was about to run M. Huet, an ex-serjeant of the 17th light infantry through the body, when Giovanni di Aceto, a brave Italian youth, only seventeen years of age, levelled the officer with his pistol, and saved Huet's life. This courageous lad distinguished himself each day, as the undaunted leader of thirty citizens of all ages, and gallantly fought at the Hotel de Ville, Port St. Martin, the Rue St. Honoré, the Tuileries, and in other most desperate engagements.

Mr. Lindo, an Englishman in the house of Orr and Goldschmidt, in Paris, voluntarily entered his name on the list of the National Guard, braved the fire of the common enemy, and after the victory mounted guard for forty-eight hours, without quitting his post for a moment.

Mr. Bradley, an English physician in Paris, was prodigal of his professional care to the wounded, at the capture of the Barrack of the Rue Babylon. During the fight he went from street to street, and from house to house, to attend to the wounded, and continued to visit them after their removal to the hospitals.

An Englishman who had been settled in Paris for 10 years, as a wood-engraver and type-founder, as soon as the ordinance for the suppression of the press was issued, apprehending that his business would be utterly destroyed, and having private affairs to arrange in London, took out his passport for the purpose of removing his family and other concerns to London. Being detained by accident for a few days, he cast all the materials he could convert into bullets for the supply of the National Guard, and neither his exertions or his bullets were thrown away. Our correspondent says he saw a certificate in the party's favour, attested by the constituted authorities of his district, relative to his spontaneous and seasonable, as well as disinterested and effective services, and acknowledging them with thanks to his honour.

Another Englishman, who had been established for a number of years as a printer in Paris, and who has an establishment in London, shut up his office, and fought in the boulevards on the 28th as a tirailleur, and procured several muskets for his men. On the 29th, accompanied by some friends and several of his workmen, he was at the attack of the Louvre, and

among the first who entered the Tuileries. He afterward attacked the Royal Guards intrenched in houses in the Rue St. Nicaise and St. Honoré. From the corner of the street they kept up an incessant fire for nearly an hour, till at length he called on the others to follow him, and rushed through a shower of bullets into the house in possession of the guards, who, seeing themselves thus assailed within and from without, surrendered. He received from them upwards of sixty muskets, officers' sabres, &c., and employed every effort to save the men; but, the firing still continuing from the third story, the people were so furious that they slew every guard that they could approach. Two of his men were killed; one of them has left three infant children. On his return home at night, besmeared with blood and gore, he was loudly greeted by his fellow-citizens and neighbours. Mr. Pouchée, formerly letter-founder in London, was on the spot where the above workmen were killed, and generously gave 200*l.* to the widow.

Whatever was the precise number of lives lost, it is agreed on all hands to have been much less than was expected, considering the military force, and the multitude of people engaged in combat. It was remarked in favour of the life-guards, on the inquest held on the bodies of Honey and Francis, who were killed at Cumberland Gate, Oxford Street, on the occasion of your late queen's funeral, that not a single cut had been given by the soldiers, although it was proved that they had struck down many of the people with their sabres. The same remark is nearly as applicable to the conduct of the cavalry arrayed during "the three days" against the people of Paris. The lancers were engaged throughout, and made frequent and furious charges; they were shot and bruised, and their horses killed or lamed under them by bullets, stones, bottles, and other missiles. The same may be said of the cuirassiers and the mounted gens-d'armes. Nevertheless, there were not, it is believed, twenty men wounded by thrusts of the lance, or *coups de sabre*, during the three days. The horse soldiers fired their carbines and pistols frequently; but the uncertainty of a shot fired by a man on horseback is well known. The comparative harmlessness of the operations of the cavalry may be attributed partly to the humanity of the soldiers, partly to the panic with which they were struck in the unnatural warfare, and partly to the impossibility of acting with effect against such an enemy as was opposed to them. In the midst of the engagements, on each day, the streets were crowded with spectators, and with

men waiting for the chance of obtaining arms. The cutting down these would have been useless, as it would not have reduced the number of their foes, and in the interim their own lives would have been greatly endangered. The truth is, that the troops were rendered powerless by the suddenness and astounding character of the circumstances in which they were placed. Adjoining to the house which forms the corner of the Rue de la Paix and the Boulevard is a large house or hotel enclosed by a wall, which was surmounted by wooden palisadoes, in which large spikes were fixed. Immediately opposite to it was stationed a lieutenant's guard of lancers. Farther on towards the Rue Montmartre, and on the Boulevard Poissonniere, the battle raged. The troops were consequently on the alert. Notwithstanding which, the people in their presence, and within five yards of them, tore down the palings spoken of, and proceeded deliberately to knock the spikes out of them for pike-heads, by striking them against the large stones placed to prevent carriages interfering with the footpath. The lancers occasionally galloped across to prevent them, and the people fled; but, as the lancers were obliged to resume their ranks, the people returned, and proceeded with their work until the whole of the paling disappeared. At another time, the lancers charged up to the Rue Richelieu, and returned on the "fast trot." In the short interval, a wall made with stone and mortar, three feet high, had been built across the Boulevard, near the Rue de la Paix. Thus divided, without communication, and menaced with death in a thousand shapes, the dispirited cavalry were almost totally inefficient. If willing to wound, they were afraid to strike. They might at the swift gallop overtake the people, who generally ran when about to be charged, but in doing so the danger of a volley from a cross street, and from the houses, was imminent. They rarely ventured, therefore, upon a real attack. Twice or thrice in the course of the same day they cleared the Quai Pelletier up to the Place de Grève, but the murderous fire of their assailants was insupportable, and obliged them instantly to retreat.

On the first day, and even before they left their barracks, the greater part of the officers and soldiers of the line agreed among themselves not to fire upon their fellow-citizens. The commandant Maillard, of the 15th light infantry, positively refused to order his battalion to fire, in spite of the reiterated commands which he received. At the same time, in another quarter, the sub-lieutenant Lacroix, of the same regiment, who

commanded a detachment stationed at the prison of Montaign, divided his time between preventing the prisoners from escaping and inducing the soldiers to meet the people as brothers. This brave officer remained at his post till the next day, and then delivered it up to the National Guard.

In short, the military felt for their country, and sympathized with the people. The French army is recruited by conscription, a species of ballot, by which an annual supply is obtained from the ranks of citizens and farmers. In time of peace, it is composed of the same order as our militia, if not of a better. The privates of the line can all, with a few exceptions, read and write; and hence the politics of the day make an impression on the French soldiery that statesmen, accustomed to view them as passive instruments of power, can never bring themselves to credit. The soldiers of the line are, for the most part, well acquainted with both the nature and extent of the prerogatives of the Crown, and their limitations, and the sacred rights which the Charter purported to the people. It was not, therefore, surprising that, upon Wednesday, the 5th and 53d regiments refused to fire upon the people who came in a mass to the hotel of Prince Polignac to demand the revocation of the ordinances of the 25th. On that occasion officers of the line and of the staff were heard to recommend the leaders of the popular party to be firm in their demands; but not to proceed to violence while a hope of success was left by treating with the ministers.

There is in the following letter from an officer of the Royal Guard to Prince Polignac, an expression of feeling which animated many of equal and superior rank in the French army.

“MONSEIGNEUR,

“After a day of massacre and disaster, undertaken against all laws, human and divine, and in which I took part only out of human respect, with which I shall ever reproach myself, my conscience imperiously forbids me to serve an instant longer. In my life I have given so many proofs of devotedness to the King that I may be permitted, without it being possible for my motives to be calumniated, to make a distinction between what emanates from him and the atrocities now committed in his name. I have, therefore, the honour to beg you to lay before his Majesty my resignation as Captain of his Guards.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“Count RAOUL DE LATOUR DUPIN.”

Notwithstanding the troops had retired, there was some apprehension of a renewal of the combat. The following conversation passed between a gentleman and a general officer in the Elysée Charles :—

Q. “ Well, General, I am glad to see the troops withdrawing : it is of course settled.”

A. “ Settled, indeed ! you are mistaken, sir. True, the troops have withdrawn for a moment, but it is only to join other regiments at St. Cloud, and commence an attack to-morrow.”

Q. “ You surely do not mean to attack your brothers and fellow-subjects, unarmed as they are, and seeking as they are to gain the liberties taken from them.”

A. “ I know nothing of that, sir, as a soldier. But I tell you that, unless conditions be arranged to-night, we shall bombard Paris to-morrow.”

On the royal route to St. Cloud, which is a back or by-road, estafettes had passed every half hour throughout the day to St. Cloud, announcing to the king the movements of the army, and the progress of the siege.

The royal troops, driven from the capital, were stationed in the Bois de Boulogne, exhausted by fatigue. The Mayor of Autueil was required to provide them with provisions and refreshments. He addressed himself accordingly to the principal inhabitants of his commune, who answered that in complying with his request they should be furnishing their own enemies with support, since these troops had fired upon their brothers in Paris. However, from motives of humanity, provisions and refreshments were provided. The Duke d'Angouleme went in person to thank the Mayor for the provisions given to “ his army.” The Mayor could not help saying that all the misfortunes which now afflicted France, and were recoiling upon the Royal Family, would not have happened had the King governed constitutionally. At these words the Prince turned his bridle and rode off. In a minute afterward he sent an aid-de-camp to inform the Mayor, that if he had any thing to communicate he would hear it with pleasure, provided it was not in the presence of his troops.

The greater part of the troops of the guard concentrated round St. Cloud. Their advanced posts occupied on one side a hillock below Calvary towards Neuilly ; on the other they extended towards Meudon. Means of resistance were organized at Neuilly, to hinder them from passing the bridge, which,

however, they did not appear disposed to force. On the contrary, every thing seemed to be preparing for a farther retreat. Many of the men loudly declared that they would join the citizens if they were ordered to return to Paris.

It is said that the Duke of Ragusa proceeded to St. Cloud, to render an account of his services. The Duke d'Angouleme evinced his dissatisfaction in unmeasured terms, and said, "You have treated us as you did others." The day before, Marmont had pledged himself to keep possession of the capital a fortnight longer, and already came to announce that it was in possession of the rebels. Turning towards a garde du corps, the Prince directed him to bring the Marshal's sword, which having received, he endeavoured to break over the pommel of his saddle, and ordered Marmont under arrest. Charles X., informed of what had happened, expressed regret at his son's violence; but, that the Prince might not be injured in the eyes of the court, the arrest was limited to four hours, by which time dinner was ready. It was announced to the Marshal that a cover was placed for him at the royal table; but he refused to appear.

On the return of the troops the King reviewed them. No one cried "Vive la Roi," and the line cried "Vive la Charte!" The ministers, who, in pandering to the pleasure of his unconstitutional will, had flooded the capital with blood, now waited upon him and resigned their portfolios of office. He immediately appointed the Duke de Mortemart Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Count Gerard Minister of War; and charged them with the formation of a new council. His next step was to recall the ordinances of the 25th of July. This was his first concession.—It was forty-eight hours too late—on Tuesday it would have satisfied the people. Yesterday and to-day they had purchased with their blood the power to dictate. He instructed the Duke de Mortemart to treat with the new authorities in Paris, and stipulate, on the basis of his abdication and that of the Duke d'Angouleme, that the Duke of Bourdeaux should be proclaimed King. The Duke is said to have expressed unwillingness to undertake such a commission without a written authority. The King swore on the faith of a gentleman, a knight, and a Christian (not on the faith of a King), that he would abide by the engagements which the Duke might enter into in his name. He was affected even to tears; and, when the Duke de Mortemart persisted in requiring his

signature, he replied by lifting up his trembling hand, to show that it was incapable of holding a pen!

At night, part of the town was illuminated, particularly the streets of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Jacques, and the neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville. Perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the city. Strong patrols silently paraded the streets, passed gently from barricade to barricade, and disarmed individuals whom fatigue and the heat of the weather, more than wine, had rendered incapable of employing their weapons usefully.

Thus was a mighty revolution in behalf of happiness for France effected in three days. The press pointed out the danger, and urged the people to save the commonwealth. The first blow was struck by 400 or 500 men deprived of daily bread by the suppression of the newspapers; aided by other working people who had been thrown out of employment. Every thing was effected by the great mass of the labouring classes, assisted by the small shopkeepers, all led on by the students of the Polytechnic school. Few of the wealthier inhabitants made their appearance until the danger was over.

The Hampdens of France were the *canaille* of St. Antoine, St. Denis, and St. Martin. 'High-born and high-bred' warriors never achieved a victory more beneficial to mankind. The freedom, not only of France, but of all the continent, was weighed in the balance against despotism, and prevailed by the efforts of soiled and swarthy artisans.

SUMMARY ACCOUNTS OF THE PRECEDING DAYS.

M. LEONARD GALLOIS kept an account day by day, and hour by hour, of what passed during the memorable days on the Boulevard St. Antoine, the Place Royal, the Place de la Bastille, and the Rue St. Antoine. This gentleman, deprived of the use of his limbs, and confined by that infirmity to his chamber, was deeply interested by the important events passing in Paris; and his residence being in the quarter Marais, near the Faubourg St. Antoine, the Place Royale, and the Place de la Bastille, he took his station each day at the window of his chamber, which looked upon that part of the Boulevard where the Corps-de-Garde were posted. From thence he vigilantly observed all that passed within sight, while his son,

an intelligent youth, acted as his scout, and brought him intelligence. What M. Gallois saw, and the information he obtained, he published in a narrative (sold in London by M. Dulan, Soho Square) from which a translation of the important days is annexed.

M. GALLOIS'S NARRATIVE.

Monday, July 26th.

About two o'clock I sent my son to the Palais Royal for some books of which I had need. In less time than he usually takes on such an errand, I saw him returning breathless and covered with perspiration. He held in his hand the second edition of the *Messenger des Chambres*, in which the ordinances were published, but not the report of the ministers. "I bring you," he cried, "sad news."

I read the ordinances: and I could not help thinking that I was dreaming.

In a state of stupid abstraction I read them over even a third time, when some persons living in the same house came and convinced me that I was awake, by giving me a copy of the *Moniteur*. The report of the ministers, which it contained, made the whole matter plain. On reading each paragraph of this masterpiece of jesuitism, I could not help exclaiming "It is false! The ministers lie! Themselves have rendered the revolution imminent!"

Still I did not imagine it was so near breaking out. Every countenance about me was sad and downcast, and during the whole day nothing was heard at the Marais but imprecations against the Ministers. Some said that the ordinances would certainly provoke a terrible movement; but many persons thought that the sacred fire of liberty was extinguished in the souls of the French. Thus were my most cherished hopes damped.

However, the peaceable inhabitants of the Boulevard St. Antoine manifested a certain feeling of inquietude, which the want of the liberal journals contributed but little to allay. Like my son, they besieged the doors of the reading-rooms, accosted all persons coming from the central parts of Paris, and wearied them with questions. They learned nothing, except that the King and the Ministers appeared determined to employ rigorous measures against those who did not choose to submit.

The day passed without my being able to read a newspaper, for I had no wish to look at any in which I was sure to find

only apologies for the acts of the Ministry, and attempts to excite the violence of the counter-revolutionary party.

Tuesday, July 27th.

As early as five o'clock in the morning I resumed my seat at the window, now become my observatory, and my son took his post at the reading-room door. I soon perceived, by the movement in the Boulevard, that I only was not anxious. Several of those peaceable citizens, known by the name of the *Rentiers du Marais*, paraded the cross alleys of the Boulevard. Every one went in the direction of the Bastille, whence I heard a confused noise, indicative of a numerous assembly. I saw great numbers of workmen, mostly in their shirt-sleeves, go up and down, gesticulating and talking earnestly. A few words, which reached my ear, convinced me that they were discussing political subjects, and I soon heard the cry of "*Vive la Charte!*" The insurrection, therefore, broke out as it were from the midst of a calm.

About ten o'clock, my son informed me that all the shops were shut, and that it was reported that the workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine were preparing to advance into the heart of Paris. I confess I felt some degree of fear, lest this Faubourg, formerly so terrible, should disgrace such a dignified resistance as I had been informed was then spontaneously organizing at Paris. I dreaded again to behold those brigands who stained the character of the first revolution. I expected to see every moment file off bands of those ill-omened and ferocious figures, as disgusting in appearance as in language, whom I had seen exhibited in the plates representing the scenes of that epoch. But, during the whole day, none appeared on the Boulevard St. Antoine, but respectable-looking workmen, by no means ill dressed, though unencumbered by jackets or coats. They seemed determined, it is true, and even menacing; but I could observe no prognostic of disorder. Nowhere was to be heard those rude expressions which were formerly the common language of those who were called "*the people.*" The grossest words used by this innumerable body of workmen, while moving along the Boulevard, were such as these: "Those * * * then flatter themselves that they have to do with imbeciles."—"Do the * * * * Jesuits take us for Cossacks?"—"They shall soon see whom they have to do with. We will show them our teeth, while they show us their rumps."—"The whole *canaille* must be put to flight again!"

This language plainly showed that these persons took the matter seriously, and were full of zeal. I can affirm that I saw no one among them who seemed above their own condition, or who had the appearance of heading or exciting them. They had neither chiefs nor incendiaries. They consulted no one, and no one volunteered to direct them. All the workmen in the Boulevard seemed to be waiting for some event, of which they were not certainly the provoking party. Up to eleven o'clock they raised no other cries than "*Vive la Charte!*" "Down with Polignac!" "Down with the Ministers!"

Immediately afterward several persons were seen hurrying from the Boulevard du Temple towards the Place de la Bastille, crying out that a battle was begun in Paris, that the troops had fired upon the inhabitants, and that the Rue St. Honoré and the environs of the Palais Royal had become the theatre of a horrible civil war.

This news electrified the workmen. They called for arms and leaders. Some rushed to the gate Saint Antoine, others towards the Boulevard of the Temple. In a moment the Boulevard St. Antoine was empty. Not a single person remained before my windows. My son came to tell me that all was bustle in the Place Royale and in the street St. Antoine; that arms and leaders were called for; that the gun-makers' shops had been forced open throughout Paris; and, lastly, that many inhabitants had assembled on the Place Royale and the Place de la Bastille, some armed with guns and rusty sabres, others with pistols, swords, spits, pikes, and pitchforks, crying out, "Down with Polignac!" "*Vive la liberté!*" I found great difficulty in restraining my son; he wanted to look after a gun, and set off, like all the rest, to the place where the troops were firing on the people. "The porter's son is gone," said he, "and I remain behind; the porter himself would have been off by this time had not his wife detained him." I used persuasion, and endeavoured to convince him that I could not do without him. He yielded to my entreaties, but disappeared every moment under the pretext of going to obtain news.

What I heard from persons passing was vague and confused. "There is a fight; the people are being murdered." That is all they deigned to tell me, while hurrying off in search of arms.

My impatience and alarm now increased. I saw many ready to fight, but very few armed! We had every thing to fear from the numerous regiments in Paris with artillery. What is to become of the poor people who are marching on

to the very mouth of the cannon? If Paris yields, the cause of liberty, of reason, of humanity, is lost for ever! I remained for some moments overcome by mournful reflection.

The workmen re-appeared upon the Boulevard, and I saw them descend in groups. They proceeded towards the Port St. Martin, where, it was said, war was also raging. This long procession did not raise a single cry. A sombre appearance of despair clothed the whole crowd. I remarked, however, that those who possessed guns considered themselves fortunate, and marched at the head of bands, as fierce as Artabanes. It was sufficient to have a gun and a cartridge-box to become the leader of a party. These parties were, however, composed of men, most of whom were not armed even with sticks. They marched with their arms crossed as if they were going to their work. All at once I heard the cry raised, "To the docks!" and the crowd immediately rushed to the dock-yard opposite the Boulevard, and armed themselves, some with logs of wood, others with poles, which they flourished over their heads, exclaiming, "*Vive la liberté!*"

What do these brave men mean to do with a few rusty guns and cudgels?—It is out of my power to follow them!

I see filing off even children, some of them with pistols in their hands. I tremble for them. I tremble for the sacred cause which they are going forth to defend.

Every moment I saw detachments of different regiments pass along. The gen-d'armes were hooted. The lancers and cuirassiers were received with cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" which a few of the military repeated. The galloping of horses every minute announced that fatal orders were despatched to all the posts.

What a day of anxiety! No news of what is passing; for every one leaves the Boulevard, and no one returns from the heart of Paris. I inquired of my son whether there were any police ordinances, or proclamations from authority. He replied that neither the police nor ministers showed themselves.

The culpable ministers then hide themselves, after brandishing the torch of civil war! They hide themselves, after signing an order for the extermination of a generous population, only guilty of resisting their liberticide acts! On all sides a unanimous exclamation of indignation is raised against them. As for Charles X., every one says "this is what he wanted," and those who were royalists before the publishing of the ordinances, repeat—"It is indeed his work!"

About four o'clock, my son returned with a triumphant air. "The *National*," said he, "has appeared, but I could not ob-

tain one. I bring you the *Temps*. It contains the protest of the journalists, the same as I read it in the *National*, with the single exception that it does not give the signatures." "Honour to the editors of the *National*! Honour to the editors of the *Temps*!" I exclaimed, seizing at the same time the latter journal. I read the protest of the editors of the liberal journals. It gave me intense delight. "I will not," said I, "despair of the public cause."

The clock has just struck five. Many persons are returning from the centre of Paris, all of whom tell me that there have been battles at different points, and that the fighting still continues; but that it is difficult to know what is doing, because the streets in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal are choked up with immense crowds.

At length I obtained positive news. M. Denain, the bookseller in the Rue Vivienne, arrived, and had the goodness to tell me all that he knew, all that he had seen and heard. This gentleman, an active and sincere patriot, assured me that there prevailed throughout the whole population, not only irritation, but real enthusiasm. He said that every thing showed the existence of a spirit of great determination, from which important results might be expected; that the National Guard was re-organizing itself, and would be under arms to-morrow morning; that no one knew where the ministers were; and that it was even said that the king had set out for Compiègne. Finally, he told me that Rouen and Orleans had risen, and that 2000 men from Rouen were marching to the assistance of the Parisians. He added that it was the general opinion that the morning of the 28th would be a hot one, and that he and his friends had taken measures accordingly.

M. Denain infused balm into my blood, when he assured me that the patriotism of the Parisians would render the cause of liberty triumphant.

I was confirmed in these agreeable ideas by the patriotic traits which some women displayed. One of them, a general's widow, went to the Palais-Royal, declaring, that if money was wanted to make a revolution, she would give it to all who needed it. I know her to be a woman who would keep her word.

Two other women furnished traits worthy of Spartan mothers. The first, Madame R——, armed her two sons, and sent them forth to defend the cause of liberty. This patriot mother remained two days without hearing any news of them. She was weeping for them, when she saw them return safe and well.

The other Spartan mother, Madame Vénot, was asked

where her son was: "My son," she replied, "is among the combatants." "How, Madam!" do you allow him to mix in those brawls!" "He must act like the rest; if no one went, we should have to stretch our necks quietly to the knife." "But if he should be killed?" "I should console myself by reflecting that he died for his country."

It should be known that he is an only son and a youth of great promise, the idol of his mother! She has been more fortunate than many other mothers. Her son has returned triumphant, and the cause of liberty prospered because the women embraced it with so much ardour.

Before leaving me, M. Denain brought to my notice that fine prophecy in the sublime political satire of our young and great poet, Barthélemy, entitled, 1830:*

Vous donc que le monarque a mis dans ce haut rang
 Ou l'on peut demander l'or et meme le sang;
 Hardis preparateurs qui, sans bien les connaitre,
 Triturez chaque jour la poudre et la salpêtre,
 Gardez-vous de tenter un frottement trop dur;
 Quand vous portez un coup, qu'il soit prudent et sur;
 Songez que sous vos pieds le calme est transitoire:
 Depuis les premiers tems de notre antique histoire,
 Il existe toujours des Francs et des Gaulois,
 Les amis du pouvoir et les amis des lois;
 L'un de ces deux partis soumis au plus habile
 Comprime non sans peine une humeur indocile,
 Et comme l'ours captif, esclave independant.
 Sous sa bride de fer obeit en grondant.
 Que leur feinte union, treve indeterminée.
 Dure de jour en jour ou d'année en année:
 Que le faible, content de dominer le fort,
 Derobe tout pretexte a sa haine qui dort;
 Que du serment commun nul d'entre eux ne s'écarte.
 Tant qu'armes de leurs droits, appuyes sur la Charte,
 Nos ministres hautains, dispendieux commis,
 Viendront nous demander leur salaire promis,
 D'un pacte dur pour nous rigides signataires,
 Livrons sans murmurer nos deniers tributaires;
 Malheur a l'insense qui viendrait a dessein
 Du poids de son epee aggraver le bassin!
 Au moment de l'oser qu'il medite et qu'il tremble!
 On dit que du Conseil ou la nuit les rassemble
 D'epouvantables bruits vers nous ont circule,
 Que les vagues echos de leurs murs ont parle
 D'edit, de coup d'Etat ou de lit de justice.....
 Silence! que jamais ce mot ne retentisse;
 Le pacte enfreint par eux serait rompu par nous;
 Lasse depuis long-tems de marcher a genoux,

* This satire is sold at Denain's, Bookseller, Rue Vivienne, Paris; and by M. Dulan, Soho, London.

Au seul geste, au signal d'un ordre illegitime,
 Ce peuple bondirait d'un elan unanime,
 Et brisant sans retour d'arbitraires pouvoirs,
 Il se rappellerait le plus saint des devoirs.

This prophecy anticipated by several months the catastrophe of the ministers.

During the same evening there were circulated many reports which my son communicated to me. It was affirmed that the constitutional Peers had wished to remonstrate with the King, but that he had declined receiving them; that the new Deputies who had arrived in Paris had met, and had protested against the illegality of the ordinances; that in the course of the day many other Deputies were expected, as well as the venerable Lafayette; it was also asserted that M. de Belleyme had been arrested for having authorized the printing of the *Journal du Commerce*; that all Paris was in the utmost agitation; that the public indignation was general; and that some great disaster was expected.

Wednesday, July 28th.

At four on the morning of *Wednesday*, the 28th, I repaired to my observatory, and my son went in quest of news. The usual noise of coaches, &c. had ceased, and unusual tranquillity prevailed on the Boulevards of Paris. The Omnibuses and *Dames Blanches* were no longer conveying the Parisians from one extremity of the capital to the other for thirty centimes, and the fiacres were all put up; the only vehicles to be seen were a few cabriolets and calèches driving in the direction of the *barrieres*.

Before 6 o'clock the Boulevard was crowded with working men. Some had arms, and others were loudly demanding to be supplied with them. They were informed that Francini's and the theatres *la Gaîté et l'Ambigu-Comique* were distributing the arms they used in their military spectacles. The men hurried towards the Boulevard of the Temple; but all the arms were disposed of. Thus disappointed, they renewed their cries for "arms" and "commanders," and many added "a provisional government!" Those who had muskets descended from the Boulevard, and many others followed them with sticks and pikes.

The crowd which hurried to the centre of Paris did not consist entirely of the working class of people. I observed many well-dressed men, and even young men of fashionable appearance. The latter were for the most part armed with muskets and sabres, and were also furnished with cartridge-boxes.

Finding that my son did not return as soon as I expected, I began to be alarmed. Our breakfast hour arrived and he was still absent.

None but those who are similarly situated can conceive my anxiety! People were constantly arriving; but I did not recognise, in the men whom I saw defiling, the famous, the redoubtable Faubourg St. Antoine. I had as yet seen nothing alarming, nothing hideous.

At length my son returned, covered with dust and reeking with perspiration. He had been at the Palais Royal, and he informed me of all he had seen and heard. There had been fighting until two in the morning in the Rue Saint Honoré, and many persons had been killed. He assured me that preparations were making for the most vigorous resistance; that some of the streets were unpaved; that the National Guard was about to appear in uniform; that General Lafayette was in Paris, and whither the ministers had fled was unknown. There were no Journals, no documents from authority. A provisional government was every where called for. The name of Lafayette was repeated from mouth to mouth among the National Guards, and the people in general.

At eleven in the forenoon, ordinances and patroles rapidly succeeded each other on the Boulevard St. Antoine. The patroles consisted of a hundred men, and they marched along the whole width of the Boulevard, which by this means they cleared, while the people took refuge in the back alleys, exclaiming "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Vive la Liberté!*"

I soon heard men coming from the centre of Paris, crying, "*Vive la ligne!*" "*à bas le Roi!*" These new cries led me to suppose that the troops of the line had fraternized with the citizens, and that a great revolution had commenced.

The wind, blowing from the east, prevented the inhabitants of this quarter from hearing the fusilade in the Rue St. Honoré, and its neighbourhood. About one o'clock, several discharges of musketry announced a skirmish on the Boulevard St. Martin, or even nearer. I was all ears; and the populace, both armed and unarmed, thronged in the direction of the firing.

The cannonade was now heard at a greater distance:—it was therefore evident that there was fighting at several points! The fusilade approached the Boulevard St. Antoine; and the fires in file, and fires in platoon, were distinctly heard. This firing lasted nearly an hour.

The people who were hurrying to the Place de la Bastille informed us that there had been an engagement at the Port St. Denis, and on the Boulevard St. Martin; that the troops

of the line had constantly shown themselves disposed to disobey the ministerial orders, but that the Royal Guard had fired every where, even at the windows which they saw open.

A lady, who lodges in our house, has just arrived from the scene of action, where she happened to be, greatly against her inclination. She fancies she yet hears the balls whizzing around her, for she had saved her life by taking refuge in a stationer's shop; and she informed us that the troops were marching towards our quarter, which had hitherto been tolerably peaceable, compared with the other districts of Paris. On the other hand, I was informed that the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine were organizing themselves and preparing for defence. "Where then is your Faubourg St. Antoine, of which so much has been said?" inquired I, in a tone of dissatisfaction; "is it composed of the working people whom I have seen passing by since the morning, and of whom five-sixths are not even furnished with sticks?" "What you have seen is nothing," answered a person who came from that Faubourg; "you will see the Faubourg St. Antoine come down in the course of the day."

At that moment discharges of musketry, at the distance of about two hundred paces, announced that there was an engagement near at hand. There was a great commotion in the back alleys of the Boulevard, where there were still many working people collected. There was a cry of "Close your windows!" and immediately a vast number of troops debouched, at a quick step, marching in close columns, the whole width of the boulevard. A party of soldiers, ranged as sharpshooters, preceded them at the distance of twenty paces. These sharpshooters fired in the air, and often at the windows; they did not wish them to remain open, lest the troops should be fired at. Unfortunately the blinds of my chamber window were open and fastened against the wall, and I could not rise to close them. I was, therefore, exposed to danger; for I was behind my window, and a soldier of the Royal Guard, who mistook my crutches for muskets on the rampart, threatened me. I turned half round and concealed myself behind the thick wall, thinking that it would be doubly vexatious to be killed so foolishly.

The sharpshooters continued firing. The chief portion of the troops marched forward in silence. At the guard-house, which was before me, the customary forms were observed. The word of command was given by the advanced guard, and the troop defiled. After a regiment of infantry came a squadron of lancers, and then more infantry, and cuirassiers. The

dust, and the position in which I was forced to remain, hindered me from seeing whether there was any artillery; but a few moments afterward I was convinced that there was some.

This troop, all of the Royal Guard, foot as well as horse, which I estimate at about 2000 men, took up its position on the Place de la Bastille. But no sooner had it arrived there, than the firing of musketry was heard in that direction. Firing in file and in platoon succeeded each other without intermission, and the report of cannon was heard every three or four minutes! There was loss of life on both sides. The inhabitants, having but very few arms at their disposal, were forced to retire before the column, which then advanced as far as the cross roads of Reuilly. Here it was reinforced by a battalion and two pieces of cannon from Vincennes.

I was afterward informed that the discharge of musketry had been vigorously kept up a little beyond the Rue de Charonne, where many victims had fallen; that the houses at the corner near the fountain were perforated with balls; and that scarcely a pane of glass remained in the windows. It was at this fountain that the citizens made the greatest resistance; while the troops were fired upon, stones, sticks, and every thing that the inhabitants could collect, were thrown from the windows.

The column advanced no farther; but soon returned to the Place de la Bastille, whence it proceeded to the Place de Grève, by the way of the Rue St. Antoine. The troops fired in the street; the people returned the fire; and here, as well as in the Rue de Faubourg, stones were thrown from the windows as well as from the roofs of the houses. This column discharged several pieces of cannon in the Rue St. Antoine: the traces of balls are still visible on several houses; among others, on that at the corner of the Rue St. Paul. Notwithstanding the sustained firing of the musketry and artillery, the Royal Guard could not advance farther than the Rue Beau-doyer, whence it returned to the Place de la Bastille.

All this transpired between two and three o'clock. The firing then ceased; but about five o'clock the troop again entered the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine. The firing of musketry and artillery was again renewed in that quarter, and many citizens were killed or wounded. The cannon, which were fired against the windows, knocked down chimneys, &c. A sign, at the third story of the house called the *soldat cultivateur*, was broken by balls, traces of which are also visible on several other houses.

This second discharge of musketry lasted more than three-

quarters of an hour, and cost, it is said, the lives of thirty or forty inhabitants, exclusive of the wounded, who were still more numerous.

At six o'clock the column returned to the Place de la Bastille, where it appeared disposed to bivouac. It was recalled by an urgent order in the direction of the Place de Grève, whither it repaired by the way of the quays. This movement astonished me; I could only account for it by supposing that the people had obtained advantages in the centre of Paris, and in the direction of the Tuileries.

From that moment there were neither troops nor patrols in our neighbourhood: nothing remained but the guard-house. Some citizens collected, marched on the guard-house, and dismissed the guard, consisting of troops of the line, but without doing them any injury. The citizens kept possession of that point until eight or nine o'clock, when some men, returning from the centre of Paris, set fire to the guard-house, which, as it was constructed of painted wood, was soon consumed. I was much gratified to observe that these men, who were so furiously destroying the guard-house, took great pains to preserve a small barrack adjoining, in which a poor woman sold fried potatoes: it was saved from the flames.

But, while the barrack of the Boulevard St. Antoine was thus spared, that called the Curtius, on the Boulevard of the Temple, underwent great vicissitudes, on account of the busts of the royal family which were exhibited there. The wax images of Charles X., the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, the Dutchess de Berri, Mademoiselle and the Duke de Bourdeaux, were broken to pieces, as well as the busts of the Popes and holy personages by whom the royal family were surrounded. Every one carried off a fragment, exclaiming, "Down with Charles X.!" "Down with the Bourbons!" "Down with the family who are the enemies of our glory and liberties!"

The evening concluded, in our part of the town, with the breaking of a street lamp, by some ill-looking labouring men, the only individuals of that class whose appearance had hitherto displeased me. They seemed thoroughly intoxicated, and had, probably, come from the *cabaret*, and not from the field of battle.

We now learned that there had been fighting all day in the neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville and the Louvre; but I was unable to learn any particulars. I was, however, assured that next day all the National Guards would be under arms, that we should have a provisional government, and that all would go well.

Thursday, July 29th.

This was a lovely morning. There was a slight mist, and the heat did not promise to be so great as on the preceding day, when it had been 27°.

At five o'clock some musket-shots, fired pretty near me, made me feel some alarm. The commotion which prevailed every where on the Boulevard, denoted an eagerness and an enthusiasm which I had not yet observed from my window. I soon learned that the shots I heard had been fired at the door of the gens-d'armes' barracks, in the Rue de Tournelles, which the people had taken without resistance. The gens-d'armes who were there surrendered their sabres, carbines, pistols, cartridge-boxes, &c., with which a great number of the citizens had armed themselves. My son, who assisted at the distribution of the spoil of this barrack, related to me many traits of the captors' disinterestedness and humanity. Whatever hatred they entertained against the gens-d'armes, as soon as they saw them disarmed they helped them to carry their knapsacks, and all that belonged personally to themselves, and no one attempted to purloin any of their property. The fugitives were even escorted to protect them from danger. The agents and clerks in the post-office, which is in front of the barrack, behaved admirably to the gens-d'armes, some of whom were allowed to deposit their uniforms in the post-office. I soon saw a party of the victors passing along the Boulevard Gendarmierie. They were elated with the joy of their success.

Meanwhile other musket-shots were heard in the direction of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The citizens were trying their muskets.

The collection of armed men, among whom were many lads not more than fifteen or sixteen, momentarily increased beneath my window. Enthusiasm was at its height. I heard cries of "*Vive la liberté!*" "*A bas les Bourbons!*" "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Vive le drapeau tri-coloré!*" And some even presumed to raise the cry of "*Vive Napoleon II.!*" I was informed that the famous Faubourg St. Antoine would appear at nine o'clock.

I now, for the first time, saw the National Guards pass by in uniform. This gave me great pleasure. The people received them with cries of "*Vive la Garde Nationale!*" A moment after, cries of "*Vive la ligne!*" were addressed to some unarmed foot-soldiers who passed by with their knapsacks on their backs. They inquired their way home. Those who directed them, said, "*Bon voyage, bon voyage, comrades; tell*

our friends there that we shall speedily make an end of this, and that, if France does as we do, the tri-coloured flag will be waving every where in a week. These soldiers, I was informed, belonged to one of the corps of the line which had fraternized with the inhabitants. In the course of the day, many more of these troops passed.

The sun, which until eight o'clock had been concealed, shone out brightly about nine o'clock. Many unarmed citizens were still lingering on the Boulevard, when some young men with good muskets, passed and said, "Go to the Arsenal! it has just surrendered, and they are distributing arms and powder." On hearing this, all hurried off in the direction of the Arsenal.

At this moment, I heard drums beating a quick march. They were those of the National Guard of the Faubourg. A quarter of an hour afterward, cries of joy, and the beating of a quicker march, announced the approach of a citizen troop, which defiled by the Rue St. Antoine. The National Guards in uniform were at its head, a tri-coloured flag floated in the ranks, and the whole population greeted it with acclamations.

Let it not be said that a flag or a cockade is merely a vain sign. Men become attached to them, wear them with pride, and often lose their lives rather than abandon them. The glorious tri-coloured flags are noble national colours, awakening dear recollections in the mind of every Frenchman. I could well conceive the transports of joy excited by the sight of the tri-coloured flag, inasmuch as I myself shared them. I recollected that those colours had, as it were, waved over my cradle. I had seen them float amid those demi-brigades which conquered and regenerated Italy; and, amid these glorious recollections, I thought of the many hours which, since the restoration of the Bourbons, I had passed on the quays of Marseilles, gazing on the Dutch flag; the three colours of which served to call up gratifying illusions. I had always hoped that the enormous fault committed by the Bourbons, in proscribing the national colours, would sooner or later furnish the friends of liberty with a rallying point, that might prove fatal to those who had rejected the tri-colour.

After this first national troop, which came down from the Faubourg St. Antoine to the centre of Paris, three numerous battalions defiled successively, drums beating and colours flying. Meanwhile, the commotion continued on the Boulevard St. Antoine. Armed men continued to arrive from that quarter until nearly noon.

An extraordinary calm now prevailed. No vehicle was stirring, no noise disturbed the silence which prevailed in the Marais ; for the direction of the wind prevented us from hearing the engagements at the Hotel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuileries. We, in the Marais, were tranquil, while blood was flowing in the centre of Paris, as it had flowed the day before on the Place de la Bastille !

The heat was excessive. A poor *marchand de coco** was passing along the Boulevard, when two armed men approached him, and each drank a glass of lemonade. One of the two put his hand into his pocket for the purpose of paying. "Never mind, never mind," said the *marchand de coco*, "the republic will pay for it." The men thanked him, and set off at a rapid pace.

At the same instant two old men met each other. "Whither are you going, neighbour?" inquired the one. "I am carrying some dinner to my son, who has been down there all the morning." Thus these brave fellows went out to fight without knowing where they were to get a dinner. And yet our enemies scruple not to say, that the revolution of July, 1830, was bought by gold. The brave artisans of the Faubourg St. Antoine who repulsed the soldiers employed by traitors, were obliged to journey a league to get their dinners. They had not worked during the week, and we know that summer Sundays are fatal to their pockets.

About two o'clock, my son came to inform me of some disasters which had taken place on the Place Royale. One of the people, armed with a musket, had killed an officer of the National Guard carrying despatches ; he had mistaken him for an officer of the Royal Guard, and, being somewhat intoxicated, had fired his piece at the officer. But no sooner had he committed this unwitting assassination, when another citizen laid him dead on the spot. Soon after a thief was taken, and shot on the same spot. The people seemed indignant to find that there were thieves among the ranks of the patriots, and they made a prompt and severe example of him.

A man, in a state of intoxication, who had menaced with his loaded musket the people who were peaceably walking along the Boulevard, was disarmed before my eyes, in spite of the resistance he made. The citizens who seized him were

* What are called *marchands de coco*, in Paris, are men who carry on their backs vessels filled with lemonade, sweetened with treacle. They sell this beverage at two liards per glass.

mechanics. "No one," said they, "should drink to-day; to-morrow we will drink success to the republic." The piece thus obtained served to arm a youth, who set off at full speed.

It was about five o'clock, when discharges of musketry, directed upon the Boulevard of the Temple, again roused our attention. I could not conceive the cause of the firing. It was maintained without intermission; but I did not observe the firing in file and in platoon, firing which I had noticed on the preceding evening. At the expiration of a few minutes, shouts of joy, mingled with the discharge of musketry, announced a victory.

A man, decorated with an order, exclaimed, addressing himself to me, "It is all over. The Hotel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuileries, are taken. The Swiss and the Royal Guard, have retreated towards the Champs-Élysées. . . . We have a provisional government. General Lafayette is at the head of the National Guard: he has under his orders the brave General Gérard. The pupils of the Polytechnic School, the Students of Law and Physic, have immortalized themselves. The National Guard is covered with glory. In a word, the whole population has shown itself truly heroic. Old men, women, children, all have rivalled each other in ardour. This will be one of the greatest festival days Paris ever saw. Liberty is saved, and for ever will dwell with the French."

As the citizen pronounced these words, I felt myself transported with joy. My dearest wishes were near being accomplished. I had again seen the tri-coloured flag unfurled; it now floated over the Hotel de Ville and the palace of the Tuileries. I saw at the head of the National Guard that venerable general whose very name struck awe among the enemies of the people. I felt my heart dilate; and yet I suffered some painful feeling amid all this happiness. I was deprived of the most precious of blessings, health, without which I could render my country no actual service. But, for a moment, I felt my calamity lightened; and I thought I could have run and embraced all the citizens whom I saw returning. I heard them cry, "*A bas les Bourbons!*" Several rounds of musket-shot, fired into the air, announced to their wives and parents that victory was with the people.

General Lafayette was proclaimed the saviour of France; cries of "Lafayette for ever!" "Liberty for ever!" rent the air; for each company, each platoon, each group, repeated them once, and they were answered from the windows of the houses.

The conquerors continued to defile for a considerable time. The first stanzas of the Marseilles hymn were sung in chorus. I remarked in every company women between the ranks, carrying the muskets and swords of their husbands and brothers. A great many of the boys were furnished with cartridge boxes; and some had put on their fathers' fur caps. Never were my eyes so blessed.

I was still gazing with rapture, when another spectacle, of a more affecting kind, appeared in view. A platoon of twenty armed men, preceded by some National Guards in uniform, carrying branches of laurel, and followed by many women with children in their arms, issued from one of the cross alleys of the Boulevard. In the midst of this platoon was a bier, borne by several men; it contained the remains of one of the victims of the preceding day. In the course of the evening many similar funerals passed my window. The people cried out "hats off!" and every one uncovered with a feeling of religious respect.

ORIGINAL LETTER.

In the annexed letter from an English gentleman to a friend, there is matter of amusement and interest. It has been obligingly communicated for this publication.

August 2, 1830.

My Dear R——,

As you may wish to get some account of the events which are now known over Europe, I write for your satisfaction a short notice of the circumstances which fell under my own observation. After paying a dreadfully long bill at Calais, we took our seats in the diligence, and in about thirty-six hours arrived at Paris. On Monday, the 26th, we took a warm bath and lodgings, and walked through some of the streets before we retired for the night.

On Tuesday we awoke, anticipating novelty and pleasure, and saw more of the city. We were rather disappointed by not finding the gayety and light-heartedness we expected; there appeared bustle and anxiety rather than amusement and absence of care. At that time we little knew the cause.

About two o'clock, on our return home, we saw a large body of military, horse and foot, drawn up in an open space near the

Champs-Elysées. We stopped to observe their appearance, and compare with our own men at home, and came to the conclusion that scarcely any troops could be found to beat them. Some of the cavalry soon cantered away, and we went to our lodgings.

To understand me perfectly, I must acquaint you that the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Champs-Elysées, are in a continued line by the side of the Seine, and in the order mentioned, and that our lodgings are near the quays, but not on them, on the opposite side of the Louvre, &c. There are broad quays on both sides.

After dinner 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 proof 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. Five minutes before we came up, the soldiery had passed this spot, had been obstinately and bravely resisted, but had forced their opponents to retire. The wounded man we saw was one of many whom they had left in that state; this I learned afterward. You may imagine how we, who had come to Paris for amusement, were astonished and alarmed by the "untoward events" in our first morning's walk, during which musketry was constantly ringing in our ears, mingled with execrations from the infuriated populace, and the groans of wounded and dying men on all sides around us! We got home as soon as we could in safety, and inquired immediately concerning what we had seen; but either our imperfect attempts at French were unintelligible, or those in the house were themselves ignorant of the cause, for neither could understand the other. We determined to go the next day to Galignani's, where we were certain of finding Englishmen, and obtaining information.

On Wednesday morning, after breakfast, we set out. Paris 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, 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 exactitude. 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 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 among 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 learned that the address, delivered the moment before, was to the effect that the hearers would be justly punished for their inactivity and debasement, if the life or death of their mothers and wives was of equal consequence in their eyes. The sight of the dead body, and this address, aroused the people to whom it was delivered. They instantly rushed off to attack the Swiss guard-house at the end of the Rue Richelieu; and, out of 300 men stationed there, twenty only escaped death. The houses about this place have marks of the balls in every part. I made many excursions from Galignani's during the day, and never without seeing something indicative 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. That more have not been killed has astonished me; for artillery was playing the whole time. I left this place about eight o'clock, and retired to bed at ten; and the cannonade continued all night.

The next morning, Thursday, I saw but little change in the positions. The troops were nearer to the entrance of the

Louvre, and the National Guard and the people farther down the quay, showing that the latter had gained some ground. It was here that the military made their last stand. They were beaten into the Louvre. It was stormed, and the National Guard became masters of France.

When we heard that the citizens were conquerors, we became anxious as to the fate of the foreigners in Paris, and went to Galignani's. In every direction were the citizens discharging firearms, shouting "Vive la Charte!" and forcing every one they met to do the same. We of course joined in the shout. The first thing we beheld on crossing the bridge, on the other side, was a heap of bodies from yesterday's firing. We hastened from the sight, but only to witness similar scenes at every turn. One heap in particular attracted my attention. It was a small one—All the faces were upwards and covered with blood: on the summit was a youth of about sixteen, beautiful in face, and with a skin like snow—he appeared asleep—in one hand was the remnant of some paper which he had used perhaps for wadding. I could hardly persuade myself that he was dead; he lay so calm. We hastened on and lost ourselves in endeavouring to find Galignani's. On entering a street, we came upon a single body of tremendous size; I knew it at once—it was the man that fell in the contest of Tuesday from the first fire. We then discovered where we were. At Galignani's they said a siege was threatened, and that the English were in great odium with the French. The tri-coloured cockade was at this time worn by every body, and of course by me. On our return home we found the Place du Caroussel, which is the square of the Tuileries, occupied by the National Guard, who were then refreshing themselves. Many hundreds had neither taken food nor tasted drink for six-and-thirty hours, and this in such scorching weather as I never before endured. We hastened to the Champs-Élysées, but every gate was occupied by citizens of the National Guard reeking from victory, and animated with draughts of wine, which they were obliged to take unmixed to slake their thirst: water could not be obtained to mix with it. I presented myself boldly at one of the gates: it opened; I entered, and my friend followed. We made for the other gate, not doubting but that we could depart as easily as we entered. What was our horror to find that every person that presented himself was searched! I had about me our passports, a letter to you giving some account of affairs here, and some letters of introduction which I had not

yet delivered. My friend had also letters of introduction to an officer of the Royal Guard, which would have been sufficient to seal our warrant, even could we have spoken to them in French. To retreat was impossible; I therefore assumed a bold appearance. One of the searchers was in a state of intoxication. In his hands at that moment was an old man with a small vessel of earthen-ware containing sugar; this was dashed to the ground, after ascertaining that no paper was concealed in it. In a side pocket he had some printed papers, which the searcher paused to examine. While engaged in this work, a person came up briskly and demanded instant egress. He was known, and the gate immediately opened. I pushed after him, and was stopped. The searcher of the sugar vessel pulled open my coat, took off my hat, pressed his hands down my sides, and finally suffered me to pass. My friend followed, and thus we got free:—he forgot to examine our hind pockets.

In looking at all this extraordinary business, I know not whether more to admire the determination and bravery of the people, or the extreme mildness with which they have used their victory. People goaded to resistance by arbitrary power, and maddened by the loss of comrades, friends, and relatives in the struggle, were likely to commit excesses, while their excitation lasted. These high-spirited men, who risked their lives for liberty, showed that they wanted no more than they claimed—they avenged themselves, without revenge against their enemies.

We came to Paris for recreation, and in a week saw the breaking out and termination of a mighty revolution. On the Monday following, the shops were open, people at their usual business, and gayety, 'though with a subdued mien,' presiding in the public walks. The barriers in the streets are now mostly displaced, and the lamps are restored.

I went on Sunday to view the place where some thousands of the citizens who fell on the three days are interred. Where the pit was dug it is enclosed by a railing. Flowers are suspended around, and there is intimation that subscriptions will be accepted for the widows and children of the deceased, and for the wounded.

On the day of the victory, when all was over, the National Guard marched to the Bourse; they were well armed, and a young girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was carried in triumph. She fought like a man—a second Joan of Arc—the whole time.

ANOTHER LETTER.

MR. PHILIP TAYLOR, formerly of Norwich, and long settled in the neighbourhood of Paris, writes as follows to his brother, Mr. Richard Taylor, of London, a gentleman well known as a learned printer, and a resolute asserter and defender of the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Grenelle, *Paris*, August 9th, 1830.

My dear R.

On my return from Paris this evening, I found your letter of the 6th instant. I wrote to my nephew, J. E. T., on *Friday*, the 30th of July, while bullets were still whistling over our heads, and while with my telescope I could see the *tri-coloured* flag on Notre Dame, and the *white one* on the Palace of St. Cloud. Expecting the Post would be interrupted, I took this letter to the English Ambassador's and enclosed it in a cover to J. We are all quite safe and well; but you must have been anxious about us. The incessant roar of guns, the distant shouts, the tocsin, and the very sight of men nobly fighting in so sacred a cause, gave rise to feelings which you may in some faint degree imagine. I was much out of humour with the clogs which prevented my lending a hand. Never was a righteous end more righteously obtained! The praises bestowed on the people in the newspapers are not more than they richly deserve. In a letter which I wrote to my nephew, just after the elections, I said that these people *knew* their rights and *would defend them*. I told him that the French army, that is, the *line*, could not be depended upon in any attack on the people. I never doubted as to the result, if such a conflict was commenced; but I certainly *did not* calculate on such wicked fools as those who brought all this about. I have often expressed to you my opinion as to the sobriety, prudence, and honesty of the lower classes in France; but I did not expect to see the most undaunted valour united with such moderation and forbearance. I myself have seen what by some would be called the *rabble* performing acts of the most generous kindness even to the Swiss who had been firing incessantly on them! The instant they struck the banners of despotism, every angry feeling seemed to vanish. The last body of troops were driven from l'Ecole Militaire. I was among them, and the people on the plain of Grenelle. They were dreadfully cut up and exhausted. Wine and food were liberally given to them while their arms

remained in their hands. During this conflict every sort of restraint was at an end, yet was every description of property most religiously respected. After the fight was won, I had a multitude of poor fellows all around me in the Champ de Mars, &c., absolutely in want of food. I expected they would come and help themselves in my potato field, which was open to them.—Nothing was touched—and, when I and my man dug up a load and sent to them, a person instantly begged my name, and put it down, stating the gift. Those who bore the brunt of the battle were chiefly the working men, and a vast proportion of these were little more than boys. Still they all appeared to know and feel *why* they ought to fight. It was not for the sake of a row, nor had personal animosity any thing to do with it. All appeared anxious to give their lives for their country.

I have always been the friend of the working classes in England as far as I had power of being so, and I do ardently wish that they could be deeply impressed by the example lately set them by the same class in France. As to bravery and intelligence, I have no doubt of their being equal; but it is the independence and manliness of character which they should admire and imitate. It is *this* which makes the lower orders in France prudent, honest, and civil. This glorious battle was fought during three of the hottest days I ever remember. The quays were covered with casks of wine and brandy; none was pillaged, nor did I see a drunken man during the fray. They certainly have triumphed most gloriously, and they appear delighted with their victory: still they can enjoy all this without getting drunk and making a tumult. This has been such a *Cleansing Week** as no Norwich man ever before witnessed; but, alas! as a Norwich man, I feel mortified when I remember that in a mere ward election I have seen more that was disgraceful, both in battle and triumph, than has here taken place in turning out a King and all his vile crew.

I believe the working classes in England are more to be pitied than blamed. They are generally treated like an inferior race of animals by the rich; for *mere money* in England produces the vilest of all aristocratical feelings and conduct. These are most naturally met by either servility or brutality. If this haughty feeling on the part of the rich were in a degree neutralized by an equal degree of virtue and honesty, there

* A name given to the week appointed for the annual election of the Common Council.

might be something to say for it: but look at the English newspapers; they are filled with examples of infamy in the higher classes. Let us remember that there is scarcely a parish in Great Britain in which you may not find an unprincipled lawyer, ready to put all the infernal machinery of English law in motion, for the service of any rogue who can pay him. Look to Poor laws! Game laws! and Excise laws! which are enforced by petty tyrants called Squires, or, worse, by men who are called Ministers of the Gospel. I don't wonder that the poor are reckless in England;—the more they are enlightened, the more will they feel indignant; and it is natural that they should be ferocious. All these evils were put an end to by the former revolution in France, and what has been the consequence? The regeneration of the national character, or rather the creation of a people virtuous enough to overthrow a bad government, and wise enough to form a good one, with the least possible quantity of tumult or suffering. It is folly to say they might have done all this in 1789;—it was impossible, the materials were not fit for the work. Nor *could* such a change as this recent one in France be effected in England. The very state of society is a bar to such a change. You must go on quietly getting what you can, and you can aim at no object more important than Election by Ballot. Look at the present Chamber of Deputies, actually elected during the reign of Charles X., who with his wicked Ministers did all they could to trick, awe, and bribe the voters. Yet this present Chamber has the full confidence of the people, and is equally well suited to the present order of things. The only change required is an extension of the right of voting, which will be made. That accursed contrivance to destroy both religion and good government, by the union of Church and State, is at an end. There will no longer exist a political religion to disgust men with the very name; and the true spirit of religion will soon find its place in the minds of the people.

As the newspapers have given you full details as to what has been done, and is doing, I have not thought it necessary to repeat them. I saw Louis Philippe I. go to the Chamber; he is a fine hearty fellow. I saw that man of men, the good old General, yesterday. Oh, he looks so happy! What a delightful finish to a long and well-spent life!

I am glad to see that you have started a subscription among the working classes. Nothing is more important for the peace

and welfare of both countries than a friendly feeling, and nothing will do more to bring this about than the very thing you propose. The *number* of subscribers is far more important than the *sum* subscribed; I almost wish a portion of this money could be employed in placing some lasting memorial of the English feeling on this occasion. I shall call on La Fayette in a few days. I believe he is as anxious for peace abroad as for good government at home, and this sentiment is general.

Let me hear how this subscription goes on; and, if I can do any thing here, set me to work. We are all quite well. All the young ones are in high go. The boys came home on Saturday with their colours mounted. S. is playing La Marseillaise, and E. *acts* the whole Garde Nationale. All is perfectly tranquil; the streets are repaving, and every thing looks as gay and busy as if nothing had happened. No one of my acquaintance has suffered in any way. Public credit stands higher than ever. The exchange with England is almost at par.

I am glad to hear that the B. & W. cockade has triumphed in Norwich. I remember wearing the tri-colour there nearly forty years ago.—May nothing soil this glorious badge of liberty! Send me, if you can, the *music* of “Fall, Tyrants, fall!” O, how I wish you and E. had come here, just for the revolution! You might have seen the whole performance *in a week*. He must come and see us. This France will be a better country than ever to live in. Believe me

Your affectionate Brother,

P.

FRIDAY, JULY 30.

The *Moniteur*, in the absence of an acknowledged government, was not published yesterday. This morning it appeared bearing the dates of the 29th and 30th of July. The following official article constituted its entire contents:—

“PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

“The Deputies present at Paris have found it necessary to assemble to remedy the serious dangers which threatened the security of persons and property. A commission has been ap-

pointed to watch over the interests of all, in the entire absence of a regular organization.

“Messrs. Audry de Puiraveau, Comte Gerard, Jacques Lafitte, Comte de Lobau, Mauguin, Odier, Casimir Perrier, and De Schonen, compose this Commission.

“General Lafayette is Commander-in-chief of the National Guard.

“The National Guard are masters of Paris at all points.”

At two o'clock in the morning the mails with yesterday's letters were despatched under the protection of the National Guard. The carriages were at the barriers, and the bags were conveyed to them.

Not a soldier was to be seen in Paris, excepting those of the line, who had refused to fire. Yesterday evening the division of General Bourdesouille appeared at the iron gate of the avenue to Paris, desiring permission to re-enter Versailles, in order to return to its quarters; but the National Guards informed the General that his troops must not return into the city unless they laid down their arms, and that if they used force they would be resisted. The General did not venture an attack; his troops bivouacked on the road, and this morning, after some parleying, an arrangement was made, and the whole division entered, amid cries of “*Vive la Charte!*” This division was composed of a battalion of the gen-d'armirie of Paris, both horse and foot; of a regiment of grenadiers, on horseback; of a company of horse artillery; and a regiment of cuirassiers.

The furious and deadly struggle of yesterday had decided the question between Charles X. and the people; and they reposed in security. This morning there prevailed a perfect calm and stillness throughout the city. Until a late hour the combatants for liberty were reposing from fatigue and exhaustion. Some who lived in distant quarters, and had been too wearied to reach their humble homes, threw themselves into recesses or any places they could find convenient for rest. At noon, on the stalls of the Palais Royal, there were young men lying apparently dead, without their coats, with their muskets across their breasts; they were buried in profound sleep. It was a delicious morning—as warm as during the three days, when the glass, with little variation, was at 86°.

Orders had been given the evening before for military rations of provisions, and by noon 60,000 rations of bread were ready to be distributed to the national volunteers, who had

left their work to fight for the "good old cause." This precaution, in their behalf, was prudent and just. They were workmen who had been paid their wages on the Saturday, most of which had been exhausted by claims the same evening; and, probably, little was left on Monday for themselves or their families, since when they had earned nothing but laurels.

The markets to-day were well supplied with provisions, which were sold with the same security as usual. The vehicles which brought provisions from the environs of Paris remained at the barriers, because the streets were barricaded and otherwise impassable. The dealers went and fetched their supplies in baskets.

To succour the wounded, and dispose of the killed, were immediate cares. The dead were buried in the streets, markets, and other convenient spots. The number that perished in the Louvre was great. Eighty were borne to a spot opposite the eastern gate, and buried with military honours. Those that fell near the Seine were stripped and tied in sacks, put on board lighters, carried down the Seine, and interred in the *Champ de Mars*. A considerable number, among whom were four Englishmen, were buried in the *Marche des Innocens*. In the *Quartier des Halles* there had been terrible carnage. The inhabitants at the corner of the *Rue de la Cordonnerie* dug a temporary grave, which they ornamented with flowers, laurels, and funeral elegies, in honour of the brave defenders of their country buried in that place.

The Bourse and other public buildings were converted into hospitals, where the wounded were attended by hundreds of ladies; for the men were under arms, or occupied with other important duties. The *Rue Basse des Ramparts* was converted, even during the battle, into one large receptacle for the wounded, by extending sheets from the houses to the wall of the *Boulevards*. At every instant were to be met biers with such of the mutilated defenders of public liberty as could be transported to the hospitals with safety; 1500 of all parties were in the *Hotel Dieu* alone. While each of these unfortunates passed, every man present spontaneously and respectfully took off his hat. The galleries of *Vivienne* and *Colbert* displayed a noble sight. All the merchandise deposited there, the linens, calicoes, &c., were torn up for bandages for the wounded.

At an early hour the following address was widely circulated:—

“ORDE OFFICIAL.

“Vive la patrie ! vive la liberté ! vive la Charte ! et à bas Charles Dix !

“Vive le Duc d'ORLEANS, *notre Roi !*”

This paper obtained great attention, because it was printed at the office of the *National*, a journal greatly esteemed by the republicans, and usually deemed their organ. The reflecting men of this party were for the greatest happiness of the greater number ; and being well acquainted with the character of the Duke of Orleans, they were convinced that all the advantages of a commonwealth, which France could enjoy, would be ensured by calling him to fill the vacant throne, upon conditions to be stipulated. The ultra-republicans were fewer in number, and not so well pleased. They cried, especially in the Faubourg, “*Vive la Republique !*” A few shouted, “*Vive Napoleon II. !*” It was understood that Lafayette and the Deputies of the Extreme Left, in the Chamber, had consented, on certain guarantees for public liberty, to support the nomination of the Duke of Orleans. The prospect of this settlement was gratifying to the merchants, tradesmen, and wealthy classes, because it promised security for property. No one spoke of the return of Charles X. His adherents, and the only contenders for succession in his line, were returned emigrants, or their descendants, born with hereditary hatred to freedom ; and a band of slave-making priests, who glorified the monarchy, because it assisted them to dazzle the ignorant with the scorching splendour of the church, and obscure the light of the pure and undefiled religion of universal liberty. They were few in number, and desperate in purpose, and, under a disaster that deprived them of their rallying point, and which seemed to portend an end to priestcraft, and kings of the old school, they preserved a wily silence.

The *National* contained an article declaratory of the general feeling, commencing as follows :—

“*Paris, July 30.*

“After fifteen years of an odious and dishonourable reign, the house of Bourbon is for the second time excluded from the throne. The Chamber of Deputies has this day pronounced this grand resolution, by calling the house of Orleans to the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom.

“This satisfaction was due to the French people, who have endured, during fifteen years, a Government incapable, vexatious, prodigal, and injurious to the country.

“ For fifteen years past, France has not been at liberty to pronounce with eulogium the glorious names of the men who delivered her in 1789. The revolution was held to be an act for which the country was bound to repent, and to ask pardon. France was obliged to apologize for having wished to be free.

“ The brave men of the old army were almost compelled to find an excuse for their victories, or were obliged to receive from foreign hands the confirmation of their glory.

“ Trade was without protection. Our foreign interests were surrendered to the chances of alliance, calculated according to what was called an interest of dynasty. It is proper to be a friend of all, but it is not well to be weak with respect to any one.

“ Our finances were the prey of a frightful system of waste ; our roads in a woful state of neglect. France, the most civilized nation of Europe, has the worst roads. Our fortresses were all dismantled. The milliard which has been given to the emigrants would have sufficed to put our roads and our fortresses in the best possible condition.

“ France was subject to the command of incapable and degenerate princes, in no way in harmony with the spirit of the nation.

“ The throne was destined to pass from a feeble and obstinate father, destitute of all sort of knowledge, to a son without intelligence, and unacquainted with the interests he was to direct.

“ The future was as gloomy for France as the present.

“ Finally, this deposed family shed oceans of French blood for the cause of usurped power,—that comprehended in the ordinances.

“ But punishment was not long delayed. The ordinances subversive of our rights appeared on Monday, and this day, Friday, the forfeiture is pronounced.

“ The Chamber felt the necessity of establishing a government in lieu of that just overthrown. We need a prompt, vigorous, and active organization. Situated in the centre of Europe, amid a number of rival powers, we require a firm and stable government. The republic, which has so many attractions for generous minds, succeeded ill with us thirty years ago. Exposed to the rivalry of the generals, it fell under the blows of the first man of genius who tried to make himself its master. What we want is that republic, disguised under a monarchy, by means of representative government. The

Charter, always the Charter, with such modifications as reason and the public interest indicate. In fine, the tri-colours."

The streets were crowded with people of all classes ; sentinels of the National Guard regulated the passage through them. The barricades having been opened on each side, the tide of passengers moved forward on the one hand, and those descending the street kept the other. There were no groups, no shouting : not the least disturbance. If a child had known its way, it could have walked from one end of the city to the other, unmolested ; if it had strayed, it would have been conveyed to its home. The people, who had been two days fighting, had become the police.

It is a fact sufficient to characterize the glorious revolution which delivered France from an odious and humiliating yoke, that to-day the Bank was guarded in part by the National Guard, and in part by those of the people whom an insolent aristocracy called *canaille*. The National Guard was mounted at other public edifices, and at the barriers, where neither exit nor entrance was allowed without an order.

In different quarters of the city, the population endured severe privations. They mostly declined to accept assistance from those who were moved by their destitution. A gentleman on several occasions proffered money to persons who had hardly a shoe to their feet ; in one instance only could he prevail upon a poor fellow to accept money. The man was offered five francs ; he refused that sum, and consented to take twenty sous, which he said was to buy a few glasses of wine for himself and his comrades, who were ready to drop down in the street.

There were scenes more agreeable and even ludicrous. Processions of armed men carried bread and other provisions, with exulting and whimsical devices, on the points of their bayonets. Workmen were mounted on the horses of cuirassiers, and horses of the guard of Charles X., whom they had defeated yesterday. Boys, almost clotheless, wore the plumed hats of officers and generals, and court swords dangled from the sides of porters and kennel-rakers.

Whatever was the character of the Paris populace under the former revolution, when emerging from thorough slavery, its passions were suddenly let loose and excited, and suffered to rage uncontrolled, it is certain that its moderation during the last three days of sanguinary conflict is without parallel. The people waged war with desperate determination to conquer ; but their vengeance was without ill-blood. They were resolved

to destroy the system of oppression, but they did not massacre its instruments. Many of them led off wounded soldiers with as much care as they did each other; and to-day after the victory had been achieved, they met and mingled with those who had been opposed to them in the onset with high-minded generosity and even kindly feelings.

The 53d of the line, a fine regiment, upwards of 1000 strong, which had refused to continue in arms against the cause of their country, went to-day to receive its orders from the provisional government at the Hotel de Ville. The officers were cheered, and returned the cheers with expressions of good will: the soldiers and the people cordially grasped each other's hands. The 15th had been more hostile: small parties of this regiment walked about this morning with a certain subdued air, characteristic of the disarmed soldier. It was the business of the people to lighten their care: they stopped and talked, and mingled and drank with them, to put them at ease.

Yesterday, the Hotel d'Invalides was not summoned and had not surrendered. This was memorable for having been the first place which the people assaulted and obtained arms from in the revolution of 1789. To-day the white flag of Charles X. was not flying, but it had not mounted the tri-colours. A party of the people, headed by one of the Polytechnic School, was ordered to march there. The governor refused to surrender it to that force. General Gerard then sent one of his aids-de-camp, and after some conversation the gates were opened, and about 600 other persons entered. The arms, consisting of about 300 firelocks and as many pikes, were given up. Several imagined that there was a greater stock, but the governor answered that all the arms belonging to the hospital had been kept in the Salle d'armes, which had been attacked the day before, and the arms carried away. The answer was satisfactory. Another commander was left, and the tri-coloured flag hoisted. When the people were about to depart, the invalids in the court yard said "Eh bien, messieurs, have you hanged our dog of a governor."—"No."—"You would have done him no great injustice. He yesterday made us charge the cannon, and the firelocks, to fire upon you in case of your coming to attack the Hospital, but he has given us no such orders to-day, and we have assisted you in entering." The people then, to the number of 800, drew up in order in the Court Royal, and proceeded towards St. Cloud, where the king's troops were posted.

While the conflict was raging in Paris yesterday, and the issue uncertain, some young men, who wished to propagate

the impulse beyond the capital, hurried to the communes in the neighbourhood of Paris, and circulated proclamations inviting the citizens to form themselves into national guards. At half past four this morning, the tocsin was sounded at Mont Rouge, Vaugirard, Isay, and Vanvres. At Versailles the *generale* was beat at eleven, and the guard-house forced to surrender its arms. The National Guard immediately occupied all the posts. Yesterday a squadron of carbineers, which fought with the Parisians before the Hotel de Ville at Paris, arrived at Versailles, so cruelly handled, that out of 130 or 150 men it could not count more than 40. Other squadrons which charged in other quarters of the capital masses of people originally inoffensive, experienced losses in the same proportion. To-day the duke d'Angouleme distributed money among the defeated troops who fell upon the Parisians, with a promise of more, if they succeeded in re-entering Paris, and the soldiers filled the public-houses at the neighbouring communes, to which they effected their retreat, eating and drinking away their gratuities.

At the Tuileries was found the following paper, referring to the services of the military :—

TO THE ROYAL GUARD.

“ His majesty orders the duke of Ragusa to inform the troops of the line of his entire satisfaction at their good conduct during the last two days; and orders that they shall receive one month and a half's pay.”

It was ascertained that the soldiers of the Royal Guard had already received from the royal treasury thirty francs a man, in order to induce them to fire upon the people. The soldiers of the 5th regiment of the line declared that they were promised five-and-twenty, but had only received ten francs a man.

The retreat of the troops did not engender security. General Gerard posted strong detachments along the road towards St. Cloud, where there still remained the king, the duc d'Angouleme, and several of the ministers. All the heights, however, were guarded, so as to prevent surprise from Paris. Some little skirmishing took place between the videttes of the people and the troops which commanded the bridges of Sevres and St. Cloud.

At St. Cloud, the king reviewed the troops and harangued them; but the soldiers were silent as the grave. The officers informed him that they were not to be relied on. He again presented himself to the troops, and told them he should abdicate in favour of the duke of Angouleme. This was received with

some applause. It is stated that he said, "My ministers have deceived me! My army has deserted me! Nothing remains but to remain at St. Cloud." He then informed the troops that both himself and his son would abdicate in favour of the "young duke of Bourdeaux, provided the duke of Orleans would be regent for him!" This proposition was received with coolness; some cried "*Vive le duc de Bourdeaux*," most of them shouted "*Vive la Charte!*"—" *Vive la liberté!*" During the issuing of the ordinances and the commencement of the conflict, the dutchess of Angouleme had been at the baths of Vichy. On Tuesday she had gone to the theatre at Dijon, and was received with cries of "*Vive la Charte!*"—" *Vive le 221.*" To-day, on arriving at Charenton, she was informed of the defeat of the military yesterday, and proceeded incognito in a close carriage to St. Cloud. It is said that she reproached the king for the ordinances, and the attempt to enforce them by military execution. Her opportunities of knowing and her capacity for judging of the people and the troops were greater than the king's. In the afternoon, Charles was walking melancholy and pensive with the dutchess of Berri and a nobleman of the court. "I have but one resource left," said Charles X.; "it is, let our troops make a last effort." The dutchess of Berri threw herself at his feet to dissuade him from this foolish idea. "But what can I do?" said the king. "Send to the duke of Orleans," replied the courtier. Charles X. had sent the day before to arrest the duke. To the very last moment he believed that force could subdue the feeling at Paris, and render him master of the capital.

The appointment of General Lafayette to the command of the National Guard had the happiest effect. Forty years before, at the beginning of the former Revolution, he had called out and organized that national and constitutional force for the preservation of the public safety. Under the Republic he laid down his hereditary title of Marquis, and never resumed it. He was exiled and proscribed by factions of his native land, and endured years of rigorous imprisonment in the dungeons of foreign tyranny. He refused to aid despotism whether under Napoleon or the Bourbons. He rejected place, command, honours, and titles, whether offered to him by usurped or right-divine royalty. Loving liberty above all things, this pre-eminent patriot had reaped a rich harvest of its principles in America, carefully cultured the seeds in France, and lived to see them take root. As the undeviating and undaunted

champion of freedom, the people now hoped for his assistance in preserving the fruit of his labours. The public safety was committed to his keeping as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard. His name and fame electrified the disbanded individuals of this civic body; they rallied and resumed their arms, and to-day Lafayette was at the head of 80,000 enrolled citizens and tradesmen of Paris, as its National Guard.

To-day the first care of the Provisional Government and the authorities in Paris was to maintain order. The venerable and good Lafayette indefatigably engaged himself to that end, and commenced by issuing the following

“ORDER OF THE DAY, JULY 30.

“Let the means of defence be so organized in each legion, and let communications be established, so that the weakest points may be most strongly guarded. Let a reserve be made for such of the legions as are least in danger, and be formed of a moiety of the disposable force, and let the abandoned barracks be as much as possible re-established. Let them be put into relation with the environs, so that no person may be permitted to pass beyond the barriers without a permission from the Commandant-in-Chief, or from the Commission of Government. Let a daily return be made to head-quarters of the numbers of each legion, and the state of the arms and ammunition. The Commandant renews his order to the Commanders of legions for them to send daily an officer with twenty-five men to form the guard at head-quarters. There shall be established at head-quarters a body of twenty-five young men, to be employed in carrying out orders, and who shall be distinguished by a badge on the arm.

“From the Hotel de Ville, this 30th of July.

“LAFAYETTE.”

The Municipal Commission of Government appointed Baron Louis Minister of Finance. The troops of the Ministers had not time to carry away the public treasure, and this appointment was immediately requisite. M. Bavoux, Deputy for the Department of the Seine, was nominated Prefect of Police. M. Alexander Delaborde was appointed Prefect of the Seine, and he immediately issued the subjoined address.

M

“ DEPARTMENTAL ADMINISTRATION.

“ BRAVE INHABITANTS OF PARIS !

“ DEAR FELLOW-CITIZENS !—

“ The Municipal Commission, by investing me provisionally with the Prefecture of the Seine, has intrusted to me functions at once delightful and difficult to fulfil. Who can flatter himself with being worthy of the rank of first magistrate of a population whose heroic conduct has just saved France, freedom, and civilization—of a population that embraces within its bosom all that is most worthy of distinction in commerce, property, the magistracy, the sciences, and the arts? But it is you, of whom it is impossible to pronounce an adequate eulogy, or whose interests can be sufficiently promoted. Industrious citizens of every profession,—you whose spontaneous efforts, without a guide, without a plan, have found means to overcome oppression, without polluting victory with one single stain,—you have been found ingenious and sublime in danger, generous and modest in the midst of triumph. Ah! believe me when I acknowledge that from among you I have learned the full extent of my duties, by being taught to appreciate the full extent of your sacrifices.

“ A detailed report of all the glorious actions of this day, and more particularly of the losses and misfortunes they have occasioned, is in preparation. Already public beneficence is engaged in repairing them. We will not remain behind in zeal.

“ Electors of Paris, who, for the third time, have called me by a free exercise of your suffrages to the honour of representing you, may I venture to hope for your continued support in the new functions with which I have just been invested?

“ Inhabitants of the capital,—Your magistrates do not wish to make you feel their presence but by the good they perform. You, on your side, will second their endeavours; you will add double honour to your triumph, by observing that calmness and order which accords so well with success. Assist us in rendering yourselves happy; this is the only recompense we will ask for our labours.

“ ALEXANDER DELABORDE,

“ Provisional Prefect of the Seine.

“ Paris, July 30.”

A deputation from Charles X. at St. Cloud, arrived at the Hotel de Ville early in the morning. It consisted of the Marquis de Pastoret, Chancellor of France; M. Semonville, Grand Referendary; and Count d'Agout, Peer of France. They announced that Charles X. had named the Duke de Mortemart President of the Council, and that he had declared himself willing to accept a Ministry chosen by him.

At eleven o'clock, the Deputies and Peers then in Paris assembled in their respective halls and established regular communications with each other. The Duke de Mortemart was introduced to the Chamber of Deputies, and delivered four ordinances signed yesterday by Charles X. One of them recalled the fatal ordinances of the 25th; another convoked the Chambers on the 3d; the third appointed the Duke de Mortemart President of the Council; and the fourth appointed Count Gerard Minister of War, and M. Casimir Perrier Minister of France. The reading of these ordinances was listened to with the greatest attention. At the termination the profound silence continued;—no observation was made!—the Deputies passed to other business. The Duke de Mortemart returned to acquaint his master that he was no longer acknowledged as King of France. The manner wherein the Duke and his communications were received by the Deputies was an announcement that Charles X. had ceased to reign.

In the course of their proceedings a petition was addressed to the Deputies which terminated thus:—

“ On the 5th of July, 1815, the Chamber of Representatives, under the fire of a foreign enemy, in the presence of hostile bayonets, proclaimed principles conservatory of the rights of citizens, and protested against every act which was calculated to impose upon France a Government and institutions which were not in sympathy with its wishes and interests.

“ These are the principles which we ought to adopt at present. Let them serve as a rallying point. The Chamber of 1815 bequeathed them to a futurity which now belongs to us. Let us enter into the enjoyment of that inheritance, and turn it to the advantage of the people and liberty.

“ The members of a committee, named by a great number of the different arrondissements of Paris, meeting in the Rue de Richelieu, No. 47.

“ Paris, July 30.

(Signed)

“ CHEVALIER, President.”

The following are the guarantees which the Representative Chamber, during the Hundred Days, called upon Napoleon to ratify, and to which allusion is made in the above petition :— The liberty of the citizens—the equality of civil and political rights—the liberty of the press—liberty of worship—the representative system—the free consent of the people to the conscription and the taxes—the responsibility of Ministers—the irrevocability of all sales of national property of every description—the inviolability of property—the abolition of tithes, of the ancient and the newly hereditary nobility, and of feudality—the abolition of confiscation of property—the entire oblivion of all political opinions and movements up to that day—the institution of the Legion of Honour—compensation to officers and soldiers—institution of jury—judges for life—and the payment of the public debt.

A Commission of Deputies is appointed to confer for the public safety with the Peers, assembled in their chamber. The Commission of Deputies returned at nine o'clock in the evening to give an account of their mission. The Peers unanimously declared that there was no other hope of safety but the intervention of the Duke of Orleans, and were of opinion that he should be asked to assume the government, in the character of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The Deputies no longer hesitated, and hastened to devise measures for calling in the Duke of Orleans immediately.

To-day, Sevres, from the commencement of the park of St. Cloud to the bridge, was occupied by battalions of the Royal Guard, of the artillery, and of the Swiss regiments. Two pieces of cannon were planted on the road to Versailles, and two others towards Paris. The Duc d'Angouleme on horseback, accompanied by two superior officers of the Garde du Corps, walking on foot by the side of his horse, and followed by seven or eight Gardes du Corps, passed through the midst of the troops. The Swiss alone received him with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Throughout the afternoon the Swiss were going towards Neuilly, throwing away their arms, expressing the most poignant regret at having fought, and vowing that they would never fight again for the same cause. In the morning and afternoon, addresses to the soldiers, from the provisional government, were every where circulated, inviting them to join the people; and great numbers came into Paris unarmed. In the afternoon a deputation of officers of the line and pupils of the Polytechnic School waited on the officers

of the Guard, inviting their services to the Provisional Government. They answered that they were resolved not to bear arms against their fellow-citizens; that they conceived themselves bound to respect oaths which prevented them from joining their brother officers in Paris; but they hoped soon to see themselves free.

Not a hand was lifted up, nor a word uttered, in behalf of Charles X., during the last three days or to-day. In the course of the morning, many remaining emblems of his reign were removed or effaced, but not a single insult or term of offence was offered to the few who had been notoriously loyal to his lawless power, and were justly suspected of desiring his restoration, or the restoration of what was called the monarchy in the person of any of his line. Those who had the esteem of the people, and appeared in public, were hailed with enthusiastic cheers. Benjamin Constant, a consistent and firm friend to freedom, was recognised at the Bourse, and others were distinguished by the people; but he whom they most delighted to honour, and who most deserved their gratitude, was Lafayette, and they loudly testified their affection as often as they saw him.

The victory was achieved yesterday, and celebrated to-day by respect for order. Already measures were taken for repairing the streets, and the shops were opened. There was no appearance of a recent—a mighty Revolution, but of some great deliverance having been effected. The people wore the tri-coloured cockade, and their countenance expressed satisfaction and happiness, rather than tumultuous joy. The Provisional Government recommended that at night, in the absence of the usual lamps, lights should be placed in the windows. The illumination was general; it tended to the preservation of order, and was the only demonstration of public rejoicing. Along the quays and streets, the female inhabitants were seated in groups, preparing bandages and lint for the wounded. The passages (arcades) afforded striking instances of this benevolent disposition. All the milliners, and their shopwomen and workwomen, were sitting outside their shops (because those being closed afforded no light), busily engaged in making lint.

An estafet of the king's, disguised in a smock frock, was stopped and conducted to the Hotel de Ville. His despatches, addressed to Vincennes, were delivered to the Provisional Government.

In the evening, the mails were forwarded at the usual hour.

SATURDAY, JULY 31.

THE PRESS to-day, by means of the Journals, actively discussed and suggested different forms of future government. There was no proposition for replacing Charles X. or calling either the Duke of Angouleme or the Duke of Bourdeaux to the throne. That line of the Bourbon family was hateful to every constitutional ear. The *Messenger des Chambres* said, "Let us trust to history. It shows us that in England, the substitution of the patriotic William for the hypocritical Stuarts secured both liberty and order. Every thing was easy for the cause of the laws. Blood ceased to flow, resistance became impossible, and Europe and Foreign Powers opened their negotiations and treaties with England after it was regenerated."

In a nation which had been distracted forty years by despotisms of all kinds, and with successions of convulsive misrule under all denominations of government, there were philosophical theorists, and contenders for theories utterly inapplicable at the moment, and even adherents to one who shackled freedom in the name of liberty. Some desired a republic and nothing but a republic: a few desired nothing more than Napoleon II.,—a boy with a regency!—to settle and to govern France. The general disposition was for a government that ensured freedom to all, and this desire was well expressed in a Journal of to-day. The following is an extract.

(From the *French Globe*.)

"All compromise is now impracticable. Some good meaning men have tried to bring it about, but without success. Even were an amnesty of certain acts just and moral, they could not be forgotten: a barrier of blood would rise between the King and the people. Imagine a King guilty and humiliated, stained with French blood, and conquered—a King at once odious and degraded! No, no, he must depart,—he must bid an eternal adieu to France.—The throne being vacant, a great question presents itself,—viz. what will be the government of France? Only two forms of government are possible—a republic and a monarchy.

"The republic has but one fault, which is that it is not deemed possible in France. Perhaps it may one day become possible,—perhaps it is the definitive government to which all

nations are advancing, but its time has not yet come. The heroes of the few last days exclaimed *Vive la Charte!* What was meant by that cry, which inspired such noble conduct? May the Charter, developed and amended by victory, prove an equivalent for the republic.—Supposing this point decided, the next question is, to whom shall the throne be given?

“The name of the Duke of Orleans presents itself. The necessity of speedily establishing a government is universally felt. The Duke of Orleans is among us, and his situation is such that he may be the means of pacifying France, and saving us from the hostility of the rest of Europe.—He has as yet neither popularity nor power on his side. This is an advantage; for he cannot presume to dictate conditions to us, and must accept ours.

“These are circumstances which may turn the scale in his favour; but far more important than all this are the constitutional stipulations which would precede his accession to the throne. These must be thought of before every thing, and their consideration will be the first duty of the Chamber of Deputies as soon as it shall be formed!”

These expressions represented the feelings and opinions that prevailed in Paris. Last night, M. Lafitte and the other deputies assembled at his house, sent an express to the Duke of Orleans at Neuilly, summoning him to Paris for the purpose of taking upon him the duties of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Charles X. and his advisers at St. Cloud had deemed it probable that the Duke of Orleans might be a rallying point in opposition to the court, and while the deputies were arranging for his reception in Paris, the king ordered a body of troops to arrest him at Neuilly. He had already left that place: this was reported to the king, and he, who had lost a throne by ordinances, issued an ordinance outlawing the duke, and authorizing his “subjects” to slay him. The imbecile king had abjects—but no subjects.

In the course of the night the Duke of Orleans arrived in Paris: he wore the national tri-colours. Early in the morning the committee appointed by the deputies waited upon him, and represented that extreme danger would arise from delay; that agitators as well as sincere enthusiasts would proclaim a republic in the streets; and that the fruit of so just and dear a victory would become the prey of a most frightful anarchy. Two hours afterward appeared the following

PROCLAMATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

Paris, July 31, Noon.

“INHABITANTS OF PARIS,—

“The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

“I have not hesitated to come and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to exert all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and of anarchy.

“On returning to the city of Paris, I wore with pride those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself long wore.

“The Chambers are going to assemble; they will consider of the means of securing the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

“The Charter will henceforth be a truth.

“LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.”

The appearance of this proclamation was hailed by the majority with transport and gratitude; but it was soon understood that, on the preceding evening, a number of persons, excited by the success of the conflict in which they had been engaged, and fired by natural resentment, had declared their distrust of both branches of the House of Bourbon, and exhorted General Lafayette to become the President of at least a Provisional Government. This portion of the populace overpowered by clamour the rest of the public, who were silent and willing to concur in measures that might be adopted by the Deputies.

At one o'clock the Deputies assembled in greater numbers than before at M. Lafitte's. The principal object of the meeting was to hear the report of the committee charged to carry to the Duke of Orleans a declaration agreed to at their last sitting. The President read the Duke's Proclamation. It was received with acclamation, and 10,000 copies were ordered to be printed at the government printing office. Messrs. Guizot, Villemain, Berard, and Benjamin Constant were appointed secretaries.

General Sebastiani said, that the committee, of which he was one, repaired the evening before to the Palais Royal, but the Duke was absent, and they wrote him a note, mentioning the declaration of which they were the bearers. The Duke had hastened to Paris, where he arrived at eleven the same night. The deputation were informed of it in the morning, and assembled at nine o'clock. They were admitted into the presence of the Dukē, and his language breathed love of order and the laws—the ardent desire of sparing France the scourge of civil and foreign war—the firm purpose of securing the liberty of the country—and as his highness had himself said, in a proclamation full of clearness and frankness, the wish to make the Charter, which was long but a delusion at last a reality. The General added, that the Duke was about to take, without delay, the most urgent measures, and especially that of the immediate convocation of the Chambers.

The President said it was necessary to consider the situation of the capital, and whether it would not be advisable that some address should be published, to quiet the minds of the people as to what had been done for the public good, at Paris and in the departments. All had been surprised by the late measures of the ministry, and waited in security for the 3d of August. The letters for their meeting were delivered to the deputies at the same time with the ordinances of the 26th. In such circumstances, it was necessary to tell France what had been done : it would be proper to draw up an accurate account of the means by which the country had been saved. In explaining their acts they would reap a harvest of eternal praise and public blessing.

On the motion of M. Benjamin Delessert, the drawing up of this proclamation was intrusted to the provisional Members of the Bureau. After some discussion M. Salvete desired that this manifesto should indicate in a strong and explicit manner the guarantees which the people had a right to expect. M. de Corceiles insisted on the necessity of these stipulations, in order to calm the effervescence which appeared to him to show itself by alarming symptoms. M. Benjamin Constant said it was indispensable that these guarantees should be enumerated. At the same time, it appeared to him easy to dissipate inquietude. He had passed through the streets of the capital, and had found every where a population full of enthusiasm and energy, but enlightened and full of confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of their deputies ; they wished for guarantees, they wished for them strongly, but they wished for nothing else.

He added, that he had thought it his duty to make an enumeration of the guarantees which he thought indispensable, and which the Bureau first, and then the capsulated deputies, would decide upon. M. Villemain said they had only to make a commentary on the expression in the proclamation of the Duke of Orleans "the Charter shall be a truth."—M. Salverte thought that the declaration of the Chamber of 1815 would be a satisfactory text, and one in which only slight modifications could be made. M. Augustin Perier observed, that this was not the time for entering into an endless discussion of principles; in the capacity of provisional Secretary, M. Benjamin Constant could communicate his ideas to his colleagues, and cause them to be transfused into the proclamation.

The president said the business of the day would naturally open with the report of the Secretaries, when they should submit to the meeting the draught of the proclamation. Among the numerous communications he had received, there were two concerning which he thought it his duty to speak to his colleagues. Both had for their object to call the serious attention of the Deputies to the acts which might emanate from themselves, and to the necessity of calming an effervescence, dangerous in itself, but which he considered as overcome and dissipated, because he relied on the efficacy of the proclamation which the Deputies were about to issue.

The sitting of the Deputies was then for some time suspended, while Messrs. Guizot, Villemain, Berard, and Benjamin Constant, in the capacity of Secretaries, drew up the paper for which they had received instructions.

On the Deputies resuming their sitting, the President communicated to the meeting some information which he had received concerning the proclamation of the Duke of Orleans. According to the account, great agitation prevailed among the people, in consequence, as it was presumed, of the omission of the date, and the want of the countersignature of the Municipal Committee. M. Persil wished the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom to be invited to pass through the capital with a deputation of the Chamber, or to cause the proclamation to be countersigned by General Lafayette. M. Jacqueminot thought the first expedient quicker and more certain, and suggested that his royal Highness should get immediately on horseback, and show himself to the people—M. de Laborde conceived that the effervescence and disquietude were exaggerated. In his opinion it would be sufficient that the Deputies, after the sitting, should repair to the Palais Royal.

There was a prevailing cry among the Deputies, "Let us go immediately; let us all go," and M. Bernard thought M. de Laborde had been wrong informed. He said the greatest alarm agitated men's minds; the most disquieting rumours were in circulation, especially about the Hotel de Ville. Many voices cried, "Let us go, let us go." The president calmed the meeting by saying—"No precipitation in such grave circumstances." M. Etienne represented in a strong light the absolute necessity of an immediate and decisive step. M. Charles Dupin thought that the Deputies could proceed to the Hotel de Ville after going to the Palais Royal, and that their presence and exhortations would be sufficient to silence dissension and dissipate alarm. M. Benjamin Delessert conceived that the proclamation which the Bureau had drawn up was of a nature to exercise the happiest influence on the public mind. M. Guizot, by desire of the Deputies, mounted the tribune, and read the following—

**“PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE FRENCH
BY THE DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS AS-
SEMBLED AT PARIS.**

“FRENCHMEN!—

“France is free. Absolute power raised its standard—the heroic population of Paris has overthrown it. Paris attacked, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms which had triumphed in vain in the elections. A power which usurped our rights, and disturbed our repose, threatened at once liberty and order. We return to the possession of order and liberty. There is no more fear for acquired rights—no more barrier between us and the rights which we still want. A government which may, without delay, secure to us these advantages is now the first want of our country. Frenchmen, those of your Deputies who are already at Paris have assembled; and, till the Chambers can regularly intervene, they have invited a Frenchman who has never fought but for France—the Duke of Orleans—to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This is in their opinion the surest means promptly to accomplish by peace the success of the most legitimate defence.

“The Duke of Orleans is devoted to the national and constitutional cause. He has always defended its interests, and professed its principles. He will respect our rights; for he will derive his own from us. We shall secure to ourselves by laws

all the guarantees necessary to liberty strong and durable—viz.

“ The re-establishment of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of the officers :

“ The intervention of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations :

“ The jury for the transgressions of the press ; the legally organized responsibility of the ministers and the secondary agents of the administration :

“ The situation of the military legally secured :

“ The re-election of deputies appointed to public offices we shall give at length to our institutions, in concert with the head of the state, the developements of which they have need.

“ Frenchmen,—The Duke of Orleans himself has already spoken, and his language is that which is suitable to a free country.

“ ‘ The Chambers,’ says he, ‘ are going to assemble ; they will consider of means to ensure the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. The Charter will henceforward be a truth.’ ”

The reading of this manifesto was often interrupted by unanimous acclamations, and at the termination M. Girod de l’Ain demanded that, if the proclamation were adopted, it should be instantly sent to the press, circulated in thousands of copies, and that it should be carried to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This was ordered, and the draught of the proclamation put to the vote, and passed with enthusiasm. It was then proposed to rise and go in a body to the Palais Royal. The president observed that all the Deputies, and himself among the rest, could not go there, as the state of his health did not allow it. Several voices cried, “ Let us go, all ! ” — “ Yes, all ! ” — “ Our president at our head ! ” — “ Let him come in a sedan.” M. Benjamin Constant observed—“ It was in that way that I came.” President—“ Very well, be it so. I shall open the march and M. Benjamin Constant will close it.” The sitting closed with these easy pleasantries, and the Deputies left the hall together. On their way to the Palais Royal the Deputies passed through immense crowds, and were greeted with tumultuous applause. This first appearance of a public authority in the midst of disorder, brought with it hope and security.

Before the Deputies the barricades fell. At the Palais Royal the Duke of Orleans received them with extreme affability, and with expressions which produced a marked effect on every one. It was a happy meeting, in which a glorious contract was about

to be concluded between a free people and a prince, the friend of liberty. The manner in which he addressed M. Lafitte, the president, added still more to the joy excited by the dignified language of the assembly and the people whom they represented. M. Lafitte read the proclamation of the Deputies. The Duke listened attentively, and seemed to punctuate it by the marks of assent with which he noted each of the guarantees stipulating for the rights of the nation, and the maintenance and developement of its liberties. His words, his gestures, and his physiognomy contended in expressing satisfaction and pride on being associated in the regeneration of constitutional order. To a speech by M. Viennet, in the name of the Deputies, the Duke answered, "I deplore as a Frenchman the injury done to my country, and the blood which has flowed. As a prince, I am happy to contribute to the happiness of the nation. Gentlemen, we are about to go to the Hotel de Ville." The Duke had been going thither on horseback and alone when the Deputies arrived at the Palais Royal.

The passage of the Deputies and the Duke of Orleans to the Hotel de Ville was long and wearisome, across barricades and in the scorching heat of the sun. The people were in immense multitudes, and constantly acclaiming with shouts of "*Vive la Charte!*"—" *Vive la liberté!*"—" *Vive le Duc d'Orleans!*" for nearly two hours, during which time the procession was in motion. On arriving at the Hotel de Ville, General Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the National Guard, attended by the pupils of the Polytechnic School, advanced to meet the Duke of Orleans in the great hall of arms. A circle was formed, and the deputy M. Viennet pronounced an address full of frankness. The Duke replied with simplicity. He mentioned all the guarantees which ought to be granted to the country, and on this enumeration the venerable countenance of Lafayette beamed with joy; his hand approached that of the Duke, and he grasped it heartily. They went to a window and waved before them a tri-coloured flag to the people; who, by this movement, were excited to indescribable enthusiasm. They testified their joy by tremendous vociferations.

During these proceedings in Paris the movements at St. Cloud were of a different order. Until this morning, Charles X. deluded himself by believing that Paris could be recaptured. Last night a large body of citizens who had assisted in defeating the Royal Guard, and driving them and the other troops from the Tuileries and heart of the metropolis, determined that he should not remain another day undisturbed at St. Cloud. Un-

der the direction of three youths of the Polytechnic School, they made preparations for an early march and assault. Sevres was fortified, and the military occupied Meudon and other heights in the vicinity of the court. No considerable number of these could be prevailed on to attempt achieving "the downfall of Paris;" and news speedily arrived that Paris itself was getting ready to send forth its legions to attack St. Cloud. Flight—the first and only successful resort of terrified tyranny—flight, was instantly resolved on. The troops were withdrawn from the heights, and posted around the royal abode. About three o'clock in the morning, the troops quartered in the Bois de Boulogne were called. At four o'clock the order was given to march. The procession commenced with a squadron of mounted gens-d'armes; then came a regiment of hussars, which arrived on Thursday morning at four o'clock, when they learned the retreat of some of the king's troops during the night; next, a brigade of artillery; afterward a regiment of the Royal Guard (infantry); then two squadrons of cuirassiers, followed by two brigades of (field) artillery. These were succeeded by the Garde du Corps a Pied (*Cents Suisses*), and these by a company of the Garde du Corps du Roi. Immediately afterward followed the carriages of the king, the royal family, and the ministers and great officers, with two companies of the Garde du Corps, and 150 other carriages, containing persons of distinction attached to, or who wished to follow the royal family. The royal carriages ten or twelve in number, were, according to etiquette, drawn each by eight horses. A large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, closed the procession. With the exception of the 3d regiment, which had been nearly cut to pieces, and the remains of the lancers, who had so murderously manifested the royalism of their principles, extreme depression was observable in the countenances of all. A great number of officers without soldiers accompanied them. In Ville d'Array, nearly an entire regiment of the line threw down their arms and dispersed. The progress halted at Versailles, by desire of the king, but the towns-people hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and would not suffer them to enter. They breakfasted at Trianon and proceeded to Rambouillet. Numbers of the men deserted at every opportunity, in defiance of the firing which was kept up after them while flying.

Immediately after the departure of Charles X. from St. Cloud, M. Collas, Mayor of Boulogne, sent a detachment of the National Guard and firemen to the palace; and in the presence of two members of the municipal council, and of several

officers, an inventory of the plate was drawn up. This plate was afterward delivered, in the presence of the Mayor of St. Cloud, to M. de Villeneuve, the commissioner of the government. When the National Guard with the armed populace from Paris arrived, they found a detachment of the Royal Guards which had been left to protect the retreat. They had been attacked by armed citizens from the neighbouring communes, and when the Parisians arrived, at daybreak, the last remains of royal power retired, throwing away their muskets, after taking the precaution to break their locks. The National Guards when they entered the palace took care, as they had done at the Tuileries, to hinder any thing being carried away. But the people visited the wine-cellars and larders, and though no furniture or ornaments were damaged or removed, the wine was drunk, and the preserves eaten, and a few letters and papers which remained were thrown out of the window. The guards had left their breakfasts uneaten on the tables, and the cooks in the royal kitchen had fled in such haste that the preparations for the royal dejeuners remained on the stoves and fires. About 2000 excellent firelocks of the body-guard were found in the palace. On the return of the National Guard to Paris they searched the environs of St. Cloud, and collected about 100 Swiss, who laid down their arms and surrendered, on being assured that they should be well treated. They said that the king had reviewed them on the evening before, and had given them thirty francs a piece. Not one of them was deprived of a sous. On their arrival at Paris, they were conducted to the Louvre, where they were ordered to sit down, and wine and victuals were furnished to them. They were then conducted to their barracks, Rue de Babylone, from which, as the only punishment, they were ordered not to come out, lest they should be attacked by the relations of some of their victims.

With the exception of the affair at St. Cloud there were no hostile movements. The prisoners in la Force attempting to escape were prevented by the National Guard, who were reluctantly compelled to fire, and two convicts were killed and about a dozen wounded. In the departments, wherever the ordinances and the events of Paris were known, the sentiments of the people had been expressed with the same indignation against the measures of the court, and the same enthusiasm for the Charter and the liberty of the press displayed. The following letter from General Bourdesoulle to the Duc d'Angouleme was intercepted :--

“Versailles, July 31.

“Monseigneur,—Your Royal Highness has no doubt received the report which I had the honour to send you this morning, and in which I gave you an account of the passage of a considerable number of soldiers of the 50th regiment of the line through this town, where they were introduced by the inhabitants, without being presented at the gates, but all passed over, and we have been tranquil all night.—As I have received the letter of General Cressot, which announced to me the arrival of the King, I thought it my duty to place the troops under arms, and in a position to execute the orders of your Highness. I am waiting for them. If your Highness orders, I am ready to march where you may think proper. In case your Royal Highness should not order me to make any movement during the day, I shall send the troops to their quarters to rest. Their spirit is still firm, though some discontent be already manifested in different regiments which are almost without money. It would be very desirable that your Royal Highness should cause some advances to be made, particularly to the 4th regiment of Infantry, and to the gen-d’armerie, the men of which have only a white pair of trousers, and no shoes.—I have the honour, &c.,

“Lieutenant-General BOURDESOLLE.”

The King’s appearance at Versailles on his flight from St. Cloud, and the spirit prevailing among the inhabitants, convinced Bourdesouille that he had nothing to hope and every thing to fear, and in the course of the day he made his submission to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Madame de Polignac, in passing through Versailles, was recognised and stopped by the people, but permitted to proceed on her journey. “Go on, Madame,” they said to her, “but let his Excellency take care!” General Gerard, at the head of the troops of the line, fixed his quarters beyond the Hospital of Invalids, where all stragglers, as well as old officers of the army, were directed to join him. In the course of the day, a workman, named John Grenier, presented himself to the Commandant of the post of the Hotel St. Aignau, and said, “Serjeant, here is my sword. I have employed it well for three days; I now return to my work. It is useless to me, and I make a gift of it to the National Guard.” The sabre was richly mounted, and several of the National Guard wished to pay for it; “I do not sell my sword,” said he; “I give it:” and he immediately presented it to a grenadier who was without a sword. The inhabitants of the environs emulated each other in enthusiasm and patriot-

ism. There was not a hamlet in which the tri-coloured flag had not been flying since yesterday. Every where the National Guards spontaneously organized themselves. Had the capital been threatened, its outposts were under arms. At Corbeil, the National Guard took possession of 120,000lbs. of gunpowder at the Vouchet, and immediately sent 9,000lbs. to Paris. These were the chief incidents of a warlike nature in the course of the day ; but during the night some musket-shots were fired against the post of the National Guard of Paris by several men, some of whom were arrested. The old Royal Police had given them money to excite commotions in the capital—they might have murdered some citizens, and that would have been the utmost mischief they could effect. There is no raising an insurrection against a whole people.

As respects the Municipal Government to-day, they had little of real difficulty, though, from the state of affairs, they had much work. The crown diamonds had been carried off. The person who usually had the care of them held a receipt for them, signed by M. de la Bouillerie, who had withdrawn them and then withdrawn himself. He had taken them to the king, by whose order they had been abstracted. It was determined to reclaim, and, if refused, retake them, as belonging to the crown, in which its wearer had only a life interest—subject to contingencies. In the course of the day, the Archbishop of Paris attempted to depart from the capital. At the Te Deum sung for the capture of Algiers, this mischievous man told Charles X. he hoped God would give his Majesty strength to overcome his enemies at home as well as those whom he had conquered abroad. In his carriage the people found an enormous sum in gold, which they brought away. This money, being the property of the prelate, was ordered to be restored to him.

The municipal committee had to determine what course should be adopted with respect to commercial engagements, which had been embarrassed and obstructed by the late political derangement ; and they resolved that acceptances payable in Paris, and due between the 26th of July and the 15th of August inclusive, should be extended ten days, so that bills falling due on the 26th of July would only be payable on the 6th of August, and so on. Conformably to this regulation, the Tribunal of Commerce, of the department of the Seine, issued an ordinance concurring in the measure, and clearly stating the reasons for its adoption, in these terms :—“ The tribunal,

having deliberated, acknowledges that the defence of our rights and liberties, called forth by the Ordinances of the 25th of July, was legitimate ; that the necessity of resisting violence and military force compelled the whole population of Paris to arm themselves ; that the city having been placed in a state of siege, the course of business has been interrupted, the shops and warehouses have been closed, the tribunals have ceased to administer justice ; and thus all commercial transactions having been forcibly suspended, and communications interrupted, the payment of bills on the day of their being due has become impracticable ; that superior force has interfered ; that the necessity of the case is of an imperious kind ; and that it authorizes a course which, though deviating from the ordinary rules of trade and the prescription of the laws, ensures against effects which would prove injurious to all." By these proceedings of the municipal and legal authorities, all protests and claims relative to commercial bills were likewise, with strict prudence and justice, suspended. The bank of France and nearly all the private bankers opened their counting-houses, and paid and received as usual. The exchange had not been opened since the 27th ; for during the panic, the prices could only have been nominal.

Yesterday, several of the clerks in the post-office resumed their duty, and to-day the whole of them. In this department, there was found a list of forty-five peers whom Charles X. and his ministers proposed to exclude from the Chamber, and not only deprive of their peerage, but bring to trial. During the excitement, there had been seized at the post-office despatches intended for the ambassadors. These were now delivered to them unopened. The ambassadors were sensible to the attention, and complimented the citizens on their bravery and moderation in victory.

Except M. Count Appony, ambassador of Austria, who opportunely went away on the 25th of July, to take the waters at Dieppe, none of the ambassadors of foreign powers quitted Paris. Witnesses of the perfidious conduct of the ex-King, they expected to see civil war break out, but they knew that they should be respected in the midst of disorder, and were enabled to state to their governments that the French, in the exultation and pride of victory, were as calm and prudent as they were brave, and that the tranquillity of Europe was not likely to be disturbed by such a people. The minister plenipotentiary of the United States was among the first diplomatic

personages who paid their respects to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

At his residence, the Palais Royal, the Duke received numberless persons, whom mere royalty would have excluded from its presence. The wife of a citizen had distinguished herself, in this sanguinary contest, by a courage and prowess truly heroic. She never for an instant quitted the side of her husband, and, being armed with a musket, loaded and fired with as much coolness and precision as a veteran soldier. She mainly contributed, by her aid and example, to the capture of a cannon, entered the guard-house at the head of the citizens, and fought hand to hand with the troops till they were finally expelled. Her grateful fellow-citizens were desirous that she should be presented to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, who at the first intimation directed that she should be introduced. She was accordingly conducted to the Palais Royal between nine and ten o'clock this evening, where the Duke, standing in a circle of the brave youths of the Polytechnic School, received her with the utmost courtesy, and testified his admiration of her prowess in the strongest terms. At her departure the guard on duty received orders to present arms to her on her passing, as if she had been a general officer.

Many who imagined France utterly depraved by the sanguinary scenes of her former revolution, by her long wars and appalling despotisms, now confess their error with exultation, and hope that her present moral elevation may be as secure as her present political grandeur. The sight of public order and respect for property, after three days' battles, and in the absence of all competent authority, inspired every foreigner at Paris with the most lively admiration. The English, in particular, were astonished. They took the liveliest interest in the important occurrences to day in the Chamber of Deputies and at the Hotel de Ville.

Circumspection against the chance of surprise stayed the destruction of the barricades. An invader would have found, not only in the capital, but in and near many great towns, the streets unpaved, the roads obstructed, the houses embattled, and obstacles of every conceivable kind. To-day the municipality, as a measure of salubrity during the heats, requested the inhabitants to make gutters in the streets, for carrying off the stagnant water, without endangering the barricades. They were also invited to open their shops and conduct business as formerly, and to light up their windows until the lamps were repaired. More subscriptions were opened for the wounded,

the widows, and the fatherless. Families requiring aid received bread and other provisions. The men on duty, in like manner, received bread, cheese, meat, and wine, which different parties paraded through the streets, preceded by a drum.

Since yesterday, the streets were crowded to excess with people going about from curiosity: the fair sex almost outnumbered the men. It was amusing to see them, in full dress, skipping over wet trenches and huge paving-stone defences, or creeping through trees laid hastily across the ways. The assemblages of armed people exceeded, in grotesque character, whatever Hogarth ever painted. Charcoal-men, with cuirasses on, slender lads with heavy helmets and muskets, a well-dressed man with, possibly, only a pocket pistol, making it a point of honour to place himself in the ranks with them; and the whole directed by the will, perhaps, of an old-fashioned drummer, elated with the importance of his station.

An incident strongly exemplifies the character of things today. At about half past eleven at night, the 53d regiment of the line marched with their band playing along the Rue Rivoli. A sentinel stationed at the corner of the Pavilion Marson awaited their arrival. He was one of the captors of the Tuileries; his age about twenty; his costume a blue linen blouse (precisely the garment worn by the Chinese we see in London), and trousers of the same kind. He had a musket and bayonet, and an ample canvass bag full of cartridges suspended by a stout cord over his shoulder. The regiment approached. With all the gravity of a veteran grenadier he stepped forward, cocked his musket, and challenged the approaching column. The pass was given, the usual forms were gone through, and the regiment marched on, and, with their band playing, entered the Place du Caroussel, to occupy the barrack, lately that of the Garde Royale.

This evening, families promenaded much as usual in the boulevards, and harps, guitars, violins, and other musical instruments once more enlivened a scene always unique in its kind. The only novelties were the absence of lamps (supplied, however, by gay illuminations) and the half-peaceable and half-warlike sight of groups of females sitting on the trees which had been felled for the purpose of forming blockades. Here, on the first evening of disturbance, a wretched little Savoyard, in the midst of war and bustle on his right and left, continued to wind his little organ at his usual post—actually playing, if not to empty benches, to empty chairs.

Until to-day carriages were not allowed to quit Paris. This morning the barriers were thrown open, and the Calais diligence of the Messagerie Royale was the first that left. Several Englishmen availed themselves of this opportunity to depart, and among them Mr. Young, the actor. Along the road, no information, that could be relied on, had been obtained from the capital. At every town and village the inhabitants crowded to the diligence as a novelty, and most of them were astonished on perceiving that the royal arms had been effaced from the panels, and after "Messagerie," the word "Royale" carefully scratched out. These appearances excited enthusiastic shouts. The desire for news was intense, and the inquiries were incessant. The duty of answering usually devolved on the conducteur, whose intelligence was received with rapturous cries of "Vive la Charte!" Even during the night the country people were out awaiting an arrival. After midnight, on the diligence proceeding through Lillers, a village between Amiens and St. Omers, there was an anxious assemblage of people, who required the diligence to stop. On the postillion attempting to pass, they seized the wheels, clung to his boots, and insisted on his telling the news. Others opened the doors and eagerly inquired of the passengers, nor would they suffer the vehicle to move until they gained their object, which was by slow degrees; for their expressions of pleasure burst out on the mention of each fact. Mr. Young's observation while in Paris, and his thorough knowledge of the French language, enabled him to communicate the news thoroughly, and at one or two places the popular exhilaration it produced animated him to speeches which produced vociferous shouts of "Vive la Charte!"—"Vive l'Anglais!"—"Vive la Patrie!"

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1.

This was the first Sunday after a week of wonders.

Last Sunday Charles X. signed arbitrary ordinances; on Monday they were published and denounced by the press, and he declined to receive a deputation of Peers; on Tuesday the press refused obedience, the people flew to arms, and he refused to receive a conciliatory deputation from their representatives; on Wednesday he rejected renewed advice from his peers, and his troops were in bloody combat with the people throughout the day; on Thursday his palaces were stormed

and taken, and his military defeated and driven out of the capital; on Friday, when all political power was in the hands of the people, and after the provisional government had declared that he had ceased to reign, he condescended to announce that he had revoked the ordinances, and was willing to form a new administration; on Saturday he fled, covered with shame and guilt, and the provisional government intrusted the lawful power he had abused to the Duke of Orleans. All these astonishing events had happened since last Sunday.

The power of Charles X. was at an end, and the will of France was expressed by the authorities in Paris who had restored order. They issued the following Proclamation:—

“ MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS.

“ Inhabitants of Paris!—Charles X. has ceased to reign in France. Not being able to forget the origin of his authority, he has always considered himself as the enemy of our country and of its liberties, which he could not understand. After having secretly attacked our institutions by every means that hypocrisy and fraud furnished him with, until he believed himself sufficiently strong to destroy them openly, he had resolved to drown them in the blood of Frenchmen. Thanks to your heroism, the crimes of his power are at an end.

“ A few moments have been sufficient to annihilate this corrupt Government, which had been nothing but a constant conspiracy against the liberty and prosperity of France. The nation only is stirring, adorned with its national colours, which she has won at the expense of her blood. She wishes for a Government and laws worthy of her.

“ What nation in the world deserves liberty better than she does? In the battle you have been heroes.

“ Victory has shown us in you those sentiments of moderation and humanity which evidence in so high a degree the progress of our civilization.

“ Conquerors and deliverers of yourselves, without police, without magistrates, your virtue has taken the place of all organization, and never were the rights of every individual more religiously respected. Inhabitants of Paris! we are proud of being your brothers. In accepting, under present circumstances, a mandate so grave and difficult, your municipal commission has desired to associate with your devotion and efforts. Its members want means to express to you the admiration and gratitude of the country.

“ Their sentiments, their principles, are yours. In place of

an authority imposed on you by foreign arms, you will have a Government which will owe its origin to you. Merit is in all classes. All classes have the same rights; these rights are assured to them. *Vive la France! Vive le peuple de Paris! Vive la Liberté!*

“ LOBAU, AUDRY, DE PUIRAVEAU, MANGUIN, DE SCHONEN.

“ The Secretary of the Municipal Commission,

“ O'DILLON BARRETT.”

To-day, after the utmost order throughout the night, the National Guard and armed citizens quietly occupied every point. Each hour added proofs of the wishes of the mass, lately so terrific, to conform to whatever was necessary for the preservation of tranquillity. Being Sunday, the churches were opened, and the priests offered up prayers for the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, instead of Charles X. He had arrived at Rambouillet, and in the course of to-day sent commissaries to Paris, to ask for a safeguard through the kingdom; with an offer to abdicate and a request for gold, in exchange for Bank notes, which the people refused to take from him.

In aid of the subscription for the wounded, and the widows and orphans of the brave men who distinguished themselves and fell in the mighty struggle last week, the Duke of Orleans subscribed 100,000 francs. As Lieutenant-General of the kingdom he issued the following

ORDINANCES.

“ ORDINANCES OF THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM.

“ Art. 1. The French nation resumes its colours. No other cockade shall henceforth be worn than the tri-coloured cockade.

“ 2. The Commissioners charged provisionally with the several departments of the Ministry shall provide each, as far as he is concerned, for the execution of the present ordinance.

“ Paris, Aug. 1, 1830.

“ LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.

(Countersigned)

“ The Commissioners charged provisionally with the War Department,

“ Count GERARD.

“ No. 2. The Chamber of Peers and Chamber of Deputies shall meet on the 3d of August next, in the usual place.

“The five following Ordinances appoint the Commissioners for the several departments of the Ministry, viz :—

“WAR—GENERAL GERARD.

“JUSTICE—DUPONT DE L’EURE.

“INTERIOR—GUIZOT.

“FINANCE—BARON LOUIS.

“PREFECT OF POLICE—GIROD DE L’AIN.”

The first sentence of the first ordinance, “The French nation resumes its colours,” is expressed by the Duke of Orleans as an ordinance of the French people, to which he, as their executive power, ordains obedience. Never will these colours—the “three bright colours, each divine”—be forgotten, by either friends or enemies to liberty. Lord Byron’s matchless verse describes them, in a poem of great beauty on the decoration of an order instituted by one who knew better how to humble despotism, and direct the energies of France against confederated powers, than how to restore its wounded liberty. The verses alluded to are the fourth and fifth stanzas in the poem.

ON THE STAR OF “THE LEGION OF HONOUR.”

“STAR of the brave!—whose beam hath shed
Such glory o’er the quick and dead—
Thou radiant and adored deceit!—
Which millions rushed in arms to greet,—
Wild meteor of immortal birth!
Why rise in Heaven to set on earth?

Souls of slain heroes formed thy rays;
Eternity flashed through thy blaze;
The music of thy martial sphere
Was fame on high and honour here;
And thy light broke on human eyes,
Like a volcano of the skies.

Like lava rolled thy stream of blood,
And swept down empires with its flood;
Earth rocked beneath thee to her base,
As thou didst lighten through all space;
And the shorn Sun grew dim in air,
And set while thou wert dwelling there

Before thee rose, and with thee grew,
A rainbow of the loveliest hue
Of three bright colours, each divine,
And fit for that celestial sign;
For Freedom’s hand had blended them,
Like tints in an immortal gem.

One tint was of the sunbeam's days ;
 One the blue depth of Seraph's eyes ;
 One the pure Spirit's veil of white
 Had robed in radiance of its light :
 The three so mingled did beseem
 The texture of a heavenly dream.

Star of the brave ! thy ray is pale,
 And darkness must again prevail !
 But oh, thou Rainbow of the free !
 Our tears and blood must flow for thee.
 When thy bright promise fades away,
 Our life is but a load of clay.

And Freedom hallows with her tread
 The silent cities of the dead ;
 For beautiful in death are they
 Who proudly fall in her array ;
 And soon, oh Goddess ! may we be
 For evermore with them or thee !”

During the day, the Duke of Orleans showed himself repeatedly at the balcony of the Palais Royal, and threw his proclamations among the people amid their loud acclamations. The cries of “Vive le Duc d'Orleans !” were incessant. People of eminence flocked to his saloon of audience. The National Guard were on duty outside ; he crossed their ranks repeatedly, notwithstanding casualties to which he was exposed from being surrounded by a crowd of armed men, unaccustomed to handle heavy arms, and most of them exhausted with fatigue. He often gently lifted the sloping musket, armed with shot and bayonet, which impeded his passage through the misshapen ranks. The gate of the Tuileries was guarded by a man with bare arms, without coat or waistcoat ; a strange, wild-looking substitute for the spruce sentry formerly there. The people with their arms slung over a brown coat—some with no coat at all, some with the tri-coloured ribands streaming from a helmet, others with a neat cockade in a Sunday hat, and others again in an enormous fur cap stripped from some unfortunate Royal Guard—had a much more formidable appearance than regular troops. Their brown coats seemed to speak of things for which men fight better and longer than for a soldier's pay and barrack room.

In the evening the crowd of promenaders and loungers was immense. All Paris had turned out ; the artisans and labourers to drink the cheap liquors their scanty means afforded ; and the richer to eat ices. All the bon-bons in the town must have been eaten up.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2.

To-day the weather continued as warm and fine as it had been from the day Charles X. signed the ordinances ; the streets were crowded, but without confusion, and every where the pavement was renewing.

The journals had now reappeared, except the London Express, the Drapeau Blanc, and the Universel, which were probably given up. The *National* took a decided step at first, and held its fearless course throughout the struggle. To-day it asserted, that if the king intended to abdicate in favour of the Duke of Bourdeaux, it was visibly for the purpose of putting the crown on the head of a child to whom no reproach could be applied, and of preventing, by these means, the extinction of the pretended rights of the Bourbon family. But, says this Journal, "We have victory on our side. Victory gives and takes away empires. It has placed in our hands the disposal of the Crown of France. We shall do so as we please, and in favour of a Prince acknowledging to hold it from us. This is an important condition for France. The Duke of Bourdeaux would still hold his crown 'by the grace of God.' The Prince we shall make choice of will hold it from us alone ; we must therefore reject this wretched remnant of pretension. Once more we are the conquerors, and we ought to profit by our victory."

The walls were placarded with appeals in favour of investing the Duke of Orleans with the sovereignty ; among others, his letter in 1815 to Marshal Mortier : but there was a general conviction of the necessity for leaving the discussion of all points respecting the future King—the future constitution—and the future government—to the Chambers. A commission consisting of MM. Odillon, Barrot De Schonen, Jacqueminot, the Duke de Coigny, and the Duke de Previso, left Paris this afternoon for Rambouillet, with a safe-conduct for Charles X., and to arrange and forward his departure.

The judges of the ancient Cour Royale of Paris engaged in a small way to help the lameness of legitimacy. On Friday the 30th, the day after Paris was delivered from its invaders by the energies of the people, and when St. Cloud itself was about to fall into their power, the Cour Royale kept up its intercourse with Charles X., whose very shadow inspired it with awe.

Messrs. de Mortemart and de Semonville requested M. Seguier, the first president, to convoke the Court, and prevail upon it to adopt some step favourable to the Royal cause. M. Seguier consented, and drew up with his own hand the draught of the letter of convocation "in the name of his majesty." When the letters were all prepared, the porters of the Court were not inclined to carry them, for fear of being stopped by the patrols of citizens; but at length they were prevailed upon, and the next day, Saturday the 31st, the major part of the Magistrates assembled to administer justice, "*in the name of his Majesty,*" to "*his Majesty's people.*" They assembled alone—not a single Advocate—not a single Attorney appeared. This absence might have admonished the ancient Court that it no longer existed. It persisted, however, in holding its important sittings, and to-day sat again. A number of advocates and solicitors appeared, but without their robes. M. Seguier, discovering that the ancient Cour Royale was as little agreeable to the bar as to the people, closed the sitting instantly. Two or three of the advocates, famed for monarch-worship, defended the Cour Royale, borrowing the hypocritical phrases of the ex-king:—"Justice is the prime want of the people; the magistrates are irremoveable in virtue of the Charter." The answer was—"It is true, justice is the prime need of the people, but justice can only proceed from pure lips; true, the magistrates are irremoveable, but where is the principle of their immoveability? In the Charter. But what has become of the Charter? It has been torn to pieces by the late King, who has violated his oath, and we are absolved from ours. The Charter no longer exists; you, magistrates of the Charter, have disappeared along with it. A new government is erecting on the will of the people—have you received your appointment from this new Government?" Thus terminated the attempt of the ancient Cour Royale to disturb the peace.

To-day the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom issued an ordinance repealing condemnations for political offences of the press, directing the liberation of all persons confined for such offences, remitting their fines and expenses, and quashing prosecutions. Other ordinances appointed M. Bernard, of Rennes, Procureur-General at the Royal Court; M. Barthe, Procureur du Roi at the tribunal of First Instance; and M. Joseph Morilhon, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Justice. These appointments gave much satisfaction, especially the latter.

On the Duke of Orleans becoming Lieutenant-General, Ge-

neral Lafayette had resigned the command of the National Guard ; but the Duke prevailed on him to accept it again, and thus continue to the rising government the important sanction of his venerated name.

General Lafayette, on resuming his command, issued the following

ORDER OF THE DAY.

“ August 2.

“ During the glorious crisis in which the Parisian energy has conquered our rights, every thing still remains provisional : there is nothing definitive but the sovereignty of those national rights, and the eternal remembrance of the glorious work of the people ; but, amid the various powers instituted through the necessity of our situation, the re-organization of the National Guards is a most necessary defence for the public order, and one which is highly called for. The opinion of the Prince exercising the high station of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, most honourable to myself, is, that I should for the present take that command. In 1790 I refused to accept such an offer, made to me by 3,000,000 of my comrades, as that office would have been a permanent one, and might one day have become a very dangerous one. Now that circumstances are altered, I think it my duty, in order to serve liberty and my country, to accept the station of General-Commandant of the National Guards of France.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Another order of the day directed the general organization of the National Guards, upon the principles of that formed in 1791, without any change in the uniform, except that of the cuff being white instead of blue.

In the National Guard consists the physical strength of the people. The measure which of all others most contributed to the preservation of tranquillity was the promptitude with which the Provisional Government, on the recommendation of Lafayette, proceeded to the organization of twenty regiments of this civic force. This arrangement had the effect of clearing the streets of all who, in a moment of excitement, might have become disturbers, and converting all into protectors of the public peace. The rapidity with which the lists had been filled up assured the minds of the most timid that, if danger were to arise, there would be no want of a powerful body of able, valiant, and disinterested defenders. This morning there was

a surplus of 70,000 or 80,000 beyond the number requisite under ordinary circumstances. A proclamation this morning, from the Municipal Government, invited patriotic offerings.

The Peers and Deputies held separate meetings to-day, preparatory to the important opening of the Chambers to-morrow by the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The Deputies drew lots for a grand deputation to receive him. Nearly all the members present were of the centre and extreme left; several of the centre right attended. Very few of the extreme right were expected to attend the Chamber to-morrow.

The treasure of the Dutchess d'Angouleme, amounting to £60,000 sterling, fell into the hands of the government. Among her papers a plan of a counter-revolution was found. The fall of the Court of Charles X. caused confusion and alarm among the superior clergy. Several prelates fled from their diocesses, loaded with the same maledictions which accompanied the King's precipitate retreat. His noted confidant and adviser, M. Latiel, archbishop of Rheims, was stopped at Vaugirard with a great quantity of church plate in his carriage. This was taken away, and he was allowed to proceed.

During the whole day the roads leading to Paris were covered with soldiers of all descriptions coming in to join the popular ranks: they were immediately directed to the various dépôts appointed to receive them. The arrival of old officers and sub-officers was also constant; all those in Paris had already submitted. The appearance of the old soldiers excited deep interest. They were the remnants of the old grand army, and, excited by recent and passing events, now displayed a spirit sometimes beyond their corporeal powers. This morning, at the Palais Royal, an elderly man in the costume of a Colonel of the old army was seen to limp along the galleries with great animation. He was attended by a man older than himself, in the uniform of the Veterans, who seemed to act as a species of orderly. They stopped at several houses to leave orders, and were two of the most interesting figures imaginable. The sight of an old officer and an old soldier in the Palais Royal, and *on business*, excited the attention and curiosity of the news-loving citizens. The Colonel could not be approached, and his Aid-de-Camp had such an air of importance and occupation as to repel idle curiosity. A man at last ventured, with great humility, to ask the veteran who was the officer before them? The orderly abruptly replied—" *C'est un ancien*" (He is an old 'un)—" *Comment!*"—" *Mais oui,*" said the

serjeant, with a look of pity for the ignorance of the inquirer, and of complacent pride, "*tous les anciens sont la*"—(All the old 'uns are here). This brusque reply diffused pleasure among all who heard it. The old army lives in the affections and the confidence of the French. They call the conscripts and young French soldiers "Jean-Jean," playfully, as we call our sailors "Jack." The old soldiers are looked upon with great reverence by Jean-Jean, and are called in the same way "les anciens" (the old fellows), or "old 'uns."

This morning the admirers of court dignity received a dreadful shock. The Dutchess of Orleans and her daughters came to the Palais Royal from their country seat near Courvevoie, as simple passengers, in a Caroline, a carriage similar to the omnibus. So notorious an irruption upon etiquette, by a lady of royal blood, crushed all hope of living under such an order of things as it portended. It was clear that the world—the *great* world—was at an end. The Dutchess of Orleans, accompanied by her numerous family, visited the wounded at the Hotel Dieu. They there dispensed consolation and succour to the wives and children of the brave citizens. Enthusiastic acclamations greeted this solemn homage to courage in misfortune. The Dutchess replied by tears. In the evening, the young ladies of the Orleans family were employed in making lint for the wounded. They sat in the balcony of the terrace of the Palais Royal, but were concealed from public view.

At night the National Guard were preparing to assist in the solemn ceremony of the opening of the Chamber to-morrow.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3.

The opening of the Chambers, which had been fixed for to-day, and which, as it approached, was anticipated with increasing anxiety, now took place at the Palais du Corps Legislatif, heretofore called the Chamber of Deputies.

There were present at the opening of the session one hundred and ninety-four Deputies. They were chiefly of the extreme left, consisting mostly of Republicans and some Buonapartean; the centre left, consisting of moderate Reformers, and a few opponents to ministers, desiring their places rather than disliking their measures; and about a dozen moderate adherents to the expelled dynasty: there were no ultra-royalists. The

galleries were crowded with peers, general officers of the old army, the diplomatic body, and other auditors. In the body of the Chamber were the Deputies, who, instead of appearing in their royal costume, preserved their ordinary black clothing. A few of them who were generals appeared in uniform. The most conspicuous military man was General Sebastiani, who, though dressed in black, wore over his coat the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour. They awaited the arrival of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. There were about sixty-nine peers present.

At one o'clock, the Duke of Orleans, dressed in the uniform of a Lieutenant-General, and accompanied by detachments of the National Guard of each arrondissement, left the Palais Royal. He was received on his passage with enthusiastic cries of "Vive d'Orleans!" and "Vive la Liberté!" On arriving at the Palais of the Legislatif body, the music of the legions struck up the air of "La victoire est à nous." The Duke, preceded by his family, was ushered into the hall of the sittings, by the grand deputation appointed to receive him. On their entrance they were received by the Deputies standing, and with loud cries of "Vive d'Orleans!"—"Vive la Liberté!" The Dutchess of Orleans appeared greatly affected by the scene, and, notwithstanding the efforts she made to conceal her feelings, the redness of her eyes betrayed recent emotions, occasioned by the joyous acclamations of the people, during the progress from the Palais Royal.

The Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, opened the sittings by the following speech:—

“ PEERS AND DEPUTIES,

Paris, troubled in its repose by a deplorable violation of the Charter and of the laws, defended them with heroic courage! In the midst of this sanguinary struggle, all the guarantees of social order no longer subsisted. Persons, property, rights, every thing that is most valuable and dear to men and to citizens, was exposed to the most serious danger.

“ In this absence of all public power, the wishes of the public citizens turned towards me; they have judged me worthy to concur with them in the salvation of the country; they have invited me to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

“ Their cause appeared to me to be just,—the danger immense—the necessity imperative,—my duty sacred. I hastened to the midst of this valiant people, followed by my family, and

wearing those colours which, for the second time, have marked among us the triumph of liberty.

“ I have come, firmly resolved to devote myself to all that circumstances should require of me in the situation in which they have placed me, to establish the empire of the laws, to save liberty, which was threatened, and render impossible the return of such great evils, by securing for ever the power of that Charter whose name, invoked during the combat, was also appealed to after the victory. (*Applauses.*)

“ In the accomplishment of this noble task it is for the Chambers to guide me. All rights must be solemnly guaranteed, all the institutions necessary to their full and free exercise must receive the developements of which they have need. Attached by inclination and conviction to the principles of a free government, I accept beforehand all the consequences of it. I think it my duty immediately to call your attention to the organization of the National Guards, to the application of the jury to the crimes of the press, the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations, and above all to that fourteenth article of the Charter which has been so hatefully interpreted. (*Fresh applauses.*)

“ It is with these sentiments, gentlemen, that I come to open this session.

“ The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes which I could have wished to prevent ; but in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital, and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness, after a resistance pure from all excesses, a just national pride moves my heart, and I look forward with confidence to the future destiny of the country.

“ Yes, gentlemen, France, which is so dear to us, will be happy and free ; it will show to Europe that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity, it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbours.

“ Respect for all rights, care for all interests, good faith in the government, are the best means to disarm parties, and to bring back to people’s minds that confidence, to the institutions that stability, which are the only certain pledges of the happiness of the people, and of the strength of the states.

“ PEERS AND DEPUTIES,—

“ As soon as the Chambers shall be constituted, I shall have laid before you the acts of abdication of his majesty King Charles X. By the same act his royal highness Louis Antoine de France also renounces his rights. This act was placed in my

hands yesterday, the 2d of August, at 11 o'clock at night. I have this morning ordered it to be deposited in the archives of the Chamber of Peers, and I caused it to be inserted in the official part of the *Moniteur*."

The Duke pronounced his speech in a very audible voice, and laid peculiar emphasis on the passages in which he alluded to the violations of the Charter, and the guarantees against future encroachments. The instant he concluded, the cries of "*Vive d'Orleans!*"—" *Vive la liberté!*" were repeated more loudly than before. The Duke appeared to be deeply affected: he saluted the assembly several times, and withdrew with his sons, attended by the great deputation, which conducted him back to the door.

M. Lafitte then advanced towards the centre of the assembly and said, "I think, gentlemen, that we ought to separate to-day, to meet again to-morrow at noon." Some members proposed to form bureaux (committees), and appoint a president at once; but the Chamber adjourned till to-morrow.

The opening of the Chamber was of necessity an affair of mere ceremony, and in five minutes the sitting was ended. The immense crowd which surrounded the palace filled the air with the loudest acclamations. The National Guard alone, in their best uniforms, lined the way; but they seemed to have come rather to take part in the fête than to maintain order, for nobody thought of disturbing it. At the slightest injunction of a citizen-soldier, the groups dispersed as if by enchantment to make room for the Deputies. An individual, who used some expressions of loyalty to the ex-King, was escorted to the guard-house: in the former revolution such a manifestation would have conducted him to the next lamp-iron. A single incident interrupted tranquillity for a moment at one point. Some persons carried about the square a tri-coloured flag covered with crape, crying, "Liberty or death!" The National Guard speedily dispersed this assemblage: a few of them were for a moment arrested. They were found to have pistols about them, but not loaded, and the prisoners were immediately released.

The act of abdication of Charles X., and of the Duc d'Angouleme, referred to by the Duke of Orleans in his speech, as having been received by him at midnight, is annexed:—It was addressed, "To my cousin, the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom:—"

"RAMBOUILLET, Aug. 2.

"MY COUSIN,—I am too profoundly grieved by the evils which afflict, or might threaten my people, not to have sought a

means of preventing them. I have therefore taken the resolution to abdicate the crown in favour of my grandson, the Duc de Bourdeaux.

“The Dauphin, who partakes my sentiments, also renounces his rights in favour of his nephew.

“You will have, then, in your quality of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, to cause the accession of Henry V. to the crown to be proclaimed. You will take, besides, all the measures which concern you to regulate the form for the government during the minority of the new King. Here I confine myself to making known these dispositions: it is a means to avoid many evils.

“You will communicate my intentions to the diplomatic body; and you will acquaint me as soon as possible with the proclamation by which my grandson shall have been recognised King of France, under the name of Henry V.

“I charge Lieutenant-General Viscount de Foissac-Latour to deliver this letter to you. He has orders to settle with you the arrangements to be made in favour of the persons who have accompanied me, as well as the arrangements necessary for what concerns me and the rest of my family.

“We will afterward regulate the other measures which will be the consequence of the change of the reign.

“I repeat to you, my cousin, the assurance of the sentiments with which I am your affectionate cousin,

“CHARLES,

“LOUIS ANTOINE.”

This act of a man in dotage was in exact conformity with every movement of the weakness he had always evinced, and which seemed to appertain to the family. When the fortress of the Bastille was stormed and taken in July, 1789, and poor Louis XVI. was informed of it, he thought it might be more than a street riot, and he called it “a revolt:” the Duc de Liancourt—with the honesty of Trim towards his master my uncle Toby—said to the king “Please your Majesty, it is a revolution!” On Wednesday, when a terrified miniature painter, covered with the gore of a man shot by his side in Paris, told Charles X. of the insurrection of the people, the king said “It is nothing!—begin;” and he calmly sat down to have his likeness taken. After the insurrection had become a revolution, and the provisional government appointed the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, Charles X.—at that time actually the creature of the people’s mercy—dreamed of still

possessing power, and he appointed the Duke Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. At St. Cloud, where the people allowed him to remain on sufferance, he imagined "his people!" would petition him to return;—"his people," whom his troops had been for three days, by his order, endeavouring to butcher into submission! This was too much to bear, and, on "his people" preparing to force him from St. Cloud, he escaped to Rambouillet; from thence he sent to the provisional government then established in Paris, and got his bank notes changed, in order, as they supposed, to enable him to continue his flight to the coast. No. Still they were "his people!"—still their loyalty might return!—still they might want him in Paris! He now had a camp at Rambouillet, with several corps of the Royal Guards around him. It was impossible to suffer within thirty miles of the capital an armed force which did not depend upon the established government, and which, by its bare presence near Paris, kept the people there in a state of dangerous irritation. In fact, the agitation against him increased alarmingly in the capital, and there was every moment reason to fear that masses of the population would, of their own accord, march to attack him.

The Duke of Orleans perceived the necessity of anticipating movements which the prolongation of the abode of Charles X. at Rambouillet could not fail to produce, and he selected chiefs who, by regulating the people, might prevent excesses. He felt also, that sentiments of affection and relationship dictated to him the same measures that were commanded by his public duties. The people were ringing the tocsin, and arming of themselves. The drum of the government called the National Guards to their posts. It was then announced to them that the attitude taken by the King required that he should be brought to reason—be compelled to go, or surrender—and that to effect one or the other, the citizens of Paris were required by government to march on Rambouillet. The command of the force was given to General Pajol, and under him were General Excelmans, Colonel Jacqueminot, and M. George Lafayette. The pupils of the Polytechnic School were to act as they directed, and no regular or organized troops were to be employed. Volunteers, including all those who had retained muskets since the day of their triumph, presented themselves in every direction. Six thousand departed within two hours. To despatch them quickly, and save them from fatigue, the omnibuses, and all the other carriages of that class, with hackney coaches, and cabriolets, were put in requisition. Thousands of

others set out on foot, not in bodies, but in a continued stream. They marched by the Champs-Élysées to the Bois de Boulogne, where the first attempt to reduce them to order was made, and from thence by St. Cloud and Versailles. Hundreds of this multitude were burning with inveteracy against a despot who had remorselessly persisted in ordering the daily slaughter of the people. The sons of an old man of seventy, who was shot while standing at his window, joined in the march, fully resolved, if the slightest occasion should offer, to destroy some of the royal family. The equipments were motley in the extreme. Some were armed with rusty bayonets, some with swords of one shape, some of another; some with pikes at the end of a pole, some with horse pistols; some were without shirts, some without jackets, others without stockings; some were in aprons, with part of the spoils of the soldiers over them; some in ragged caps, and some with the caps of the Swiss, who with hundreds of others, were in the bed of the river. Had these people come in contact with Charles X., whom they deemed the author of the late scenes in Paris, his head might probably have preceded them into Paris. Such an act was happily provided against by the Lieutenant-General. He had hoped that the march of 6000 of the National Guard, which was the force ordered against Rambouillet, would direct the popular movements, and be such a demonstration as would induce Charles X. to take the only step which so many circumstances united to make him adopt—that of retiring, and dissolving the armed force with which he was still surrounded. The National Guard was joined by between 50,000 and 60,000 men, with that eagerness which distinguishes the French nation in its enterprises. But at the same time that the Duke of Orleans fulfilled with resolution his duties as head of the state, he gave every thing that he owed to misfortune and to the dignity of France. Three commissioners, Marshal Maison, M. de Schonen, and M. Odellon Barrot, were ordered to go to Charles X., and protect him as far as the frontier. These commissioners preceded the column advancing from Paris by some hours. They saw the King, and urged him, in the name of humanity, not to cause French blood to be shed in vain, and at length induced him to depart. There were previous stipulations on both sides. Charles was to restore the crown diamonds, and the provisional government was to furnish him with 4,000,000 of francs (about 170,000*l.* sterling); and one-fourth of this sum was required immediately. Such matters were soon arranged, the commissioners obtained possession of the

diamonds, and Charles having determined on proceeding to Cherbourg, they notified it by the following letter.

TO THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM.

“Rambouillet, Aug. 3.

“Monseigneur,—It is with joy that we announce the success of our mission. The King has determined to depart with all his family. We shall bring you all the incidents and details of the journey with the greatest precision. May it terminate happily!

“We follow the route to Cherbourg. All the troops are directed to march on Epernon. To-morrow morning it will be decided which shall definitively follow the King.

“We are, with respect and devotion,

“Your Royal Highness’s

“Most humble and obedient servants,

“DE SCHONEN,

“LE MARECHAL MAISON,

“ODILLON BARROT.”

After Charles X. had dismissed his infantry, the Royal Guard capitulated, and he quitted Rambouillet, with all his family, abandoning every thing, except however his hopes that the Duke of Bourdeaux or himself might regain the proprietorship of “his people.” The National Guards and the people had bivouacked at Coignieres, and at daybreak desired to enter Rambouillet. They were restrained by their commanders until after the commissioners and their charge had left the town, and the people even then had the good sense to depute a vanguard of 300 men, who entered alone. The only abuse of the victory was the possession of some of the King’s bedizened carriages, which they drove back to Paris in state, with eight horses to each, and each with overfull loads of most ungentle passengers inside and outside. Meantime Charles X., with his family and the commissioners, arrived at Dreux, where the day’s journey was to terminate. The town had hoisted the tri-coloured flag. Its National Guard occupied the outposts, and had detained the officers who had been sent forward to prepare quarters. The Commissioners appeared, and, at the sight of their tri-coloured scarf, the barriers were opened; the commissioners entered alone, and announced to the National Guard that hostilities had terminated, that Charles

X. was no longer sovereign of the country, but unhappy, and had a claim to all the attention due to misfortune. The National Guard declared their assent by acclamations, and carried their delicacy so far as to hide as much as possible their tri-coloured cockades when the King passed by.

In this posture of affairs all desired a permanent government, but all were not agreed as to the form it should assume. The real state of the public mind, and the reasons of each party, with suggestions calculated to reconcile their differences, were set forth in the following able article, from a careful perusal of which sticklers for forms of government may gain knowledge, and, if they have the power of reflection, derive wisdom.

(From the Journal des Debats.)

“A new order of things commences. We think it our duty to explain openly our opinions and principles upon the subject.

“The eldest branch of the House of Bourbon has ceased to govern. His fall has been rapid. In less than eight days he has fallen from his throne. He departs to-day, carrying with him from France only an eternal farewell, mingled in compassionate minds with pity, alas! but without regret. He departs:—he goes to seek his old exile. He is about to cross the sea once more. No more France for him! No more country! It was his own seeking. He has by his errors defeated the work of Providence, which had beyond all hope recalled him from exile to place him on the greatest throne in Christendom.

“However well deserved the catastrophe may be, we cannot contemplate it entirely without emotion. We pity the daughter of Louis XVI., who has suffered so much, and always heroically, and who returned hastily from her journey to accompany the flight of her family. We pity the Princess, whose happiness her sister envied when she was going to reign in Spain a few months since, and who loses, at one blow, the Majesty of her widowhood and the future Royalty of her son. We commiserate so many rapid changes of fortune, and we bring to mind the expression of Massillon, “God is great.” We may add that if God alone is great, it is because God alone is just, and that according to the words of the poet—

“Sa parole est stable et ne trompe jamais.”

“These are our sentiments. We do not make a mystery of them, believing that we should not offend that branch of the Bourbons about to govern us by stating how very fragile is the greatness of those whose oaths are fragile ; believing also that we shall not displease France by reminding it of misfortunes which it sought to prevent by its representations, but which were doomed to be accomplished, accompanied by the aggravation of two crimes which can never be effaced—the violation of sworn faith, and the effusion of French blood.

“We come now to the principles which will be the rule of our conduct in the new order of things.

“The eldest branch of the Bourbons fell the first time in 1789, in conjunction with the whole of social order. Notwithstanding the violence of the revolution, it did not entirely destroy the old social order. There were opinions and powerful interests which clung to it. These assisted the restoration. Now the eldest branch of the same family falls ; but falls alone. No part of our existing social order has perished with it—nay, more, it is because this branch wished to overthrow social order, that it has been itself overthrown. Its return, therefore, is impossible. Persons are never considered for themselves, but for the things which they represent and personify. Now the eldest branch of the Bourbons represents at the present time only itself,—itself alone, and perhaps also the power of the clergy ; that is to say, a thing which is more superannuated and defunct in France than absolute power—a thing which dates from the middle age, while absolute loyalty dates only from the sixteenth century. Its return is therefore impossible,—nothing of our actual social order having perished with it:

“But, in order that its return may be impossible, it is necessary to maintain the existing social order. We must maintain our institutions, and only develop them according to the means which they themselves furnish us with for doing so. Let us maintain *what is*, since *what is* is not opposed to *what ought to be*, since *what is* favours the regular development of society. Let us maintain the Representative Government, which is at once conservative and progressive.

“In France, if our power is employed to maintain the existing social order, it is invincible ; for it is supported by the wishes of the majority. If it be employed against the maintenance of our institutions—if we desire to establish the republic, this power becomes more doubtful and uncertain, be-

cause it is necessary to measure it no longer in its relation with France, but with Europe.

“In effect, every thing which is done in France is a European event. We do not labour for ourselves alone, but for all the continent. Such is our destiny; grand and majestic, doubtless, but one which ought to occasion us serious reflections. The French revolution shook the whole continent, overthrew states, changed the old European society. What we do at this moment will also have its effect on Europe; that we may be certain of. The question to be decided now is, whether the republic has the majority of Europe in its favour.

“We believe for our own parts, that a republic has not the majority of France in its favour; but it is certain, it is evident, that it has not the majority of Europe in its favour. If, then, we form ourselves into a republic, we must republicanise the whole of Europe, whether it will or no. The experience of the revolution proves that it will be a necessity more powerful than all the promises we may make of occupying ourselves with our own affairs, without concerning ourselves with our neighbours. This selfishness is possible only in England. In France it is impossible.

“To republicanise Europe is a formidable task, when we reflect that the representative government, the inevitable preface to a republican state, has scarcely begun to exist without strength and power in some of the small states of Germany, and that it does not exist at all in Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Spain.—What wars, what blood, what money, would it not cost to bring Europe to an order of things from which she is still removed!—But we will conquer as we have already done. Yes; but on what condition have you conquered? On condition of having a Buonaparte. We will have one. Yes; but at the same price as the other—that is to say, at the price of liberty; so that, by an inevitable circle, a republic brings war—war brings a Buonaparte—and Buonaparte brings the abolition of the republic. But if we had a republican Buonaparte!—it is impossible. What made Buonaparte’s power was his having all the energies of France in his hands. But in order to obtain them he was obliged to protect the interests of the ancient regime, to raise up the altars, to recall the emigrants, and to do all this he was compelled to make himself Emperor. There is, therefore, always the same inevitable circle—the republic, war, the empire—that is to say, the abolition of the republic.

“The maintenance of the existing social order, and its pro-

gressive and regular development—those are our principles. Existing society has for its object the union of liberty and order. This union France has sought for forty years. Under Buonaparte it had order without liberty; under Louis XVIII. an able king, they succeeded each other in turn rather than co-existed; it was all, we believe, that the difficulties of the times permitted. To secure order, our first care should be to get rid of provisional government; for that would soon be anarchy! It is for the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies to provide for the safety of France. We await their decision.”

An English lady, in a letter to her husband in London, pleasantly expresses her opinion of the important movements in Paris. She says—“What a pity—you that are an amateur—that you have not been here to see a *pattern* revolution. The French, from being a warning, have become an example—a glorious example to all nations: Never was any thing more prompt, more vigorous, more intelligent, and, after the most triumphant success, more moderate. And all conducted by a populace unprepared, and absolutely without Chiefs. Not a single act of unnecessary destruction or violence of any sort has been committed. Yesterday evening we walked through crowds of armed men in all the intoxication of victory, without the slightest inconvenience. The tri-coloured flag and cockade were displayed in all directions; the people were parading the streets with garlands of roses hung on the points of their bayonets, and from one end of Paris to the other nothing was heard but one universal cry of ‘*Vive la Charte!*’” She then briefly relates scenes that preceded this tranquillity, and carelessly adds, the “poor Garde Royale—my good friends of Notre Dame—how bravely have they sold their lives for sixpence a day, and for that which they have been educated to believe right. And this poor foolish King!—can you believe such profound infatuation?—yesterday, at noon, he graciously granted an *amnesty* to his loving subjects! I dare say the poor man will retire to Hartwell, or elsewhere, with a conscience void of offence towards God and man. In fact, the being a century behind their subjects in knowledge is the only fault of the Bourbons; and, perhaps, they ought no more to be held responsible for the calamities they have been the cause of, than the bull Apis, if his worshippers had chosen to cut their throats on his account. However, it is to be hoped that the reign of oxen and asses is nearly at an end all over the world.

—My brother Charles was at the taking of the Tuileries, and went in with the rest. He brought me some scented wood from the toilette of the Duchess de Berri. He said the people did no mischief except tearing down the curtains to make themselves scarfs. Only one picture was shot through with hundreds of balls—it was the portrait of the Duc de Ragusa. Notwithstanding their moderation, the people seemed to think that they had a fair right to make themselves welcome to the contents of the cellar. Charles says a bottle which fell to his share tasted exactly like the sacramental wine at Queen's.—It is now reported that the Duc d'Orleans is to be King; but I do not believe any thing is yet known. As far as the nation is concerned all is finished; for it is little mischief that seven madmen, with the poor unfortunate King at their head, could do. But, if they should bring down others of their clan from foreign countries, this may be only the beginning of misfortunes. I cannot help thinking it is lucky that George IV. is gathered to his fathers; for he might have taken it into his head to meddle in the matter.—The preparations for defence are not in the least relaxed, and there are said to be in Paris 70,000 men under arms. Except for the 1500 killed and wounded, this would almost have been what Mirabeau said was impossible—a revolution of rose-water.”

To-day, the duke de Chartres, eldest son of the Lieutenant-General, entered Paris at the head of his regiment, preceded and followed by the National Guards of Rouen and Evreux, and a very considerable number of young men. He proceeded along the boulevards to the Palais Royal, with the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Nemours, on his right and left. The assembled crowd welcomed him with the most lively acclamations.

The officers of the old army were flocking in all day. It was amusing to observe with what importance the old (private) soldiers bore themselves. The “young ones,” the men who fought so bravely last week, were still in possession of many of the posts they took; the Bank Guard was composed of them and the National Guards, half and half, and the same in the Palais Royal; but the Tuileries has been continued to themselves, with the tri-coloured flag they hoisted on it when they took it, consisting of three pocket handkerchiefs, subscribed by the captors, pinned together to form the tri-colour.

This afternoon the volunteers of Elbeuf made their entree into the ci-devant caserne of the Garde du Corps. They were a fine body of men, about 400 in number, all armed

with muskets and bayonets, and more than one half of them in the full uniform of the National Guards. Immense bodies from other quarters were on their march to succour the Parisians, if necessary. An "old 'un," who stood to see the Elbeuf battalion enter—a man of about sixty—his hair black, but his mustaches and whiskers gray—wore a sky-blue vest, a scarlet dolman or pelisse, buff leather breeches, boots, a square fur cap, and *sabretache*—all ornamented with the letter "N" and Bees. He said he had been a Quartermaster of the Corps of Guides of the Imperial Guard. He had resumed his well-preserved uniform, and left his house at Chaton, near St. Germain-en-Laye, on Sunday last, to join the "new army," as he called it, and narrowly escaped a volley fired at him by some retreating Swiss. He had been restored to his old rank by the existing Government. The careful preservation of every article of their ancient costume, by those veterans, tends to prove that what happened last week would have happened, sooner or later, even though the charter had not been openly violated.

An English gentleman relates an amusing anecdote. He was walking to-day in the plain of Grenelle, and met a countryman armed with a fowling-piece, accompanied by a tall, soldier-like young man, with his arm in a sling. In reply to inquiry for news of the king, the countryman said the *Sacre* had fled. "This man with his arm in a sling," added he, "is my prisoner. Is it not true, Jean?" "Yes," said the young man, with a humble shake of the head. "He was a soldier, and so I fired at him," said the countryman, "and shot him through the arm, which reminded him that I was the friend of his cousin. He told me he was from Issy (a village near Paris), and would join the people; so I took him into a public-house, and gave him some wine, and a pair of trousers, and that jacket; for I could not bear the sight of his butcher's dress. I then had his moustaches shaved, and we are now on our way across the plain, to spend the evening with his cousin." This incident shows the kindly disposition that prevailed among the people towards each other.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4.

At noon to-day the Chamber of Deputies met, and proceeded to business under M. Labbey de Pompiere, President by seniority, when the nine bureaux (committees) were formed by ballot. The validity of the elections was discussed. A great number of members were declared duly elected, and the decision upon others postponed. M. Charles Dupin said that on account of the crisis of affairs it was highly important to proceed rapidly, and therefore to declare that the Chamber would sit permanently till it had verified the powers of all the members who had presented their papers. This was agreed to, and the Chamber proceeded to vote for five candidates, one of whom was finally to be elected President. The five members chosen were M. Cassimir Perrier, M. Jacques Lafitte, M. Benjamin Delessert, M. Dupin, sen., and M. Royer Collard. Towards the close of the sitting, M. Charles Dupin said, "With the Charter in my hand, I say ——" M. de Corcelles interrupted him—"The Charter is defunct." During the balloting, groups were formed in different parts of the hall, and from some words that fell, it was evident that they were discussing the propriety of forming a Secret Committee, to which the majority evidently were opposed: the words "*point de Comite Secret! jamais de Comite Secret!*" set the question at rest. The abdication of Charles X. offered matter for much remark: a member of the extreme left exclaimed, with vehemence, "We do not want his abdication: in our quality of representatives of the French people, we have a right to impose upon him the forfeiture of the throne."

In the Chamber of Peers, Baron Pasquier, appointed President of the Chamber by an Ordinance of yesterday, took the Chair, and an Ordinance was read, by which the Dukes de Chartres and Nemours, sons of the Lieutenant-General, were authorized to sit during the Session. The Chamber appointed Secretaries, and a Committee to draw up the Address, and balloted for the bureaux.

It is not proposed to follow Charles X. in his progress with the Commissioners. The following document from Marmont, dated to-day, appears to have been the last document issued in the ex-King's behalf.

“ORDER OF THE DAY.

“*Moulins, August 4.*”

“Immediately after the departure of the King, all the regiments of infantry and artillery of the guards and of the gend’armerie will commence their march to Chartres, where they will receive all the provisions necessary for them. Messrs. the chiefs of the corps, after having called their regiments together, will declare to them that His Majesty, with the most profound affliction, finds himself obliged to separate from them ; that he commands them to express his satisfaction to the troops ; and that he will always preserve the remembrance of their admirable conduct, of their devotedness and their patience in enduring the hardships and privations under which they have laboured during the late unfortunate events.

“The King, for the last time, transmitted his orders to the brave troops of the guards and of the line who have accompanied him. They are to go to Paris, where they will make their submission to the Prince Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, who has taken all necessary measures for their safety and their future welfare.

(Signed)

“The Marshal Duke of RAGUSA.

(Countersigned)

“The Chief of the Staff, the Marquis de CHOISEUIL.”

A letter was seized from the Duchess d’Angouleme to a friend, in which she says that, “after such decisive steps as those, she really commences to love her uncle.” This demonstrates her approbation of the manners of the ex-King, who is her uncle and also her father-in-law. Papers were stated to have been found, clearly establishing the fact of the formation of prevotal courts, and of the determination of the ex-minister to have condemned more than forty peers to death. Upon authority which the *Journal du Commerce* believes authentic, it publishes a list of persons for whose arrest warrants were signed on the 25th of July. Many of these were deputies duly elected, though in the warrants they are styled “former deputies.” The warrants were dated on the 26th, in order that the ordinances of the day before, which annulled the rights of these deputies, might colour the disownment. A magistrate of the Tribunal de Premiere Instance, whose name the *Journal du Commerce* purposely conceals, signed the warrants. The following is the list of the individuals singled out

for court vengeance :—Messrs. Eusebe de Salverte ; General Demarçay ; General Count Clausel ; General Lamarque ; Tircuir de Corcelles ; Benjamin Constant ; the Count de Bondy ; Duris Dufresne ; Viennet ; Daunon ; General Mouton ; Count de Lobau ; Labbey de Pompieres : Manguin, Advocate ; Devaux, Advocate ; the Marquis de Grammont ; Mercier, President of the Tribunal of Commerce at Alençon ; Colonel de Briqueville ; Colonel de Jacqueminot ; Dupont (de l' Eure) ; and Audry de Puiraveau, all former Deputies ; Isambert, Advocate : Odillon Barrot, Advocate ; Merilhon ; Ch. Dunoyer, Publicist ; Lieutenant-General Pajol ; Chatelain and de Lapenauze, editors of the *Courrier Français* ; Ch. Fabre, editor of the *Tribune des Departemens* ; Évariste, Dumoulin, Cauchois, Lemaire, and Annees, editors of the *Constitutionnel* ; L. Pillet, editor of the *Journal de Paris* ; Roqueplan and Bohain, editors of the *Figaro* ; Bert, editor of the *Journal du Commerce* ; J. Coste, Baude, and Barbaroux, editors of the *Temps* ; Gauja, editor of the *National* ; and P. Leroux, editor of the *Globe*. Five warrants of depot were issued against Messrs. De Schonen, Counsellor at Paris ; de Podenas, Counsellor at Toulouse ; Chardel, Judge of the Tribunal of the Seine ; and Bavoux, Judge, all former Deputies ; and Madier Montjau, Counsellor at Nismes. Orders were also issued to exercise surveillance over Messrs. Jacques Lafitte, Banker ; Cassimir Perrier, Banker ; Baron Louis, formerly a Minister ; Lieutenant-General Count Gerard ; Lieutenant-General Dumas ; General Lafayette ; Destult de Tracy, jun. ; and Vatismenil, Minister of State, former Deputies ; Colonel Fabvier ; Vice-Admiral Truguet, Peer of France ; Montalivet, Peer of France ; Charles Comte, formerly editor of the *Censeur Europeen* ; Barthe, Advocate ; and Leon Thiesse, Journalist. Among these will be perceived the names of some of the ablest and most venerated men in France.

To-day there was posted up in all the streets of Paris the following

PLACARD.

“ Charles X. can never again enter Paris : he has caused the blood of his people to flow.

“ A republic will expose us to dreadful divisions and cause quarrels with Europe.

“ The Duke of Orleans never fought against us.

“ The Duke of Orleans was at Jemappe.

“ The Duke of Orleans is a Citizen King.

“The Duke of Orleans wore the tri-coloured cockade in battle, and he will wear it again—we will have no other.

“The Duke of Orleans has not proclaimed himself, but waits our wishes. Let us proclaim him: he will accept the Charter, and the French people will support his throne.”

The Duke of Bourbon (Conde), an aged prince of the blood, who kept at a distance from the court of Charles X., declared his adhesion to his relative the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. He was at St. Leu, where he resided, on the 28th and 29th July, when the inhabitants, irritated at the ordinances of Charles X., rose and resolved to overthrow the local authorities and the ensigns of royalty. Their first care, however, was to proceed to the residence of the prince, and to assure him that they would respect his person, offering him a guard. To this offer the Prince replied that he was in the midst of Frenchmen; that, being a citizen like them, he had nothing to fear. The next day they returned to him and said,—“Prince, the tri-coloured flag is hoisted on all the public monuments and edifices. We should like to hoist it in our Commune.” “My friends,” replied he, fastening a cockade to his button-hole, “these colours, which the nation has just adopted, will henceforth be mine, and I shall see them with pleasure at the Hotel of the Mayor; for I shall readily wear them myself.” About three weeks afterward, in a state of nervous irritation, produced by harassing taunts and reproaches of adherents to Charles X., which the feebleness of age could not sustain, he committed suicide.

Attention was now resumed to the regulation of the metropolis. The duties payable to the city of Paris on the entry of goods and merchandise were re-established. The service of water to the streets and houses was no longer suspended. From the 27th of July to the 4th of August, it was impossible for carts to pass freely, and all merchandise was carried on men's shoulders. The pavement, which in every street had been simultaneously raised and formed into barricades, was now replaced. The boulevards were, in a great degree, disencumbered from the trees which had been felled, and which time only can repair. The chief loss of these ornaments was from the Rue Montmartre to the Café de la Paix, where not a tree was left.

A Paris letter, dated to-day, speaks of the hope and alarm sometimes excited in the city.—“When a drum beats the Royalists run in doors and the Liberals run out. The former imagine that they are about to be guillotined, while the latter

know it is merely the signal for the assemblage of the National Guards." There was no ground for fear in either ; for there was no enemy. Still, precautions were adopted, and these kept on the alert as many of the people as had taken an active share in the struggle. It was wise to use the unextinguished feelings in the agreeable service of civic duties. They were employed during the day, and in the evening there were the recreations of the boulevards, and the theatres. The Marseillais Hymn was now resumed, and chanted with fervour in every street and almost in every house. It was the earliest and most popular air of the old Revolution, never to be forgotten by men who sung it, or remembered that their fathers sang it, in the first days of freedom.

The history of music records no production of the science so wonderful in effect as the Marseillais Hymn. When the sword was drawn to cut down the pen—when the sovereigns of Europe combined their armies to conquer France, and the Duke of Brunswick issued a manifesto, threatening to march to Paris—and France without a military force, or a hand to help her, but confiding in the power of her will and the justice of her purpose to be free, indignantly defied the hostility of her insolent invaders—the people sang the Marseillais Hymn, and, shouting "Death or Liberty," dealt death to the legions of despotism, and won liberty for France. Early in that awful struggle the population of Paris had yielded so largely and frequently to the armies on the frontiers, that the city was emptied of almost every citizen that could bear arms. Fresh levies were imperative, and attempted in vain, until on one particular evening the Marseillais Hymn was sung at every theatre in Paris. All the vocal performers at each house appeared on the stage, and by voice and gesture, and scenic accompaniment and reference to the victories already achieved, the feelings of the audiences were transported. They sung with the performers, encored, sung again, and when they left the theatre they still sung. On their way home the different audiences met and joined in the national song. The effect was electrical. By daybreak the next morning 40,000 of the people marched out of Paris, singing the Marseillais Hymn, to join the armies of their country.

The air derives its name from its having been the march played by the band of the Marseillais Deputies on their entrance into the Champ de Mars, at the Grand Confederation of the French people, in 1790. It was the cradle-hymn of new-born liberty. The words were written by M. Rouget

Delisle. For five-and-thirty years the singing of the Marseillais hymn was prohibited by the ruling factions in France, while it was equally honoured by the detestation and opprobrium of tyranny abroad. In the mean time its author lived in obscurity, and survived to witness the present Revolution, and to be sought and honoured for his wonder-working words. The Duke of Orleans, on becoming Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, granted a pension of 1500 francs from his private purse to M. Delisle. It was announced by a kind letter from the Duke with this passage—"The Hymn of the Marseillais has revived in the heart of the Duke d'Orleans recollections that are dear to him. He has not forgotten that the author of that patriotic hymn was formerly his companion in arms."

THE MARSEILLAIS HYMN.

Allons, enfans de la patrie,
 Le jour de gloire est arrive ;
 Contre nous, de la tyrannie
 L'etendart sanglant est eleve—
 L'etendart sanglant est eleve.
 Entendez-vous, dans les campagnes.
 Rugir ces feroces soldats ;
 Ils viennent jusques dans vos bras,
 Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.
 Aux armes, Citoyens,
 Formez vos bataillons ;
 Marchez, marchez,
 Q'un sang impur
 Abreuve nos sillons.

Que veut cet horde d'esclaves,
 De traitres, de Rois conjures ?
 Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
 Ces fers des long temps prepares ?
 Ces fers des long temps prepares ?
 Français, pour nous, ah ! quel outrage
 Quels transports il doit exciter !
 C'est nous qu'on ose mediter
 De rendre a l'antique esclavage.
 Aux armes, &c.

Quoi ! des cohortes etrangeres,
 Feroient la loi dans nos foyers ;
 Quoi ! ces phalanges mercenaires,
 Terrasseroient nos fiers guerriers !
 Terrasseroient nos fiers guerriers ;

Grand Dieu ! pars des mains enchainees,
 Nos fronts sou le joug se ploieroient ;
 Des vils devotes deviendroient,
 Les maitres de nos destinees.
 Aux armes, &c.

Tremblez, tyrans ! et vous perfides,
 L'opprobe de tous les parties—
 Tremblez,—vos projet parricides,
 Vont, enfin, recevoir leur prix.
 Vont, enfin, recevoir leur prix.
 Tout est soldat pour vos combattre,
 S'ils tombent nos jeunes heros,
 La France en produit de nouveaux,
 Contre vous tous prêts a se battre.
 Aux armes, &c.

Français en guerriers magnanimes,
 Portez ou retenez vos coupt ;
 Epargnez ces tristes victimes,
 A regret s'armant contre nous,
 A regret s'armant contre nous ;
 Mais, les despots sanguinaire,
 Mais, les complices de Bouille
 Tous ces tigres, qui sans pitie,
 Dechirent le rien de leur mere.
 Aux armés, &c.

Amour sacre de la patrie,
 Conduit, soutiens nos bras vengeurs ;
 Liberte, Liberte ! cherie,
 Combats avec tes defenseurs.
 Combats avec tes defenseurs,
 Sous nos drapeaux, que la victoire
 Accoure a tes males accents :
 Que les ennemis expirants,
 Voient ton triomph et ta gloire.
 Aux armes, &c.

This evening the Opera House was opened with "La Muetto di Portici," an opera full of sentiments applicable to the battles and other events of last week ; they were applauded with tremendous energy. In a rebellion scene there was a simultaneous demand throughout the house for the Marseillais Hymn. It was sung by the entire strength of the company, the audience enthusiastically joining and vociferating the chorus. The opera terminated by M. Norrit singing, in the uniform of the National Guard, Casimir Delavigne's song, "La Marche Parisienne." It was received with shouts of delight. Norrit himself had valiantly fought with his fellow-citizens, and at the end of the song the audience forced upon him a

crown of laurel : he modestly placed it upon the tri-coloured standard—the noble sentiment which inspired the act raised the rapture of the spectators to a height that defies description.

There is no passable translation of the Marseillais Hymn. The following is a version of the popular patriotic effusion of M. Casimir Delavigne.

THE PARISIENNE.

Ye men of France! the patriot brave!
 See freedom spreads her arms again;
 The daring tyrants call'd ye slaves!
 Ye answered, we are martial men!
 And Paris, in her memory hoary,
 Woke in her ancient shout of glory.
 To the fight—to the fight,
 In their guns' despite,
 And the clashing sword, and the flashing light,
 To the victory of right!

Now close your ranks, heroic men!
 On—on! each cartridge that ye spread
 Is incense of a citizen
 Upon his country's altar-head.
 O day, 'bove other days of story,
 When Paris heard her shout of glory!
 To the fight, &c.

The grape-shot's murderous harvesting
 But wakens many an unknown name;
 And 'neath the balls—youth's early spring
 Ripens to autumn's steady fame.
 O day of bright and splendid story,
 When Paris heard her shout of glory!
 To the fight, &c.

Who, yonder marshall'd masses through,
 Conducts our flag with life-blood wet?
 The saviour of two worlds—the true,
 The hoary-headed Lafayette.
 O day of fame, of hallowed story,
 When Paris heard her shout of glory!
 To the fight, &c.

The glorious tints have hither march'd—
 Again the blazing columns rise;
 And 'midst the clouds sees over-arch'd
 Freedom's bright rainbow in the skies.
 O day of fame—O pride of story,
 When Paris heard the shout of glory!
 To the fight, &c.

Thou, soldier of the tri-colour !

Orleans !—thy heart's blood thou would'st spill
With ours for banners borne before,
Which thou art proud to honour still.

As in our brightest days of story,
Thou wilt repeat the cry of glory.
To the fight, &c.

But, hark ! the deep funereal drum !

They bear our brethren to their tomb !
And bearing laurel-crowns we come
To shrine them in immortal bloom !

Temple of sorrow and of glory—
Pantheon ! guard their sacred story !

We depose them here,

And our brows we bare

And we say live for ever—while we drop the tear—

Martyrs of victory !

Morning Chronicle.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5.

The Chamber of Deputies to-day was chiefly occupied in deciding on the late elections of Members for the Chamber, and in formalities for the final election of its president. In the preliminaries for that office a circumstance of some note occurred. A deputation had waited on the Lieutenant-General to present to him the list of candidates, and on its return reported to the Chamber that the Lieutenant-General had said—"I should have wished that the Chamber had made the nomination directly itself, but we must submit to the law. Of this I shall always give the example. I hope that this will be the last time that this list will be presented to me." This answer excited strong marks of approbation in the Chamber.

In the Chamber of Peers there were no proceedings of consequence.

Prince Talleyrand was this morning among the number of persons received by the Duke of Orleans.

The Bourse (Stock Exchange) opened to-day.

Lord Cochrane sent to General Lafayette, for the relief of the wounded, 5000 francs from himself, and 5000 from Lady Cochrane.

Among the exiled French Conventionalists whom the new Revolution may probably allow to return to France are—

Sieyes—Formerly a member of the *Assemblée Constituante*, of the Convention, and Directory; afterward a Senator during the empire.

Merlin of Douay—Ex-Procurator General of the Court of Cassation, and author of the “*Repository of Jurisprudence.*”

Berlier—formerly Councillor of State.

Barrere—Formerly Member of the Committee of Public Safety.

Mailles—Ex-counsellor of the Court of Cassation.

Ingraud—Formerly Member of the Committee of General Safety.

Thiebaudeau—Formerly Counsellor of State, and Prefect of Marseilles.

Gaultier.

Levasseur of La Sarthe—Author of the “*Memoirs of the Convention.*”

Chazalle—Formerly Prefect of the Lower Pyrenees.

Procholle—Formerly Sub-Prefect of Neufchatel.

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An incident of rather a ludicrous nature occurred at a church in the neighbourhood of Paris. A curè, not remarkable for his attainments in Latin, in reading the morning service, was staggered when he came to the word *regem*, in the prayer for the King, and after the words *Domine, salvum fac*, abruptly introduced the words *le gouvernement provisoire*.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 6.

The proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies to-day were very important.

M. Labbey Pompierre, provisional president, opened the sitting by presenting an ordinance of the Lieutenant-General, appointing M. Cassimir Perrier President of the Chamber, in whose absence, from ill health, the chair was taken by M. Lafitte.

The first vice president received from one of the secretaries an open paper, which he read as follows:—

“The Chamber of Deputies accuses of high treason the Ministers who signed the report to the King, and the ordinances, dated the 25th of July, 1830.

“EUSEBE SALVERTE,

“Deputy of the Seine.”

On the left and in the centre there were loud cheers. On the extreme right, a mournful silence was observed.

M. Eusebe Salvete.—This proposition must be submitted to the bureaux, according to the usual form; but as the Chamber, however important this matter may be, has still more important business to settle, I do not wish to address the Chamber in explanation of my proposition, supposing it to need explanation, until the expiration of eight days.

M. Berryer opened the important business of the day by saying—“A solemn compact united the French people to their Monarch. This compact has been broken. The violaters of the contract cannot, with any title, claim the execution of it. Charles X. and his son in vain pretend to transmit a power which they no longer possess. That power is washed away by the blood of many thousands of victims. The act of abdication with which you are acquainted is a fresh perfidy. The appearance of legality with which it is closed is a deception. It is a brand of discord which it is wished to throw among us. The real enemies of our country, and those who by flattery urged the last government on to its ruin, are stirring in all quarters; they assume all colours, and proclaim all opinions. A desire of indefinite liberty possesses some generous individuals, and the enemies to whom I speak hasten to encourage a sentiment which they are incapable of comprehending, and ultra-royalists appear in the guise of republican regicides. Some others affect to have for the child of the forgotten conqueror of Europe a hypocritical attachment, which would be converted into hate if there could be any question of making him chief of France. The unavoidable instability of the existing means of governing encourage the promoters of discord. Let us hasten, then, to put an end to it. A supreme law,—that of necessity,—has placed arms in the hands of the people of Paris, for the purpose of opposing oppression. This law induced us to adopt for a provisional chief, and as the only means of safety, a Prince who is the sincere friend of constitutional institutions. The same law would lead us to adopt, without delay, a definitive head of our government. But, whatever may be the confidence with which this chief inspires us, the rights which we are called upon to defend exact from us that we should fix the conditions on which he shall obtain power. Shamefully deceived as we have been repeatedly, it is allowable in us to stipulate severe guarantees. Our institutions are incompatible,—vicious even in many respects. It is fitting that we extend and ameliorate them. The prince who

is at our head is already aware of our just wants. The principles of many fundamental laws have been proposed by the Chamber and recognised by him. Other principles, other laws, are not less indispensable, and will likewise be obtained. We are elected by the people. They have confided to us the defence of their interests and the expression of their wants. Their first wants, their dearest interests, are liberty and repose. They have conquered their liberty ; it is for us to secure their repose ; and we cannot do so except by giving them a stable and just government. It is vainly pretended that by agitating these questions we overstep our rights. I would get rid of that objection, if it were necessary, by referring to the law which I have already invoked—that of imperious, invincible necessity. In this state of things, taking into consideration the grave and pressing situation in which the country is placed, the indispensable necessity which it experiences of changing its precarious positions, and the universal wish expressed by France to obtain the completion of her institutions, I have the honour to propose the following

Resolutions.

“The chamber of deputies, taking into consideration, with a view to the public interests, the imperious necessity which results from the events of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July last, and the following days, and the general situation of France, declare, 1st., that the throne is vacant, and that it is indispensably necessary to provide for that circumstance.

“The Chamber of Deputies declares, 2dly, that, according to the wish and for the interest of the people of France, the preamble and following articles of the constitutional Charter should be suppressed or modified in the manner here pointed out.’——”

M. Berryer then detailed the proposed suppressions or modifications. Among the provisions were—the suppressions of the article on the religion of the state—that the King is the supreme chief of the state, he commands the forces by land and sea, declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance, and commerce, nominates to all the employments in the public administration, and frames the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, and for the safety of the state, all under the responsibility of his ministers—laws of impost to originate in the Chamber of Deputies—peers to sit in their chamber and vote at twenty-five years of age—princes

of the blood peers by right of birth—sittings of the Chambers of Peers to be public—deputies to be elected for five years—deputies and electors to be twenty-five years of age—the President of the Chamber of Deputies to be elected by the Chamber, and continue in office while the Chamber lasts—no commission or extraordinary tribunals to be created under any denomination whatsoever—“the King and his successors shall swear, at *their accession* (instead of *in the solemnity of their coronation*) faithfully to observe the present Constitutional Charter: the present Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, will remain confided to the patriotism and courage of the National Guards, and all citizens.”

M. Berryer—“The Chamber of Deputies declares, 3dly, that it is necessary to provide successively, by separate laws, and with the shortest delay possible,—

“1. For the extension of the trial by jury to *correctionnel* offences, and particularly to those of the press;

“2. For the responsibility of Ministers and the secondary agents of power;

“3. For the re-elections of deputies raised to public offices;

“4. For the annual vote for the contingency of the army;

“5. For the organization of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of their officers;

“6. For a military code, establishing in a legal manner the condition of officers of all ranks;

“7. For the departmental and municipal administration, with the intervention of citizens in their formation;

“8. For public instruction and the liberty of teaching;

“9. For the abolition of the double vote, and for the establishment of electoral conditions, and eligibility.

“And, besides, that all the nominations and new creations of peers made during the reign of Charles X. be declared null and void.” (Very warm marks of approbation on the left and the centre left.)

“In consideration of these conditions being accepted, the Chamber of Deputies finally declares that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne his Royal Highness Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

“In consequence, his Royal Highness Louis Philip of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, shall be invited to

accept and swear to the clauses and engagements above announced, to the observance of the Charter, and the modifications stated ; and, after having done so, take the title of *King of the French.*" (Loud cheers.)

M. Ayde de Neuville.—Will the Chamber hear these propositions discussed immediately ?

A voice on the right.—They completely overthrow the Charter.

The Vice President.—At present nothing can be done but to send these propositions to the bureaux.

M. Aug. Perrier was of opinion that the propositions should be maturely considered. The committee appointed to draw up the address would necessarily have to discuss a portion of the fundamental questions. It was unnecessary to do any thing with precipitation. They could not forget the celebrated revolution of 1688, which gave to the English the same benefit which the French nation was about to enjoy. The English parliament at that period, without forgetting the situation in which it was placed, without suffering itself to be led away by honourable desires or laudable intentions, adopted the wisest measures. He believed that, notwithstanding the prejudices and the fears which he was astonished to see occasionally expressed in the public journals, the Chamber would not be wanting, either to itself or to the people, and that, profiting by victory without abusing it, it would answer the just expectations of the one party without justifying the apprehensions of the other. He proposed that the project just read should be sent to the bureaux, and afterward submitted to the committee for framing the address.

M. Eusebe Salvete thought that a special committee should be appointed.

M. Hyde de Neuville said, he abstained from speaking now, because these important questions would be maturely examined in the bureaux. He therefore hoped that no one would condemn him for his silence.

M. Mathieu Dumas, as a member of the address committee, stated that the members of the committee had no idea that they were to be charged with the consideration of such important propositions as those just submitted to the Chamber. It was not the object of their appointment. He therefore thought that a special committee should be appointed to consider such important and salutary propositions.

M. Etienne wished a new committee to be appointed instantly.

M. Villemain.—The proceedings of this Chamber cannot be in vain. You have appointed an address committee: that committee is not charged with effecting merely a sort of ceremonial. In a certain respect its functions are elevated with the immensity of the circumstances in which we are placed. I think, then, that it was called upon by its first nomination to discuss beforehand some of the questions included in the propositions submitted to the Chamber. If the committee restricted itself to discussing only the questions which were presented to us in the speech delivered in this place a few days ago, what would result from it? An incomplete labour, worthy neither of the Chamber nor of the committee. The hon. deputy then expressed a wish that a special committee for the consideration of the propositions should be united with the address committee. (“To the vote.”)

M. Demarcay said it was proposed to preserve the Charter with the modifications mentioned—(“Yes, yes”); but it would be necessary to make much more important modifications still. The Charter contained dispositions which were adverse to the French people, to their opinions, to their interests. That consideration induced him strongly to oppose the proposition which had been submitted. (*Violent murmurs.*)

Many voices—“Allow the spirit of the Charter to remain.”

M. Demarcay.—I consent that conditions should be offered, and that upon acceding to those conditions the Lieutenant-General should be proclaimed King of the French; but I can never see retained in the Charter dispositions which are adverse to the national wish and the interest of the country.

Several voices—“That is not the question.”

After some farther discussion, the proposition of appointing a special committee, to examine the articles presented by M. Berryer, was carried by a great majority, composed of the left and centre left, and a part of the centre right. The remainder of the centre right and the extreme right did not vote one way or the other.

The proposal for joining the two committees was carried by a majority rather less numerous, fifteen or twenty of the extreme left having voted against it.

The deputies then retired into the bureaux, and when they returned, the Vice-President stated that the following members had been nominated to the special committee:—M. Berryer, M. Perrier (Augustin), M. Humann, M. Benjamin Delessert,

M. Count de Sade, M. Count de Sebastiani, M. Bertin de Veaux, M. Count de Bondy, and M. de Tracy.

On the motion of M. Keratry, the Chamber adjourned to eight o'clock in the evening.

At the sitting in the evening, an assemblage of young men went to the court, before the Chamber of Deputies, in order, as they declared, to protest against the acknowledgment of an hereditary peerage. They formed a double line, and, when a deputy passed, saluted him with cries of "Down with the hereditary peerage!" At the same time the whole group took off their hats, and mingled with their cries, "Long live the Deputies!" "Honour to the Deputies!" The disorder increased, and many orators appeared. Several groups were formed within the Chamber, in the space in front of the tribune.

M. Aug. Perrier entered, evidently agitated. He repeatedly said to one of the groups, "You announced this yesterday, and it is realized to-day. Let us propose the adjournment of every deliberation until the mob disperse, and the tumult be appeased." M. Benjamin Constant went to the outer door and addressed the people. He said, "We defended your rights, and we were in a minority. It is not necessary that now the minority should oppress the only authority, although provisional, which remains in existence."

M. Lafitte, the vice-president, took the chair. General Lafayette conversed with him, and afterward went out upon the steps and addressed the people. After bearing testimony to their noble conduct, he said, "I am entitled to your attention, because the opinions that have induced you to come here are my own. I know how to support them, while I fear you may fall into errors. Permit me, in addition to so many motives, to require you to consider my personal feelings. I have engaged my honour that no disturbance shall interrupt the proceedings of the Chamber. If the Deputies should be interrupted, and any painful scenes pass at the doors, I shall be as it were responsible. It is with me a point of honour, and I place my honour under the protection of your friendship." This had the desired effect, and the group dispersed, singing the Marseillais hymn.

The Vice-President informed the Chamber that the two Committees had examined M. Berryer's proposition, and would report upon it at nine o'clock. In the mean time he begged to inform them that M. Guizot, the Provisional Minister for the Interior, had, by order of the Lieutenant-General, sent

him a copy of the abdication of Charles X., and the Dauphin, which he desired to be communicated to the Chamber.—(A great number of voices—“ We do not want it : it is an act of no consequence.”)

After some discussion respecting the act of abdication of Charles X., it was resolved to deposite it in the archives of the Chamber, contrary to the opinion of some Members, who would have passed to the order of the day, considering that act as in itself a nullity.

On the motion of M. Bavoux, it was resolved that the thanks of the Chamber should be given to the city of Paris, and that the Lieutenant-General should be invited to provide for the erection of a monument, worthy to transmit to posterity the remembrance of the events which it will be destined to preserve.—“ To the City of Paris, the grateful country.”

M. Dupin, Sen., Reporter of the Committee, said—“ I obey your Committee, and the just impatience of the Chamber, by presenting to you its report. I do not intend to add any thing to the excellent reason so ably developed by the author of the proposal (namely, M. Berryer's proposal to revise the Charter). I shall speak to you only of the modifications made by the Committee on the proposal itself. The Committee has unanimously recognized the vacancy of the throne ; but, at the same time that it recognises it as a fact, it has thought it its duty to declare it as a right emanating from the legitimate resistance of the people to the violation of its rights. For the fifteen years we have been the victims of violation, sometimes of the letter, and sometimes of the spirit of the Charter.” After mentioning alterations proposed by the Committee respecting Religion, the Press, the Elections, the prohibition of extraordinary tribunals, and other points suggested by M. Berryer in his speech, M. Dupin concluded by saying—“ The 74th article has undergone an important modification ; it is in the presence of the Peers and the Deputies that the King at his accession will swear to observe the laws confided to the patriotism of the National Guard. The article on the Chamber of Peers has drawn our attention. That Chamber, the protector of the laws, ceased to fulfil its duties on the creation of the seventy-six new Peers : it seems to us that the Chamber of Peers ought to annul those nominations. The last part of the proposal has for its object to found a new establishment in favour of a Noble Prince. This Prince is an honest man ; if he swears the observance of the Charter, it will be a truth. We act under the influence of a great necessity, and our deci-

sions will be hailed by the public gratitude. The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the urgency of the occasion, and the events of the 26th, 27th, and 28th of July, declares that the preamble of the Charter is suppressed, and that the other articles may be modified as follows :”—

M. Dupin then read the proposal, as amended by the Committee.

After some farther debate it was resolved to adjourn the discussions till to-morrow.

On the proposition for calling the Duke of Orleans to the throne, a French journal makes these judicious observations—

“It is said that the Chamber of Deputies are to offer to the Lieutenant-General the Crown of France, with the conditions on which the country consents to nominate him their head. This seems to us high and firm policy. Some persons dispute the power of the Chamber. However, it is undoubted that this Chamber, legally elected, represents the real opinion of the electors; and it is for the indirect defence of this principle that we have struggled. We say to the dissentients, “In the danger of firing and balls did you see any leaders legally chosen? Did not each receive his mandate from his courage? Did he not act the best who defended the cause with the greatest ardour and talent?”

“We have another danger at this moment. The friends of the republic, men of pure and generous feeling, publicly call upon their followers; the partisans of a sinking power may find recruits. One only mode, prompt, expeditious, of cutting short the wild measures of the one and the intrigues of the other is to choose a chief, and that him whom France demands. Let our deputies propose the conditions; let him sign them, and let him be king; legitimate power is that which comprises the state of the public mind, the urgencies of the epoch, and will devote itself to satisfy them. The French people have shown their greatness, and are too just to reproach any authority for having usurped the right of saving the state.”

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7.

To-day the sitting of the Chambers of Deputies was still more important than the sitting of yesterday.

At eleven o'clock the President took the chair.

The Chamber of Peers, by a message, informed the Chamber of Deputies that it was regularly formed by the elections of its Officers.

The order of the day was the debate upon the articles proposed yesterday.

M. de Conny.—In the terrible circumstances in which we are placed, freedom of debate is more than ever a sacred law. I came forward at the voice of my conscience ; silence would be cowardice. Social order is shaken to its foundations. These tumultuous commotions, which suddenly suspend the action of the legitimate powers instituted to establish order in society, are epochs of calamity which exercise upon the destiny of nations the most fatal influence. Inexorable history, rising above contemporary passions, will impress upon these lamentable days the character which belongs to them, and the cry of human conscience is raised to consecrate this eternal truth—*force constitutes no right*. In these times of trouble, liberty is invoked ; but the expression of thought has ceased to be free. Liberty is stifled by the sanguinary cries which carry alarm in every direction. You will not suffer yourselves to be subjugated by the cries which resound around you. Statesmen, remain calm in the midst of perils, and when confused voices call to France the son of Napoleon, invoke the republic, and proclaim the Duke of Orleans, unshaken in your duties, you will remember your oaths, and acknowledge the sacred rights of the royal infant, which, after so many misfortunes, Providence has given to France. Think of the judgment of posterity—it would be terrible. You would not wish that history should say you were faithless to your oaths. The eyes of Europe are upon us. We have too long exhibited to her a spectacle of strange instability ; too long have we changed sides, as often as victory changed colours. Brought back to truth by misfortune, let us remain calm in the midst of so many turbulent passions, and let us bestow our respect and tears upon great and royal misfortunes. By remaining faithful to our duties, I wish to spare our country all the calamities and crimes consequent upon usurpations. Viewing with an anxious mind the destiny

I perceive, gentlemen, the twofold scourge of civil

and foreign war threatening our noble country; I perceive liberty disappearing for ever; I perceive French blood flowing, and this blood would recoil upon our heads. The consideration of the principle of legitimacy, of this principle established by the Charter, can alone preserve our country from this fearful destiny. All France is bound by oaths; the army, ever faithful, will bend their arms before the young king; I call to witness our national honour. Let us not exhibit to the world the scandal of perjury. In the presence of the sacred rights of the Duc de Bourdeaux, the act which should raise the Duke of Orleans to the throne would be a violation of all human laws. As a deputy, remembering my oaths before God, who will judge us, I have declared the whole truth. I should have forfeited the esteem of my adversaries, if, in the perils which surround us, I had remained silent. I declare the sentiments which animate me in the face of heaven; I would express them at the cannon's mouth. If the principle of legitimacy be not recognised by the Charter, I must declare that I have no right to participate in the deliberations which are submitted to you.

M. Benjamin Constant said that, though there was still some agitation among the people, it was not sufficient to excite any alarm. Proceeding to the question, he said, we want a prince, of a different character from him whose acts have been so deplorable and afflicting. I will not anticipate the discussion, but I cannot refrain from saying, that we want a citizen prince who has fought in our ranks and worn our colours. Legitimacy, in its ordinary acceptation, can no longer be invoked; there is, in truth, no legitimacy but that which is derived from the people and the laws. All Europe knows that we are resolved to be free. We have no hostility against any nation. Proof of this will be found in the moderation we have displayed after the victory. I abhor and abjure legitimacy, which has dyed our streets with the blood of our citizens.

M. Hyde de Neuville.—I judge nobody. In politics, as in religion, all consciences are not subject to the same influences. Men seeking what is good may follow different directions. Each of us follows his conscience: mine is my only guide. If you do not partake of my sentiments, you will not refuse me your esteem. I have done every thing which a Frenchman could do to prevent the calamities which we have experienced. (*Assent.*) I have been faithful to my oaths; I have not betrayed that family which false friends have precipitated into an abyss. (*Cheers.*) I should contradict my life and dishonour myself by changing my sentiments were I to assent to the pro-

positions. With my hand upon my heart I cannot but reject the dangerous sovereignty which the committee purposes to establish. The measure which you are going to take is very serious, and ought to have been subjected to longer examination. It seems to me that it would be dangerous to rest the future destinies of a great people on the impressions of a moment. I have not received from heaven the power to arrest the thunderbolt. To the acts which are proposed to be consummated I can but oppose my wishes. I shall put up very sincere prayers for the repose and liberty of my country.

M. Alex. de Laborde.—Do you know, gentlemen, what would be the consequence of recognising the legitimacy of the Duke of Bordeaux? It would be to subject the virtuous prince whom we wish to place upon the throne, as well as his family, to bow his head before that child whose presence would remind us only of crimes and misfortunes. If you desire to attach yourselves to an historical legitimacy, the prince, whom we are anxious to seat upon the throne, descends more directly than the fallen king from the monarch whose memory the people cherish.

M. Lezardiere.—As deputy I have sworn fidelity to the king and to the constitutional Charter; and, having consulted my conscience, I feel myself bound, together with every true Frenchman, to pay a tribute of gratitude to the prince who has concurred in maintaining tranquillity. I cannot go farther, and change the order of succession; for I foresee heavy clouds of misfortune hanging over France if the Chamber changes this order.

M. Eusebe Salverte.—I am sensible of the full extent of the duties imposed upon me this day. They have been augmented by existing circumstances, and I do not hesitate to incur all the responsibility that may fall upon me from the votes I give. The hon. deputy then came to the matter in question, which he illustrated by referring to the course pursued by England in 1688.

M. Pas de Beaulieu.—The sacred law of my country teaches me that the Duke of Orleans is capable, beyond all others, of restoring peace and happiness to France; but I have not been commissioned by my constituents to pronounce upon this question. I therefore refrain.

M. Anisson du Pevron.—The arrondissement I represent is desirous of a monarchy purely constitutional. The gift is indeed valuable, but our new king will make us a more valu-

able return ; he will present to us peace and liberty, which are not less difficult to preserve than to gain.

M. Arthur, de la Bourdonnaie.—More than any other I mourn the broken social compact, but this is not a reason that its fragments should be trampled under our feet. If it is to be reformed or modified, it can only be done by the three powers united. (Interruption.) If the discussion is to be conducted in this manner, the Chamber will not be astonished at our silence, and remaining immoveable upon our seats. (Several voices—Be it as you please.)

M. Letou.—I have been, gentlemen, as well as yourselves, attached to the dynasty ; but I was far from imagining that infamous ministers were silently plotting the ruin of our liberties, and preparing against us lists of proscriptions. We have arrived at the point, where we at this moment find ourselves, through seas of blood, which have overwhelmed legitimacy.

M. Berryer.—I am as sincerely attached as any man can be to our public liberties. I am as fully inspired with the love of my country. I equally feel the want of repose and security for all. I think, nevertheless, that the proposition, as settled by the report, should be divided. I admit that modifications are necessary, but as to the exercise of supreme powers, I have referred to my conscience, and I cannot believe I am warranted in voting that the throne is vacant both in fact and law, and in usurping the right of electing a new King for France. I, therefore, feel it my duty to abstain.

M. Villemain.—Montesquieu has said, “ During a frightful calm all combine against the power that violates the laws.” With us, it was not a frightful calm that followed the irrevocable deed which hurled the King from his throne. Public authority was broken to pieces by the thunders of the people’s wrath. The necessity of restoring public order calls to the throne the Prince Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Let a public act proclaim our independence, and stipulating guarantees for the stability of order, and protecting it against all vengeance or reaction, be at once prepared. It is thus that the throne may be nobly and securely offered to the Duke of Orleans.

The President then read the first paragraph of the Report.

M. Podemos proposed the following amendment :—“ The throne is vacant in consequence of the violation of the Charter and the laws.” He drew a striking picture of the events which led to the fall of the ex-King, who, he said, was the

worthy heir of Charles the IXth's ferocity, and had not the courage to show himself in the hour of danger.

M. de Martignac.—I feel compelled to raise, in behalf of a family plunged in misfortune, a voice which forbade it to go to the height of its power. I could not hear, without deep sorrow, the words that fell from the last speaker. Ah! gentlemen, I, who knew this prince intimately, cannot hear him accused of ferocity without indignation. (Cheers from the right.) No, gentlemen, this man was not ferocious—he was deceived. (Ah! ah!) It was not his heart which dictated the infamous ordinances. They were the work of those perfidious counsellors whom I abandon to you. Let not your indignation be raised against him. Ah! believe me, gentlemen, believe me, who have lived in close intercourse with him, that the love of his country animated his heart. (Murmurs from the extreme left.) I am not astonished at the truly heroic resistance which has been provoked by these infamous ordinances; for I do not hesitate to call them so: but I ask again, after power is humbled, why utter words which will give additional pangs to a heart already crushed by misfortune? I do not know, gentlemen, whether I have followed the rules of prudence and moderation—(Oh! Oh!)—It was my heart that spoke.

M. Bernard.—You have applauded what has been said by M. de Martignac; in France, the defence of misfortune will always be heard with favour. But, on the other hand, we could not with indifference hear it stated that the heart of Charles glowed with the sacred fire of love for his country. The sceptre in his hand was the sign of protection; and he broke it in pieces upon his people. No! he never cherished the love of his country. (Loud cheers.)

M. Alexis de Noailles.—I support what M. Martignac has said, and will mention one fact. When it was proposed to revoke the ordinances which had been the cause of the carnage, you all know, gentlemen, who replied, and took the results upon himself; it was not the sovereign—it was the Minister.—(Numerous voices—"Oh, oh! what a subterfuge!")

The first paragraph of the report was adopted. It runs thus:—"The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the imperious necessity which results from the events of July 26, 27, 28, and 29, and regarding the situation in which France is placed at the end of the violation of the constitutional charter;—considering, besides, that in consequence of

this violation, and the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his Majesty King Charles X., Louis Antoine his son, and all the members of the eldest branch of the Bourbons, are leaving the territory,—declare that the throne is vacant in fact and in law (*en fait et en droit*), and that it is indispensably necessary that it should be provided for.”

M. Persil proposed, by way of amendment, to declare that “The sovereignty belongs to the nation: it is inalienable and imprescriptible.”

The President observed that this provision was comprised in this paragraph:—“The Chamber of Deputies declares that, according to the wish and in the interest of the French people, the preamble of the constitutional charter is suppressed, as injurious to the national dignity, by appearing to grant to the French people rights which essentially belong to them.”

The article concerning the support of the ministers of the Catholic religion was then discussed.

M. Viennet.—In the number of Frenchmen are included 150,000 Israelites, citizens like ourselves; like us they render homage to the Sovereign, and defend their country and liberty; it is an odious prejudice which excludes them. I therefore demand that the article be thus amended:—“The ministers of every form of worship, legally recognized, shall be supported by the public treasure.”

A warm conversation ensued. An amendment by M. Marschall was adopted, which renders the article as follows:—“The ministers of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, professed by the majority of Frenchmen, together with those of other Christian doctrines, shall be supported at the public expense.”

The article relating to the press was voted unanimously, with the following amendment:—“Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, in conformity to the laws. The censorship shall never be re-established.”

On the article regulating the royal prerogative, M. Jacqueminot proposed the following addition, which was immediately adopted by acclamation:—“Nevertheless, no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the state without an express law.”

M. Devaux proposed an amendment to submit treaties of peace and declarations of war to the two Chambers. This was rejected.

M. Jacqueminot proposed that from the article declaring that “the legislative power is collectively exercised by the King,

the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies of Departments," the words "of Departments" be omitted, which amendment was carried.

Other articles were discussed and agreed to. By an article of the commission—"No deputy can be admitted into the Chamber who is not of the age of thirty, and uniting qualifications required by the law." M. Villemain pressed to fix the age of eligibility at twenty-five, which amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected; as was also another, by M. de la Rochefoucauld, for lowering the qualification.

Several succeeding articles were agreed to without discussion.

The article of the commission, "That the King and his successors shall in future swear, in the presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the present constitutional Charter," was carried without discussion.

Another article of the commission—"The present Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, remain confided to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard and all the citizens of France," was adopted with acclamation.

Special provisions proposed by the commission remained to be considered next, viz.

"All the creations of peers during the reign of Charles X. are declared null and void.

"And in order to prevent the recurrence of the abuses which have destroyed the principle of the establishment of the peerage, the article (27 of the commission) which gives to the King an unlimited faculty of creating peers shall be submitted to a revision in the course of the session of 1831."

M. Berard required that the right of provision should be full and unrestrained, so that not only the recurrence of the abuses complained of might be rendered impossible, but that the hereditary principle might be submitted to examination.

General Lafayette then mounted the tribune, and a profound silence prevailed. He said, "On ascending this tribune, at this solemn juncture, I do not yield to any momentary excitement. I will not seek here a popularity which I shall never prefer to my duties. (Cheers.) The republican sentiments which I have manifested in all times and under all powers are well known; but these sentiments do not prevent me from being the defender of a constitutional throne, raised by the will of the nation. The same sentiments animate me under the present circumstances, in which it is judged fitting to elevate to the constitutional throne the Prince Lieutenant-General; and I am bound

to avow that the choice coincides with my own desires, the more in proportion as I know him more. (Cheers!) I do not share the opinion of many of my fellow-citizens with respect to hereditary Peerage. (Hear, hear.) I have always thought it was necessary that legislative bodies should be divided into two chambers differently constituted; but I never thought it useful to create hereditary legislators, who are in certain cases judges. I have always thought that the introduction of aristocracy into a public institution was a bad ingredient. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I find you engaged in a measure conformable to sentiments which I have all my life declared, and which I can now only repeat. My conscience forces me to repeat this opinion, and it is with pleasure that I hope shortly to see the hereditary peerage suppressed. My fellow-citizens will do me the justice to acknowledge that, if I have always been the supporter of liberty, I have always been the supporter of public order. (Loud cheers.)

M. Berryer.—Two questions occupy the Chamber at this moment—the proposition of M. Berard, and the amendment proposed against the hereditary peerage. With regard to the amendment, I oppose the method already adopted by you. I demand the previous question. It is not the time to discuss the question of the peerage; but we must not lose sight of M. Berard's proposition. As to the question of inheritance, it is not possible to pronounce the annulling of the acts done by virtue of the laws and the Constitutional Charter.

M. Peton voted for the amendment, and urged the necessity of putting an end to the agitation which prevailed in Paris.

M. A. Labourdonnaie.—You insult Paris.

M. Peton.—I know Paris and its wishes better than you for these six years. I contend for legality, and you—if my efforts had been crowned with success, Charles X. would still be upon the throne.

M. Sebastiani seconded the amendment.

M. Berryer still opposed it, and contended that to the King alone belonged the right of creating or deposing peers.

M. Bernard.—The gentleman who spoke last seems to have mistaken the atmosphere of the Chamber. The throne has been overthrown. Legitimacy no longer exists. As to hereditary peerage, we are not sufficiently prepared for the discussion. I propose to replace the article and the amendment by the following:—

“Article 27 of the Charter (on the King's right to create peers) shall be the subject of a fresh examination in the session of 1831.”

M. B. Constant seconded the amendment, and it was adopted.

The first paragraph, nullifying the Peers of Charles X., was adopted.

M. de Brigode proposed the following additional article: "The Judges shall receive a new institution before January 1st, 1831" (much agitation).

M. Guetan de la Rochefoucauld required that they should not confound the appointments made during the ministry of M. Portalis, with those made by M. de Polignac, and moved the previous question.

M. Benjamin Constant opposed the previous question; and required that M. Brigode should be heard.

The President read the following amendment proposed by M. Manguin;—"The present Magistrates shall cease their functions in six months from the present time, if before that period they do not receive new appointments" [on the left supported].

M. de Brigode.—The irremovability of the Magistracy ought not to be separated from the hereditary right of the Crown—the former is a necessary result of the latter; but, if there shall be a change in the race, there is a rupture of all legitimacies. It was in virtue of this principle that at the restoration (of Louis XVIII.) a new appointment of Judges took place. At present the circumstances are identical: and let it be remarked that there will be no inconvenience from the proposition we make; for the present judges will continue to dispense justice till a decision is come to with respect to them; but the character of irremovability cannot be given to them but by the new King of the French.

M. Dupin (Senior).—When we are endeavouring to settle France, and desire to avoid every political shock, it would, in my opinion, be very imprudent to meddle with the institution of the magistracy—the only organized body that we possess at this moment. I do not deny that among them may be found some improper selections, and that often they have desired to connect themselves with party excesses by a melancholy exercise of power. I know, too, that every one of the Governments which have succeeded each other in France has wished to make itself master of the judicial influence by its own appointments; but it is necessary that our conduct at present should be different from what it was at former periods on this point as on many others. Our object is to put an end to a troublesome agitation; do not let us make it more troublesome. I could conceive that we should run the risk, if there was any urgent necessity for this measure; but let us make good appointments in the law officers of the Crown; let us suppress

the *juges-auditeurs*; let us fill up with discernment existing vacancies, and those which may arise, and we shall have sufficient guarantees, with the immense advantage of giving to the present change the particular characteristic that it in no wise resembles a reaction. You may, moreover, reckon on the influence of the atmosphere which surrounds the Magistracy; and which has, in itself, I know not what sort of magic, that gives to them the inspiration of justice. Above all, remember, if there are some men so base as to do evil when they are commanded, they will be much more ready to do good when it is required of them.

M. Eusebe Salverte proposed to submit to a new appointment the Magistrates appointed during the reign of Charles X. Gentlemen, he said, since you have meddled with the Peerage, you can also change the Magistracy, and never was a wiser measure. We have seen the Courts condemn the public papers for having calumniated the Ministers, in attributing to them the project of committing *Coups d'Etat*; and you are sensible whether they could or not be calumniated, while the same Courts were acquitting or sentencing to trifling punishments the men who, every day, endeavoured to bring about a counter Revolution. You have been told that there are among the Judges honourable men—let them remain. You have been made to fear that you may stop the administration of justice; but remember that we have arrived nearly at the holydays, that never were the circumstances more favourable to effect a reform without causing a shock.

M. Villemain.—If it were necessary to add any thing to what has been said by an eloquent representative of the judicial defence, I might observe that when the Magistrates know that they are only indebted for the continuance of their offices to an effort that we make against ourselves, and only for the sake of stability, the necessity of which we all feel, they will only be the more disposed to proceed with the present movement; and the effect at which you wish to arrive will be produced by the words which have been pronounced at the Tribune. In 1815 that was demanded which you now demand, and then some generous voices were raised against the measure; those voices which defended fallen royalty and liberty which will not fall. It is this irremovability which is strength to the weak, and renders the selections that are objectionable excellent; and it is the less contrary to the present order of things, inasmuch as the courts have nothing to do with politics. (Dissent.) At least, they ought not to have, and they will

henceforward not have, because you are about to assign to a jury the power of judging the crimes of the Press. This irremovability has already produced good fruit. In the midst of many lamentable decisions, have you not known the *Cours Royales*, when other authorities were silent, declare that to suppose in the Ministers the intention of being guilty of *coups d'état* was to suppose in them monstrous and criminal projects, and to designate them as capable of committing crimes. If the Judges had been provisional, do you suppose that they would have decided with so much vigour? Above all, do not forget that in England it was irremovable. Judges who dared to refuse illegal taxes to Cromwell as well as to Charles II. Do not proclaim, I beg of you, the abolition of the conservative principle. (Several voices, "Never, Never.")

M. Manguin.—Gentlemen, when you are engaged in such important business as that now before you, you ought not to decide by any considerations derived from sentiments,

M. de Villemain (warmly).—These are not considerations derived from sentiments, but from justice.

The President.—You ought not to interrupt.

M. de Manguin.—You are, gentlemen—do not forget it—you are the product of a Revolution, and you organize a Revolution. Will you establish on the one hand, and leave on the other the germs of destruction? The principle ought to be followed out in all its consequences. A fortnight ago you were under the empire of Legitimacy, and of Divine Right. Now you are acting in virtue of, and under the influence of the principle of National Sovereignty. When you place it on the summit, do not leave at the base the consequences of a hostile principle. (Lively sensation.) Do you think that those who have been appointed under the Empire of Divine Right, and the Congregation, will aid us in sustaining the principle of National Sovereignty? When a Revolution has been effected in the highest parts, it ought to go through all the subordinate ranks. (Murmurs in the centre.—M. Manguin repeated the phrase without being affected, and in the midst of applause from the left side). What is this irremovability? It is the certainty of not being dismissed as long as the principle of Government lasts under which the appointment is made. Charles X. could only promise irremovability as long as his race was on the throne. The irremovability instituted by the Charter of Louis XVIII. could only last as long as that Charter. The irremovability ceases since the Charter is overthrown. (Many voices: "No, no!") In the name of God, gentle-

men, let us not dispute about words—compare—look at the changes, and say if the Charter of Louis XVIII. still exists. In 1814 every thing was renewed in the Magistracy. (Dissent.) The Judges were appointed for a fixed period, and they were refused the royal sanction before the expiration of that period. You are told to be aware of giving yourselves up to a movement of reaction; but I ask, when the force applied has been so violent, is not reaction a matter of right? Are you ignorant what the courts have dared to undertake? Learn, then, gentlemen, that eight days ago, in consequence of an extraordinary decree of the Cour Royale at Caen, which declared the form of oath of 1815 obligatory—that is to say, declared the necessity of acknowledging Ordinances and regulations—that one of your colleagues, M. Mercier, President of the Tribunal de Commerce of Alençon, was obliged to appear before the Court of Correctional Police, because he would not adopt that form of oath. (Agitation.) You have been told with confidence of that atmosphere of justice which surrounds the magistrates. He who told you of this has no doubt experienced its effects; but I must say that his situation is very different from mine, for I must say that, even in civil causes, political opinions have exercised a considerable influence. (Sudden interruption.)

M. Dupin signified dissent. A member near him cried out, with a loud voice, “At Paris it is possible that it may not be so, but nothing is more true in the provinces.”

M. Madier de Montjau.—It is not only the irremovability of the Magistrates which is attacked, but the regulation of the Magistrates of France; they are calumniated (murmurs)—they are unintentionally calumniated. (Murmurs redoubled.) M. Madier de Montjau, in the midst of interruptions and conversation among the Deputies, terminated his discourse by strongly opposing the amendment.

The amendment of M. Brigode was rejected by a majority composed of a small compact number who sat on the right, and of members in the two centres. It was supported by forty members on the left side.

The amendment of M. Eusebe Salverte, to submit to new appointments the Magistrates appointed under Charles X., was rejected by the same majority.

The Chamber of Deputies declared and resolved, thirdly, that it was necessary to provide successively by separate laws, and in the shortest method possible, for several very important objects. (These are set forth at the end of the Declara-

tion of Rights presented by the Chamber to the Duke of Orleans.)

M. de Padenas proposed to apply the jury to political offences as well as the offences of the press.—Adopted.

M. E. Salverte proposed that all laws and ordinances contrary to the reformation of the Charter be null and void.”—Adopted.

The President read as follows:—“Upon condition of accepting these dispositions and propositions, the Chamber of Deputies declares that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne His Royal Highness Louis Philippe d’Orleans, Duc d’Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity, from male to male in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of the female branches and their descendants.”

The President proposed to vote by ballot on the whole of the report, and that it should be presented to His Royal Highness, not by a deputation, but their whole Chamber in a body.

M. Etienne moved, and the Chamber decided, “That no address should be carried up in answer to the speech of the Duke of Orleans, as the declaration they were about to present would be the best address that could be offered to him.”

M. Dupin, Sen., proposed, “France resumes her colours. In future no other cockade shall be worn but the tri-coloured one.”—Adopted with acclamations.

The Chamber then proceeded to the ballot upon the whole of the articles previously agreed to, and forming the Declaration.

The result of the scrutiny :—Number of voters, 252 ; white balls, 219 ; black balls, 33.—Majority, 186.

M. Le President.—The Chamber is now going immediately on foot to convey this message ; we shall be accompanied by the brave National Guard. To go in order, I beg the Deputies to walk four and four abreast. There will be no sitting to-morrow (Sunday). On Monday, at noon, a public sitting.

The Chamber of Peers had met at two o’clock, and, after routine business, adjourned till nine o’clock in the evening. There were then 114 Peers present, and the Chamber received a communication of the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Chamber of Deputies. Several Peers briefly remarked upon it, and M. de Chateaubriand delivered a remarkable speech.

M. de Chateaubriand.—“The declaration brought to this Chamber is much less complicated with respect to me than to

those who profess an opinion different from mine. One fact in the declaration predominates in my eyes over every other, or rather supersedes them. Were we under a regular order of things, I should doubtless carefully examine the changes proposed in the Charter. Many of these changes have been proposed by myself. I am, however, astonished that the reactionary measures respecting the Peers created by Charles X. should be proposed to this Chamber. I cannot be suspected of any liking for these *batches*, and you know that I combated even the menace of them : but to render us the judges of our colleagues,—to erase from the list of Peers whom we please, whenever we happen to be the stronger party,—too much resembles a proscription. Is it wished to suppress the peerage ? So be it. Better lose life than beg for it. I reproach myself for these few words on a point which, important as it is, disappears amid the greatness of the event. France is without a guide, and I am called upon to consider what ought to be added to or taken from the masts of a vessel which has lost its helm. I lay aside, then, every thing which is of a secondary interest in the declaration of the elective chamber, and fixing on the single fact announced, the vacancy of the throne, I advance straight to the object.

“ A previous question ought to be discussed : if the throne be vacant, we are free to choose the form of our government. Before offering the crown to any individual, it is proper to ascertain into what kind of political order we should constitute the social order. Shall we establish a republic or a new monarchy ?

“ Does a republic or a new monarchy offer France sufficient guarantees for durability, strength, and tranquillity ? A republic would, in the first place, raise against it the recollections of the republic. These recollections are not effaced. The time is not yet forgotten when death walked between liberty and equality, supported by their arms. When you are plunged into a new anarchy, can you reanimate on his rock the Hercules who was alone capable of strangling the monster ? Of these lofty characters history contains some five or six : in another thousand years your posterity may see another Napoleon ;—you must not expect it.

“ In the existing state of our manners, and in our relations with surrounding states, a republic does not appear to me practicable. The first difficulty is to bring Frenchmen to a unanimous vote upon the subject. What right has the population of Paris to constrain the population of Marseilles, or of any

other place, to adopt a republic? Is there to be a single republic, or are we to have twenty or thirty republics? Are they to be federative or independent? Suppose we have a single republic, do you imagine that a president, let him be ever so grave, respectable, or able, would be a year at the head of affairs without wishing to retire? Ill-protected by the laws, insulted hourly by secret rivals and by factious agents, he would possess neither the dignity requisite to treat with foreign governments, nor the power necessary to the maintenance of internal order.

“ I pass to a monarchy. A king named by the Chambers, or elected by the people, will always be a novelty. Suppose the object sought be liberty,—the liberty of the press; every new monarchy will be forced, sooner or later, to gag this liberty. Could Napoleon himself admit it? Offspring of our misfortunes, and the slave of our glory, the liberty of the press lives in surety only under a government whose roots are deeply fixed. Will a monarchy which has been the bastard of a sanguinary night have nothing to dread from the independence of the opinions of the press? If one can preach up a republic, and another some other system, do you not fear to be soon obliged to have recourse to laws of exception, in spite of the eight words expunged from the eighth article of the Charter? Then, O friends of regulated liberty, what will you have gained by your proposed change? You will sink of necessity into a republic, or into legal slavery. The monarchy will be overwhelmed and swept away by the torrent of democratical laws, or the monarch by the operation of factions.

“ I exhibit to you only some of the inconveniences attending the formation of a republic or of a new monarchy. If either has its perils, there remains a third course.

“ There never was a more just and a more heroic existence than that of the people of Paris. They did not rise against the law, but in support of the law. So long as the social compact remained inviolate, the people were patient. But when a conspiracy of fools and hypocrites was suddenly revealed, when the terror of the chateau, organized by eunuchs, was to replace the terror of the republic and the iron yoke of the empire, then the people exerted their understanding and their courage; and it was found that these shopkeepers could breathe the smoke of gunpowder, and it required more than five soldiers and a corporal to remove them. A century could not so have matured the destinies of a people, as the three last suns which have shone upon France.

“ Charles X. and his son are dethroned, or have abdicated, as you please ; but the throne is not vacant. After them comes a child. Is his innocence to be condemned ? What blood now cries out against him ? Will you dare to say it is that of his father ? This tender orphan, educated in the schools of his country—in the love of constitutional government, and in the ideas of the age—might have become a king in relation with the wants of futurity. It is to the guardian of his minority that the oath you are about to vote upon should be sworn. The present, the actual King, should be the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom.

“ It is through no sentimental devotion, or nursery affection transmitted from the cradle of St. Louis to that of the young Henry, that I plead this cause. I am no believer in the creed of the right divine of Royalty ; I believe in the power of revolutions and of facts. I do not even invoke the Charter ; I take my ideas from a higher source ; I draw them from the philosophical sphere—from the epoch when my life expires. I propose the Duke of Bourdeaux solely as a necessity for a better alloy than that on which we are arguing.

“ I know that by removing this infant the object is to establish the principle of the sovereignty of the people, that contemptible nonsense of the old school, which proves that in respect to politics, our old democrats have not made more progress than the veterans of royalty. No where is there absolute sovereignty ; liberty does not flow from political right, as was supposed in the 18th century ; it springs from natural right, and therefore exists under all forms of government : so that a monarchy may be free, and much more free than a republic. But this is neither the time nor the place for a course of politics.

“ I shall content myself with observing that, when the people dispose of thrones, they also often dispose of their liberty. The principle of hereditary monarchy, absurd as it is at first sight, has been recognised in practice as preferable to the principle of elective monarchy. The reason is so palpable that I need not explain it. You choose a king to-day. What will prevent you from choosing one to-morrow ? The law, you will say—the law ! Ah ! but you are the makers of the law ! There is still a plainer way of putting the question. We will no longer have the elder branch of the Bourbons. But why ? Because we are victorious : we have triumphed in a just and sacred cause, and we exercise a double right of conquest. Well, you proclaim the sovereignty of force. Then take good care of that force ; for if it escape from you in a few months

you will have no right to complain. But, though I were to stir the dust of thirty-five Capets, I could not draw an argument from it which would be listened to. The idolatry of a name is abolished. The monarchy is no longer a religion; but it is a political form preferable at this moment to every other, because it best introduces order into liberty. An unsuccessful Cassandra, I have sufficiently fatigued the throne and the peerage with my disdained advice. I can now only sit down on the ruins of a shipwreck which I have so often foretold. I give to misfortune every sort of power except that of releasing me from my oaths of fidelity. I am bound also to make my life consistent. After all that I have done, said, and written for the Bourbons, I should be the basest of wretches if I renounced them at the very moment when they are for the third and last time going into exile.

“Fear I leave to those generous Royalists who have never sacrificed a farthing or a place to their loyalty,—to those champions of the throne and the altar who lately called me renegade, apostate, and revolutionist. Pious libellers, the renegade appeals to you! Come and join me, just to stammer out a word, a single word, for the unfortunate master who loaded you with favours, and whom you have undone. Instigators of coups d’etat, preachers of the royal constituent power, where are you now? Your present silence is worthy of your past language. What! those Preux Chevaliers whose meditated exploits have made the descendants of Henry IV. be driven away with pitchforks, now tremble crouching under the tri-coloured cockade! This is quite natural. The noble colours with which they decorate themselves protect their persons, but do not conceal their infamy.

“In thus frankly expressing my opinion, I do not conceive that I am performing an act of heroism. We have nothing to fear from a people whose judgment and courage are equal, nor from the generous youth whom I admire, with whom I sympathize with all my soul, and to whom, as to my country, I wish honour, glory, and liberty. Had I the right to dispose of a crown, I would willingly lay it at the feet of the Duke of Orleans. But I see no vacancy, except that of a tomb at St. Denis, and not a throne. Whatever destiny may await the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, I shall never be his enemy, if he makes my country happy. I ask only to retain the liberty of my conscience, and the right of going to die wherever I may find independence and repose. I vote against the declaration.”

This speech of M. de Chateaubriand, especially his sarcastic invective, produced a great sensation. His chivalrous devotion to the justly excluded line was poetical—his logic amusing.

The Chamber adopted all the articles of the Declaration of Rights, except that which declared the creations of Peers by Charles X. null and void. This question the Chamber left to the decision of the Lieutenant-General. Upon the ballot there were eighty Peers for the Declaration, and ten against it. A grand Deputation was appointed to carry it up to the Duke of Orleans, and at ten o'clock the Chamber went to the Palais Royal for that purpose.

In the mean time the Chamber of Deputies proceeded to the Palais Royal, attended by the National Guards. The Duke, surrounded by his family, received them. M. Lafitte having read to his Royal Highness the act of the Constitution, the Duke replied in the following terms:—

“I receive with deep emotion the declaration you present to me; I regard it as the expression of the national will, which appears to me to be conformable to the political principles I have professed throughout my life.

“Filled with recollections which have always made me hope never to be called to ascend the throne, exempt from ambition, and habituated to the life of peace which I led with my family, I cannot conceal from you the sentiments which agitate my mind at this great conjuncture; but there is one which entirely predominates over all the rest—the love of my country. I am fully impressed with the duties it prescribes to me, and I will perform them.”

His Royal Highness was deeply affected. Surrounded by his family, he embraced M. Lafitte. Acclamations of “*Vive le Roi!*” “*Vive la Reina!*” “*Vive la Famille Royale!*” burst from every voice present, and were reiterated by thousands in the courts of the palace. The voice of the multitude called forth the Prince to the balcony, accompanied by M. Lafayette. They were both received with acclamations, which were redoubled when the Dutchess of Orleans presented her children to the people. M. Lafayette, struck by this unanimity of feeling, took the hand of the Duke of Orleans, saying, “We have done well; you are the Prince we want; this is the best of republics!” After dinner, an innumerable crowd demanded to see the Duke, and he made his appearance at the balcony, with his whole family.

At half-past ten the Chamber of Peers arrived to present

the Declaration which they had agreed to. Baron Pasquier, the President, delivered the following address to the Duke of Orleans.

“ Monseigneur,—The Chamber of Peers are come to present to your Royal Highness the act which is to secure our future destiny. You formerly defended with arms our new and inexperienced liberties ; to-day you are about to consecrate them by institutions and laws. Your exalted understanding, your inclinations, the recollections of your whole life, promise that we shall find in you a citizen king. You will respect our guarantees, which are at the same time your own. This noble family we see around you, brought up in the love of their country, of justice, and of truth, will ensure to our children the peaceable enjoyment of that Charter you are about to swear to maintain, and the benefits of a government at once stable and free.”

To this address his Royal Highness replied as follows :—

“ Gentlemen,—By presenting to me this Declaration you have testified a confidence which deeply affects me. Attached from conviction to constitutional principles, I desire nothing so much as a good understanding between the two Chambers. I thank you for affording me ground to reckon upon it. You have imposed upon me a great task ; I will endeavour to prove myself worthy of it.”

There is only one thing remarkable in the Duke's answer to the Baron's address ; it is a word—the first word—he styled the peers “ Gentlemen.”

Whatever was the difference of opinion as to the form of government to be established, at a moment when the nation was free to choose between a limited monarchy and a republic, it existed only among those classes whose opportunities of appreciating the fitness or applicability of either system to the situation of France had been limited by youth and inexperience on the one hand, or by a want of the necessary degree of political knowledge and information on the other.

The students, for instance, in the schools of law and medicine, of whom there are many thousands in Paris, were almost all, more or less, deeply tinged with republican opinions. Yesterday and to-day the courts and passages connected with the Chamber of Deputies were crowded with these youthful publicists, in their anxiety to witness, and, as some asserted, to overawe the important deliberations of the representative Chamber.

A scene of an interesting nature took place this morning at the Palais Royal, in consequence of their enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of what was thought to be essential to public liberty. It strikingly indicates the sentiments entertained by those of the French youth enjoying the greatest advantages in point of education, and throws light on the plain good sense of the Duke of Orleans.

A number of these young men, most conspicuous for the warmth with which they had expressed their political sentiments, were carried to the Palais Royal, and introduced to the Duke of Orleans by a gentleman, who, on presenting them, informed his Royal Highness that he brought with him a few of his young friends, who, he observed with a smile, were all zealous republicans.

“That does not surprise me,” replied the Duke: “at their age, I too was a republican. I was a Girondist, but never a Montagnard.”

“*Cependant, Monseigneur,*” interposed one of the young men, with some hesitation.

“The Montagnards have done a great deal of mischief, gentlemen,” continued the Duke.

“But,” replied another of the party, “my father was one of them.”

“And so was mine,” rejoined the Prince.

“We know very well,” added the young man who had previously spoken, “that at present a republic is out of the question; but we wish at least to see our liberties secured by sufficient guarantees.”

“On that point,” said the Duke, “we perfectly understand each other.”

On this the young republicans withdrew, expressing to each other much less exalted opinions as to the nature and supremacy of popular right than before their admission into the presence of royalty. On descending the last steps of the Palace, one of the most enthusiastic of their number observed to his companions, “Eh bien, mes amis, Le Prince est un brave homme : c’est un 221.”

The “221” was the number of a majority of Deputies in the former Chamber, who voted what was called an “insolent address” to Charles X., against the measure of the ministers, and defeated their desire of effecting unconstitutional purposes by legislative forms. The address was the main ground for dissolving the Chamber, and having recourse to a new election.

The electors returned the present Deputies, the majority of whom, had they been convoked, would have been as refractory as the Deputies of the former Chamber.

The last ordinance signed by Charles X. was for the suppression of the Polytechnic School. One of the pupils related, in conversation, the feeling which induced the students to join the people of Paris, and the manner in which the citizens received them.

“We knew that our school was soon to be abolished, and that the studies at which we had so long burned the midnight lamp would become useless to us. If we therefore required any thing more than a love of country to do our duty—and thank God,” added he, striking his breast, “not one among us did—we should have found it in our own personal interests. We had no sooner received intelligence that from the excessive state of excitement created throughout the town, by the obnoxious measures of Polignac, a popular commotion was to be apprehended, than we sallied forth *en masse*. We had scarcely traversed three streets, when our farther progress was arrested by an armed mob. “Is not (they said) the Ecole Polytechnique what it was in 1814? Do you mean to sully its fair fame?” Our surprise at first at such a reception, from those whose interests it was our intention to espouse, was extreme, until one of our companions fortunately perceived that in our hurry to participate in what was passing, we had neglected to take the fleurs-de-lis from our hats. To give you an idea of the enthusiastic cheers with which we were greeted when we dashed this tyrannic badge to the ground, would be in vain. Many among us were elected chiefs by the people themselves, a still greater number rose themselves unsolicited to that dignity; in the course of the day each leader succeeded in procuring a horse, the greater number of which were taken from the gen-d’armes, and, if we did not raise, we at least maintained unsullied the reputation of the *Ecole Polytechnique*. But, where all proved themselves heroes, none deserve praise. A companion of mine fought beside a wine-merchant; a Swiss aimed at him a sabre blow with such violence, that the blade broke in his chest; the patriot’s gun fell from his hand, his lips quivered, and he remained for a moment, as it were, unconscious of what was passing around him; but it was but for a moment, for, with a resolution of purpose which mocks description, dragging the broken sword from his mutilated body, he handed it to my friend, “*Apportez le a ma femme, dis lui que je s’ai reçu pour la patrie.*”

MONDAY, AUGUST 9.

Yesterday (Sunday) nothing of public interest occurred. It was the anniversary of the accession of the Polignac administration.

To-day the Duke of Orleans was to be enthroned King of the French, upon condition of his accepting the Declaration of Rights.

By seven o'clock in the morning, the people anxiously crowded round the gates of the Palace of Deputies. At ten o'clock, they had occupied the Tribunes. At noon, all the Deputies were present. Only four or five members of the right were observed, Messrs. Berryer de Lardemelle, Murat, Paul de Chateaudouble, &c. At one o'clock, the Peers began to occupy the benches assigned them on the right of the throne. The tribune of the diplomatic body was almost entirely filled with ladies. There were a few Charges d'Affaires and a general officer, who appeared to be an Englishman.

The fleur-de-lis, which decorated the velvet curtain of the throne, had been removed. Four large tri-coloured flags were displayed to the right and left of the throne. Three red velvet stools were before it. Lower down, to the right and left, were the benches for the provisional Ministers. The National Guard alone were on duty at the Palace.

Two seats covered with pink silk were placed in the centre of the Assembly, on the last bench generally occupied by the Ministers, Secretaries of State; they were for the Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers. The Peers were to the number of ninety.

Soon after one o'clock, the provisional Commissioners for the several departments of Justice, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Finance, Public Instruction, entered the Hall.

The tribune intended for the family of the Lieutenant-General was opened at a quarter past two, and all eyes were turned to that side. Her Royal Highness the Dutchess of Orleans entered first; Mademoiselle d'Orleans, the Prince de Joinville, and the Duke de Montpensier, seated themselves on her right hand; Mademoiselles de Valois and Beaujolais on her left. The Princess appeared to be greatly moved. She several times saluted the assembly. Her dress and that of the young Princesses were plain white robes. The Princes were dressed in sky-blue frock coats.

The crown, the sceptre, the sword, and the hand of justice,

were brought upon a rich cushion, and placed upon a table to the right of the throne.

Four Marshals of France, the Dukes of Treviso, Tarentem, and Reggio, and Count Molitor, placed themselves standing behind the throne.

At half-past two, sounds of warlike music were heard in the assembly, announcing the arrival of the Prince. Profound silence ensued. The great deputation returned to the Hall. M. Cassimir Perrier, President of the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Pasquier, President of the Chamber of Peers, took the two seats prepared for them.

The Duke of Orleans entered the Hall, followed by his two sons, the Dukes de Chartres and Nemours, and took their places some feet before the throne.

Cries a thousand times repeated of "*Vive le Duc d'Orleans,*" &c., were heard from all the benches; the public in the galleries joined in these acclamations. The Prince bowed several times, and said, "Gentlemen, be seated." The Prince himself sat down and put on his hat, and requested the President to read to him the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Cassimir Perrier, the President, then read with a firm and loud voice, during a most solemn silence, the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies. He then ascended the steps, bowed to the Prince, who rose, received the declaration from his hands, and said:—

"Monsieur the President of the Chamber of Peers, I request you to deliver to me the act of adherence given by the Peers of France to the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies."

Baron Pasquier delivered to the Duke, with the same ceremonial, the act of adherence of the Chamber of Peers.

The Prince Lieutenant-General then said, in a strong and sonorous voice,

"GENTLEMEN, PEERS, AND DEPUTIES,

"I have read with great attention the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the adherence of the Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and meditated all the expressions of them. I accept, without restriction or reserve, all the clauses and engagements which this declaration contains, and the title of King of the French which it confers upon me. I am ready to swear to the observance of them."

Scarcely were these words pronounced, when cries of "*Vive*

le Roi!" "*Vive Philippe I.!*" resounded through the Hall. The King bowed, and, raising his hand towards heaven, pronounced the following oath:—

"In the presence of God I swear faithfully to observe the Constitutional Charter, with the changes and modifications expressed in the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies; to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to cause good and strict justice to be done to every body according to his right; and to act in all things solely with a view to promote the happiness and the glory of the French people."

This solemn oath was received with new acclamations. The Chambers and the galleries were turned towards the gallery of the Royal Family, and cries of "*Vive la Reine!*" "*Vive la Famille Royale!*" arose from all parts of the Hall, and were repeated by the immense crowd that surrounded the Palace.

The King immediately signed the declaration, the act of adherence, and the oath.

Philippe I. then sat down on the throne, and delivered the following speech:—

"*Messrs. Peers and Deputies,*

"I have maturely reflected on the extent of the duties which are imposed upon me. I have the consciousness of being able to fulfil them, by causing the compact of alliance which has been proposed to me to be observed.

"I should have ardently desired never to fill the throne to which the national will calls me; but I yield to this will, expressed to the Chambers in the name of the French people, for the maintenance of the Charter and the laws.

"The modifications which we have just made in the Charter guarantee the security of the future and the prosperity of France. Happy at home, respected abroad, at peace with Europe, it will be more consolidated."

Fresh acclamations rose in the Hall, and did not cease till long after the departure of the King and his august family.

M. Dupont de l'Eure, Commissioner for the department of Justice, said, "The King invites the members of the two Chambers to meet to-morrow in their respective palaces, to make oath to the Charter, and to continue their labours."

The crowd dispersed slowly to the sound of military music, and the Queen mingled in the Hall of Conferences with the people, amid their acclamations.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.—THE CHARTER OF 1830.

The provisions and propositions upon which, in behalf of the people, the Chamber of Deputies called the Duke of Orleans to the throne, and which, having been acceded to by the Chamber of Peers, he accepted and swore to observe as the Charter of the nation, are contained in the annexed document, signed by the President, Vice-president, and Secretary; and signed by the Duke of Orleans in the presence of the two Chambers, in the morning above related, previous to his taking the oath, and being admitted to sit down upon the throne.

“ DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

“ The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the imperious necessity which is the result of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, and the following days, and the situation in which France is at this moment placed, in consequence of this violation of the Constitutional Charter; considering, however, that by this violation, and the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his Majesty King CHARLES X., his Royal Highness LOUIS ANTOINE his son, and the senior members of the Royal House, are leaving the kingdom of France,—declares that the throne is vacant *de facto et de jure*, and that there is an absolute necessity of providing for it.

“ The Chamber of Deputies declare, secondly, that according to the wish, and for the interest of the people of France, the preamble of the Constitutional Charter is omitted, as wounding the national dignity, in appearing to grant to them rights which essentially belong to them; and that the following articles of the same Charter ought to be suppressed, or modified in the following manner:—

“ Article 1. Frenchmen are to be equal before the law, whatever may be their titles or their ranks.

“ Art. 2. They are to contribute in proportion to their fortunes to the charges of the State.

“ Art. 3. They are all to be equally admissible to civil and military employments.

“ Art. 4. Their individual liberty is equally guaranteed. No person can be either prosecuted or arrested, except in cases prescribed by the law.

“ Art. 5. Each one may profess his religion with equal

liberty, and shall obtain for his religious worship the same protection.

“ Art. 6. The Ministers of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, professed by a majority of the French, and those of other Christian worship, receive stipends from the Public Treasury.

“ Art. 7. Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, provided they conform themselves to the laws. The Censorship can never be re-established.

“ Art. 8. All property, without exception, is to be inviolable; of that which is called national, the law makes no difference.

“ Art. 9. The State can exact the sacrifice of property for the good of the public, legally proved; but an indemnity shall be first given to those who may suffer from the change.

“ Art. 10. All searching into the opinions and votes given before the restoration is interdicted, and the same forgetfulness is commanded to be adopted by the tribunals and by the citizens.

“ Art. 11. The conscription is abolished; the method of recruiting the army for land and sea is to be determined by the law.

“ FORMS OF THE KING’S GOVERNMENT.

“ Art. 12. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred: his ministers are responsible; to the King alone belongs executive power.

“ Art. 13. The King is to be the chief supreme of the State; to command the forces by sea and by land; to declare war; to make treaties of peace and alliances of commerce; to name all those who are employed in the public administrations, and to make all the regulations necessary for the execution of the laws, without having power either to suspend the laws themselves or dispense with their execution. Nevertheless, no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the state without an express law.

“ Art. 14. The legislative power is to be exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies.

“ Art. 15. The proposition of the laws is to belong to the King, to the Chamber of Peers, and to the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, all the laws of taxes are to be first voted by the Chamber of Deputies.

“ Art. 16. Every law to be freely discussed, and voted by a majority of each of the two Chambers.

“ Art. 17. If a proposed law be rejected by one of the three powers, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.

“ Art. 18. The King can alone sanction and promulgate the laws.

“ Art. 19. The Civil List is to be fixed for the duration of the reign, by the Legislative Assembly, after the accession of the King.

“ OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

“ Art. 20. The Chamber of Peers is to form an essential portion of the Legislative Power.

“ Art. 21. It is to be convoked by the King at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments. The session of one is to begin and finish at the same time as the other.

“ Art. 22. Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which shall be held at a time which is not that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies is illicit, and null of full right, except the case in which it is assembled as a Court of Justice, and then it can only exercise judicial functions.

“ Art. 23. The nomination of the Peers of France is the prerogative of the King. Their number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, and name them Peers for life, or make them hereditary, at his pleasure.

“ Art. 24. Peers can enter the Chamber at 25 years of age, but have only a deliberative voice at the age of 30 years.

“ Art. 25. The Chamber of Peers is to be presided over by the Chancellor of France, and in his absence by a Peer named by the King.

“ Art. 26. The Princes of the Blood are to be Peers by right of birth. They are to take their seats next to the President.

“ Art. 27. The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are to be public, as well as those of the Chamber of Deputies.

“ Art. 28. The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of high-treason, and of attempts against the surety of the state, which is to be defined by the law.

“ Art. 29. No Peer can be arrested but by the authority of the Chamber, or judged but by it in a criminal matter.

“ OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

“ Art. 30. The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of Deputies elected by the Electoral Colleges, of which the organization is to be determined by the laws.

“ Art. 31. The Deputies are to be elected for the space of five years.

“ Art. 32. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber till he has attained the age of thirty years, and if he does not possess the other conditions prescribed by law.

“ Art. 33. If, however, there should not be in the department fifty persons of the age specified, paying the amount of taxes fixed by law, their number shall be completed from the persons who pay the greatest amount of taxes under the amount fixed by law.

“ Art. 34. No person can be an elector if he is under twenty-five years of age ; and if he does not possess all the other conditions determined upon by the law.

“ Art. 35. The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges are to be named by the electors.

“ Art. 36. The half at least of the Deputies are to be chosen from those who have their political residence in the departments.

“ Art. 37. The President of the Chamber of Deputies is to be elected by itself at the opening of each session.

“ Art. 38. The sittings of the Chambers are to be public, but the request of five members will be sufficient to form a select committee.

“ Art. 39. The Chamber to be divided into secret committees, to discuss laws which may be presented from the King.

“ Art. 40. No tax can be established or imposed, if it has not been consented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the King.

“ Art. 41. The land and house tax can only be voted for one year. The indirect taxes may be voted for many years.

“ Art. 42. The King is to convoke every year the two Chambers, and he has the right to prorogue them, and to dissolve that of the Deputies of the Departments ; but in this case he must convoke a new one within the period of three months.

“ Art. 43. No bodily restraint can be exercised against a member of the Chamber during the session, nor for six weeks which precede or follow the session.

“ Art. 44. No member of the Chamber can be, during the

session, prosecuted or arrested in a criminal matter, except taken in the act, till after the Chamber has permitted his arrest.

“ Art. 45. Every petition to either of the Chambers must be made in writing. The law interdicts its being carried in person to the bar.

“ OF THE MINISTERS.

“ Art. 46. The Ministers can be Members of the Chamber of Peers or the Chamber of Deputies. They have, moreover, their entrance into either Chamber, and are entitled to be heard when they demand it.

“ Art. 47. The Chamber of Deputies have the right of impeaching the Ministers, or of transferring them before the Chamber of Peers, who alone can judge them.

“ JUDICIAL REGULATIONS.

“ Art. 48. All justice emanates from the King ; he administers in his name by the judges, whom he names, and whom he institutes.

“ Art. 49. The judges named by the King are immoveable.

“ Art. 50. The ordinary courts and tribunals existing are to be maintained, and there is to be no change but by virtue of a law.

“ Art. 51. The actual institution of the Judges of Commerce is preserved.

“ Art. 52. The office of Justice of Peace is equally preserved. The justices of peace, though named by the King, are not immoveable.

“ Art. 53. No one can be deprived of his natural judges.

“ Art. 54. There cannot, in consequence, be extraordinary commissions and tribunals created by any title or denomination whatever.

“ Art. 55. The debates will be public in criminal matters, at least when that publicity will not be dangerous to the public order and manners, and in that case the tribunal is to declare so by a distinct judgment.

“ Art. 56. The institution of juries is to be preserved ; the changes which a longer experience may render necessary can only be effected by a distinct law.

“ Art. 57. The punishment of the confiscation of goods is abolished, and cannot be re-established.

“ Art. 58. The King has the right to pardon, and to commute the punishment.

“ Art. 59. The Civil Code, and the actual laws existing, that are not contrary to the present Charter, will remain in full force until they shall be legally derogated.

“ PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

“ Art. 60 The military in actual service, officers and soldiers, retired widows, officers and soldiers pensioned, are to preserve their grades, honours, and pensions.

“ Art. 61. The public debt is guaranteed—every sort of engagement made by the state with its creditors is to be inviolable.

“ Art. 62. The ancient nobility are to resume their titles ; the new are to preserve theirs ; the King is to create Nobles at his pleasure ; but he only grants to them rank and honours, without exemption from the charges and duties imposed on them as members of society.

“ Art. 63. The Legion of Honour is to be maintained.—The King is to determine the regulations and decorations.

“ Art. 64. The French Colonies are to be governed by particular laws.

“ Art. 65. The King and his successors are to swear, on their accession, in presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter.

“ Art. 66. The present Charter, and the rights it consecrates, shall be entrusted to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard and all the French citizens.

“ Art. 67. France resumes her colours ; for the future there will be no other cockade than the tri-coloured.

“ SPECIAL PROVISIONS.

“ All the creations of Peers during the reign of Charles X. are declared null and void.

“ Art. 27 of the Charter will undergo a fresh examination during the session of 1831.

“ The Chamber of Deputies declare, thirdly, that it is necessary to provide successively for separate laws, and that with the shortest possible delay.

“ 1. For the extension of the trial by jury to misdemeanors, and particularly those of the press.

“ 2. For the responsibility of Ministers and the secondary agents of Government.

“ 3. For the re-election of Deputies appointed to public functions.

“ 4. For the annual voting of the army estimates.

“ 5. For the organization of the National Guards, and for the choice of their own officers.

“ 6. For a military code, ensuring in a legal manner the situation of officers of all ranks.

“ 7. For the departmental and municipal administrations.

“ 8. For public instruction and the freedom of tuition.

“ 9. For the abolition of the double vote, and for the fixing of the qualification for electors and deputies.

“ 10. Declaring that all laws and ordinances which are contrary to the measures adopted for the reform of the Charter are thenceforward annulled and abrogated.

“ Upon condition of accepting these provisions and propositions, the Chamber of Deputies declares, that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne his Royal Highness LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS, DUC D'ORLEANS, *Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom*, and his descendants for ever, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the female branches and their descendants.

“ In consequence his Royal Highness LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS, *Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom*, shall be invited to accept and make oath to the above clauses and engagements—the observance of the Constitutional Charter, and the modifications indicated—and, after having made oath before the assembled Chambers, to assume the title of the King of the French.

“ DEBATED at the Palace of the CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, 7th of August, 1830.

“ President and Secretaries.

“ LAFITTE, Vice-President.

“ JACQUEMINOT.

“ PAVEE DE VENDEUVRE.

“ CUNIN-GRIDAIN.

“ JARS.

“ Examined with the original by us, President and Secretaries—

“ LAFITTE.

“ JARS.

“ JACQUEMINOT.

“ PAVEE DE VENDEUVRE, Deputy de l'Aube.

“ CUNIN-GRIDAIN, Deputé des Ardennes.”

“ FRENCH PRINCIPLES.”

The preceding, being the Constitutional Charter of 1830, is grounded upon “ *French Principles*.” Many persons in England know nothing of these principles but the familiar use of the term. Some may incline to acquaint themselves with its meaning.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES are a series of Articles which were drawn up and agreed upon by the National Assembly at Paris in 1789. These *Principles* or articles they call “ The Declaration of Rights,” and proposed as the basis of a government they desired to establish. The document is annexed, viz.—

“ THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

“ The REPRESENTATIVES of the people of France formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn Declaration these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights—that this Declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties—that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected ; and also,—that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

“ For these reasons the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens :—

“ I. Men were born, and always continue, free and equal, in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

“ II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man ; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

“ III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty ; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

“ IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing what-

ever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

“V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

“VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all, being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

“VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

“VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

“IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him; more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by law.

“X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

“XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

“XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

“ XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

“ XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

“ XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

“ XVI. Every community, in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

“ XVII. The right of property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES being thus stated by the National Assembly of 1789, it is proper to subjoin the motives by which, in their first address to their constituents, they represent themselves to have been actuated. Their observations are applicable to the situation of France in 1830. They say,—

“ We should betray you were we capable of concealing the truth. The nation is at this moment on the point of rising to the most illustrious destiny, or of sinking into the gulf of misfortune.

“ A great revolution has been effected, the very project of which, a few months ago, would have appeared chimerical. Accelerated by circumstances, which no human prudence could calculate, this revolution has involved the entire subversion of the ancient system ; and, without leaving us the time to prop up that part of the fabric which ought still to be preserved, or to replace what ought to be destroyed, it has on a sudden surrounded us with ruins.

“ If you do not, by your immediate assistance, restore motion and life to the political body, the most glorious of revolutions must perish almost as soon as it saw the light ; it will return into that chaos whence so many generous efforts called it forth into existence ; and those who are determined to preserve, for ever, the invincible love of liberty, would not leave, even to unworthy citizens, the shameful consolation of resuming the fetters of slavery.

“ Since the moment that your deputies, forming a just and necessary union, have sacrificed to concord every species of

rivalship and opposition of interest, the National Assembly have not ceased to toil for the establishment of laws, which, being the same for all, should form the safeguard of all. The National Assembly have repaired the most important errors; they have broken the bonds of a multitude of slavish oppressions, which degraded humanity; they have filled with joy and hope the hearts of the peasants, those creditors of the earth and of nature, so long discouraged and despised; they have established that precious equality too much unknown to the French—the common right to serve the state, to enjoy its protection, and to merit its favours; in short, according to your instructions, the National Assembly are employed in erecting gradually, on the immoveable basis of the unalienable rights of man, a constitution mild as nature herself, durable as justice, and of which the imperfections, an unavoidable consequence of the inexperience of its authors, will easily be repaired.

“ We have had to combat with the inveterate prejudices of ages, and great changes are attended by a thousand uncertainties. Our successors will be enlightened by experience; but we have endeavoured to trace a new route by the light of principles only. They will labour in peace, but we have been tried with dreadful storms. They will know their rights, and the limits of the several powers; we have recovered the first, and fixed the second. They will consolidate our work—they will surpass us; and that shall be our recompense. Who shall now presume to limit the grandeur of France? Who would not elevate his hopes? Who would not rejoice to be a citizen of this empire?”

FRENCH PRINCIPLES were frustrated in their progress, and the objects of the individuals who promulgated them were defeated by circumstances which are now matter of history. Some of the ablest men among those that framed the Declaration of Rights fell in defence of their *principles*, by the axe of the guillotine, during a reign of terror which subdued order and virtue, and deluged France with blood. The individuals perished, but their *principles* survive.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES have worked, are working, and *will* work.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES became the admiration of the enlightened and the wise. In this excellent class ranked ROSCOE of Liverpool,—whose honoured name will be ever venerated by the lovers of literature and liberty. He hailed the new birth

of Freedom forty years ago, in verses of lasting renown; and he yet lives—though gently fading from the earth—to be revived by the reappearance and application of the principles which, through good and evil report, he has advocated during a long life of high-minded philanthropy, and intense devotion to the abolition of slavery all over the world.

SONG.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE, ESQ.

O'er the vine-cover'd hills and gay regions of France,
 See the day-star of Liberty rise,
 Through the clouds of detraction unwearied advance,
 And hold its gay course through the skies.
 An effulgence so mild, with a lustre so bright,
 All Europe with wonder surveys;
 And, from deserts of darkness and dungeons of night,
 Contends for a share of the blaze.

Let Burke like a bat from its splendour retire,
 A splendour too strong for his eyes;
 Let pedants and fools his effusions admire,
 Entrapp'd in his cobwebs like flies;
 Shall Phrensy and Sophistry hope to prevail
 When Reason opposes its weight,
 When the welfare of millions is hung in the scale,
 And the balance yet trembles with fate?

Ah! who, 'midst the horrors of night would abide,
 That can taste the pure breezes of morn?
 Or who that has drank of the crystalline tide
 To the feculent flood would return?
 When the bosom of beauty the throbbing heart meets,
 Ah! who can its transports decline?
 Then who, that has tasted of Liberty's sweets,
 The prize but with life would resign?

But 't is over; high Heaven the decision approves,
 Oppression has struggled in vain,
 To the hell she has form'd Superstition removes,
 And Tyranny gnaws his own chain;
 In the records of Time a new era unfolds,
 All nature exults in its birth,
 The Creator benign his creation beholds,
 And gives a new charter to earth.

O catch its high import, ye winds, as ye blow,
 O bear it ye waves as ye roll,
 From regions that feel the sun's vertical glow
 To the farthest extremes of the pole:

Equal laws, equal rights, to the nations around,
 Peace and friendship their precepts impart;
 And, wherever the footsteps of Man shall be found,
 May he bind the decree on his heart!

CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH.

Right thinking people in every country have duly estimated the people of Paris, in the noble stand they made for Liberty. Meetings were held at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other towns throughout the kingdom, to testify public approbation of their conduct, and to raise and transmit money for the relief of the wounded, and the widows and orphans of those who fell.

At a public meeting in Edinburgh, FRANCIS JEFFREY, Esq., Dean of Faculty, moved the following noble resolution:—

“That the people of France having, with unexampled efforts of courage, and under every disadvantage of preparation, baffled the profligate attempt of their late monarch to violate the sacred compact by which he held his crown, and to support that aggression by the most atrocious abuse of his military authority; and having, in the very moment of their sudden triumph, and while yet excited by the sanguinary struggle through which it had been obtained, made no other use of the power with which it invested them than to exclude from the throne the tyrant and his descendants, and to make such alterations only in the Charter of their liberties as were calculated to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, and give security and permanence to their free institutions; have, by thus uniting wisdom with heroism, and moderation with victory, not only vindicated their own rights in a manner the most glorious, but done all that in them lay to maintain the peace of Europe; and have consequently entitled themselves to the high admiration and gratitude of all the friends of good order, and especially of the people of Britain, who wrought out and established their own freedom by kindred measures, and have, of all nations, most cause to rejoice in the liberty and happiness of France.”

Mr. JEFFREY, in the course of an able speech, delivered sentiments which in justice to the French people and to ourselves it is important to recollect, and therefore to record.

He said—“Let the meeting contrast the revolution of 1790 with that of 1830. The former characterized by insane councils, and by the atrocities of those wicked instruments by

which those councils were carried into execution—when every thing venerable—every thing established—every thing sacred—every thing human or divine which could command veneration or respect—when religion, dignity, rank—all that had pretensions to superior worth, was levelled in one chaos of ruin and disorder—when a series of abominations were committed, almost incredible in a Christian land. Then no quarter was given—no offence was requisite to justify the slaughter of all who were suspected as being defenders of ancient royalty: women and children—ladies of rank, delicacy, and unimpeachable virtue, were treated with cruelty, brutality, and insult, merely because they bore names which had adorned the history of France—the guillotine was the remedy for every excess—the country was deluged by a sea of blood—and all the porters at the gates or hotels of Paris were indiscriminately massacred in cold blood, merely because known by the general name of Swiss, to which many of them had no title. Look at the contrast of 1830. Although employed in the first days of the revolution in cutting down and slaughtering the people, not one of those same Swiss who asked quarter was refused it—not a single atrocity—not a single excess had been committed even in the excitement of victory. (*Applause.*) As a consummation of the whole, look at the treatment of Charles X. and of Louis XVI. Contrast the total forbearance from violence or even insult—the respect and gravity with which that infatuated, he might say guilty tyrant, was ushered out of that kingdom, the dominion of which he had forfeited. Guards of honour attending him—riding proudly in his carriage, surrounded by his family, and conducted by the representatives of the people, he passed through the country, amidst a mixed feeling of sympathy and contempt no doubt, but unhurt by either insult or injury. (*Loud applauses.*) Compare this proud triumph of noble minds—this moderation in the exercise of the rights of a free and magnanimous people—compare this, he said, with the atrocities which marked the conduct of their fathers, and even of some of themselves, when they brought to the scaffold a benevolent Prince, whose whole reign had been marked by a series of concessions to his people. (*Loud applauses.*) This was well calculated to command the admiration of the people of this country, were the fact merely before them. But they had the theory as well the fact to explain this extraordinary contrast. The excesses of 1790 were those of slaves broken loose, who were as unfit for liberty as they were unworthy of it. (*Cheers.*) The conduct of the French in

1830 was that of men proud of rational liberty, and warned by the excesses of their ancestors—aware that the noblest attributes of a free people were patience, long-suffering, and abstinence from vengeance on a fallen enemy. What a glorious lesson did this afford to those who were always afraid of the effects of liberty on the people, who considered that there was no safety but in bonds—and that, when the people were entrusted with rights, nothing could follow but disorder and bloodshed! (*Loud applause.*) What a proof did this afford that liberty was the only safe preventive of all excesses! (*Applause.*) This was not only the cause of France, it was the cause of England, it was the cause of Europe, it was the cause of the whole human race. (*Cheers.*) It was a lesson which had now been a second time repeated, and it was wonderful how accurately it resembled that shown by this country above 100 years ago. On this occasion the people had been taught a lesson; and at last atoned for the crimes of their fathers. (*Applause.*) On this occasion the stability of the throne or the altar was not aimed at; on the contrary, the throne and the altar were more firmly established, and on a basis of security on which they had never stood before; and it would go far to disarm all those prejudices which were entertained by some even in this country against rational liberty, and to do away those jealousies of popular rights which occasioned alarms in the minds of many by whom he believed they were conscientiously entertained. (*Applause.*) The example they had now seen would do two things. It would illuminate the people on the one hand, in giving free vent to their opinions, —and, on the other, thrones and altars, principalities and powers, would be taught to look for an augmentation of their strength in seeking the fair support and affections of the people. (*Loud cheers.*) In this country even the most devoted and inveterate Tories were found congratulating themselves and their Sovereign on the triumph which monarchy, principle, law, and religion had obtained on this glorious occasion; and he looked forward to the time when men of all parties, of all shades and distinctions, would mingle in the expressions of their opinions, free from all the acrimony of party feelings and jealousies. This was already effected in the religious, and why not in the political world? At home, this approximation of good feeling and good will had been conspicuous of late years: men of different designations in religion no longer denounced damnation against each other; but treated each other with Christian charity, although some shades of

difference might exist between them on the less important and indifferent points of religion; and why should not political parties exercise the same forbearance and charity towards each other? The time, he hoped, was not far distant, indeed it was almost present, when the names of Fox and Pitt, and the designations of Whig and Tory, as party distinctions, would fall into utter disuse; and when, in all the practical points of good government, all parties would be united. Party animosity was every day going down; and the same feelings which had now directed the French people, he hoped, would soon draw all the nations of the earth into one common union for the preservation of rational liberty, and the interchange of that benevolence by which the whole race of men would be exalted and ennobled. (*Loud cheering.*) Why had we in this country been so long accustomed to regard the French people with contempt? Why, because we thought them too submissive to arbitrary government,—too proud of their own national character—too proud of conquest, and too little fit to govern and restrain themselves. They had on this great occasion shown the reverse of all these faults; they had been so moderate and forbearing that he could not help hoping that the two nations would be henceforth so united, that there should be no rivalry between them but in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and in the honourable rivalry of philosophy and the arts. (*Loud cheers.*) It had been insinuated in some quarters that the British government patronised the measures of the French ministry. When Parliament met, he had no doubt that the calumny would be put down. In the mean time, he thought it was proper that the sense of the nation should be expressed upon the subject; and that meetings like the present should take place in all quarters for that purpose.”

CHARLES X.

(From the “*Chat of the Week.*”)

Charles Philip, formerly Count d’Artois, brother and successor of Louis XVIII., was born at Versailles the 9th of October, 1757. He married, in 1773, Maria Teresa of Savoy, and had issue the Duc d’Angouleme, (late Dauphin) the Duc de Berri (assassinated), and the Princess Sophia, who died young. His wife is also dead. He was brought up in the Court of his

grandfather, Louis XV., one of the most exacting, foolish, and dissipated men that ever existed, which ought to be remembered in excuse of his grandson, who showed from an early age all the fruits of such a soil. He was a rake and a ruffler. At a ball, when he was nineteen, he publicly tore a mask from the face of the Dutchess de Bourbon, for which he had to fight the Duke. The moment the disorders began in the state, the Count d'Artois set his face against all change and all amelioration, and became very unpopular. On one occasion, when his brother, the late King Louis the XVIII., was received with acclamation, it was with difficulty that the count was escorted through the indignant multitude. He affected to treat the Revolution as a mutiny. The destruction of the Bastile showed him that it was something more. He began, with alarm, to get a glimpse of the new power coming up in the world, called public opinion, showed symptoms of agitation at the National Assembly, when he was obliged to appear with Louis XVI., and two days afterward left France, to concert the means of invading it with an army of foreigners, and of setting up the first holy alliance, justly called at the time a "conspiracy of kings." In the manifesto published at his instigation, and in the joint names of himself and his brother, by the Emperor and the King of Prussia, the King of France was declared to be an object of common interest to "all the sovereigns of Europe" (not to justice or humanity), and a resolution was announced to restore the monarchal government of France to a condition "equally suitable to the rights of sovereigns, and" —what? the happiness of the people? no—"the welfare of the French nobility." The manifesto came to nothing at the time; but the Count d'Artois made an incursion into Champagne with a corps of emigrants. The incursion came to as little. After other ineffectual attempts to get up an army, he returned into Great Britain, resided a long time in Edinburgh, at Holyrood House, and afterward, with the rest of the family, at Hartwell, where he remained till Buonaparte overshot himself in Russia. He then went poking about the French frontiers, to see where foreign invasion could come in; and upon Buonaparte's abdication, issued a manifesto, announcing, among other blessings, "the triumph of liberty, and the reign of the laws!" It is needless to state the particulars of either his subsequent flight and return, as Napoleon came and went, or of his various face-makings for and against the Charter, in quality of prince and sovereign. His public professions and his real feelings were well understood. He took oath upon oath to adhere to the Charter, and we see what they

have come to. He dissolved the last Chamber, because it thwarted his views ; and, upon seeing that the next was likely to thwart them more, he dissolved *that* before it had assembled !

The whole secret of the matter is, that Charles X. is a commonplace Prince of the violent order ; an old rake who has become a devotee, and who was willing to compound for his own offences, and those of freedom, by one grand coup-demain in favour of priestcraft and tyranny. The priests were evidently at the bottom of it, from the bitterness of what is said against their adversaries in the Report of the ministers. The weak, obstinate King took his feebleness for his strength ; and he had as weak a minister in Polignac, to do likewise. Polignac seems a simpleton like the rest of his family, whose influence was wondered at when they helped to ruin Marie Antoinette. Twice had his family been obliged to quit France, and both times with the Count d'Artois.

Charles X. has been a vain, headstrong, unteachable man, badly brought up, forgetting none of his old quarrels with freedom, and resolved to have "that matter out," as the phrase is, the first opportunity. He has had it out, and is out himself.

Charles X. is not wanting in the physical part of firmness and bravery. He keeps up his strength and activity by hunting ; and, corporeally speaking, is a respectable old prince of seventy-three, being intemperate in nothing but his bigotries. His face is against him. He shows his teeth like an old hyena, and his smile is as silly as his purposes.

The duel between Charles X., when Count d'Artois, and the Duke of Bourbon, originated in a masquerade frolic. The count having a lady with him, was followed by the Dutchess of Bourbon. She seized his mask by the beard and the strings snapped ; the count seized the Dutchess's mask and broke it. The Duke of Bourbon, conceiving that the sex of the Dutchess should have protected her from rude retaliation, sent the count d'Artois a message. The duel took place at the Bois de Boulogne, near the Port des Princes ; and, as related by the Chevalier de Crussol, the count's second, is a curiosity, as a specimen of old court manners. The chevalier says,—

"When we reached the Port des Princes I perceived the Duke de Bourbon on foot, surrounded by several persons. As soon as the Count d'Artois perceived the Duke, he got out of the carriage, and went straight up to him, and said smiling, 'Sir, it is said that you and I are looking for each other.' The Duke de

Bourbon, taking off his hat, replied, 'Sir, I am here to receive your commands.' 'In order to execute yours,' replied the prince, 'you must allow me to return to my carriage.' He then went back to his carriage, and having taken from it his sword, he rejoined the Duke, and they entered the wood for about twenty paces; they then stopped, and each took his station opposite to the other, sword in hand. They were on the point of commencing the combat, when the Duke de Bourbon, addressing the Prince, said, 'Perhaps, sir, you do not observe that you stand in a very unfavourable position, as the sun is directly in your eyes.' 'Right,' said the Prince, 'there is as yet little or no foliage on the trees, and the sun is inconvenient;—we shall, however, not find a shady place unless in the shadow of yonder wall. It is not far off—let us go to it.' Accordingly, each put his naked sword under his arm, and they walked to the proposed spot, side by side, and conversing together. The Duke de Bourbon asked the Count if he had any objection to his (the Duke's) taking off his coat. The proposal was immediately agreed to by the Count, who took off his also, and, their breasts thus entirely open, the combat commenced. They were a long time in position, without either of them making a pass. Suddenly, however," continued M. de Crussol, "I saw the blood mount to the cheeks of the Count d'Artois—from which I could judge that he was growing impatient. In fact, he now began to press upon the Duke rather violently, with the view, as it seemed, of causing him to lose his caution; and I perceived the Duke waver a little. At this instant the Count d'Artois made a lunge, in which his sword seemed to pass under the arm of the Duke de Bourbon. Believing that the Duke must have been wounded, I now stepped forward with a view of staying the proceedings. 'Stay, for a moment, gentlemen,' said I; 'it seems to me that already more than enough has been done to satisfy the trifling character of the difference which led to this meeting. I appeal to M. de Vibraye (whose judgment should bear great weight in matters of this nature), whether I am not correct in what I state.' 'I entirely agree with M. de Crussol,' said M. de Vibraye, 'in thinking that enough has been done to satisfy the most scrupulous delicacy.' 'I am not entitled,' said the Count d'Artois, 'to have any opinion on the matter. It is for the Duke de Bourbon to express his wishes. I am entirely at his disposal.' 'Sir,' replied the Duke de Bourbon, addressing himself to the Prince, and at the same time lowering the point of his sword,—'I have only to say that I am overwhelmed with gratitude for your

kindness to me in this affair, and shall never cease to remember the honour you have conferred on me.' At these words the Count d'Artois opened his arms, and, running towards the Duke, they embraced each other,—and the affair ended."

It was the fashion in France, under the old *regime*, to elevate trifles: a courtier present at this duel, said, "They have fought like a couple of grenadiers!" The Count d'Artois's conduct was a topic for lavish encomiums.

When Mr. Brougham visited Sheffield as a candidate to represent the county of York, the measures of Charles X. and his ministers had just become known. Mr. Brougham's opinion upon the subject was requested, and he said, with a power and an energy peculiarly his own,—“Alas! the news has reached us that a frantic tyrant (for I can call him nothing else), bent upon mischief, and guided by an ignorant and besotted priesthood—led by the most despicable advisers—forgetful of the obligation he owes to his people—forgetful of the duty he owes to that Providence which restored him to his throne,—has, in the face of that Providence, and in defiance of that people, declared that he will trample on the liberties of his country, and rule 30,000,000 of its people by the sword. I heartily pray that his advisers will meet with that punishment which they so richly merit. The minister who could give such counsels deserves that his head should be severed from his body and rolled in the dust. If it were possible that any one could dare to give such advice to our King, the same punishment ought to be inflicted upon him, and his head should roll in the dust the same day, before sunset, on which he gave that counsel. Gentlemen, it is no business of ours to interfere with that country; the French have their own liberty in their own keeping, and no nation ever showed itself more disposed to keep it, or seemed to me to have more right, to possess it. And I pray to heaven that they may speedily crush their enemies and establish their liberties.”

To keep room for more interesting matter, none has been appropriated to the progress of the late King and his family from Rambouillet to the coast. He landed at Poole, in Dorsetshire; and an alderman of that corporation immortalized himself by handing him to a carriage, in which he went to Lulworth, where he cleanses himself with daily confession. For having ordered fusilades upon the people of Paris, he appears to have been enjoined the penance of shooting all day at English pheasants and partridges.

Some of the Ministers who signed the ordinances were discovered in different disguises, and arrested. The premier, Prince Polignac, assumed the character of a servant. On being brought in strict custody to St. Lo, he wrote a letter to Baron Pasquier, which is subjoined, as published in the *Chat of the Week*.

LETTER OF THE PRINCE DE POLIGNAC,

Late Prime Minister of King Charles X., to the President of the French Chamber of Peers.

Saint Lo, Aug. 17.

“MONSIEUR LE BARON,

“Having been arrested at Granville, at the moment when I was flying from *the sad and deplorable events* which have just taken place, and seeking an opportunity to retire to the Island of Jersey, I *have surrendered myself a prisoner* into the hands of the Provisional Commission of the Prefecture of the department of La Manche, neither the Procureur du Roi for the arrondissement of Saint Lo, nor the *juge d'instruction*, having any power, according to the terms of the Charter, to commit me, in case (of which, however, I am ignorant) the Government had given orders for my arrest. ‘It is only by the authority of the Chamber of Peers,’ says article 29 of the Charter, and which, in this respect, is conformable to the *Old Charter*, ‘that a member of the Chamber of Peers can be arrested.’ I know not what steps the Chamber of Peers may take on this subject, or whether it will charge *me* with the lamentable events of the two days, *which I deplore more than any man*, which came on with the rapidity of the thunderbolt in the midst of the tempest, and which *no human strength nor prudence could arrest*, since in those terrible moments it was impossible to know to whom to listen, or to whom to apply, and every man’s efforts were required to defend his own life. My *only* desire, M. Le Baron, is, that *I may be permitted to retire to my own home*, and there resume *those peaceful habits* of private life which alone are suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of myself, as is well known to all who are acquainted with me. Vicissitudes enough have filled my days—reverses enough have whitened my head, in the course of the stormy life I have led. I cannot in any degree be reproached with having in the time of my prosperity preserved any vengeful recollections against those who used their power with undue severity against me.

in adversity. Indeed, M. Le Baron, in what position should we all be placed, surrounded as we are by those continual changes presented by the age in which we live, if the political opinions of those who are smitten by the tempest are to become misdemeanors or crimes in the eyes of those who have embraced *a more fortunate side of the question?* If I cannot obtain permission to retire quietly to my home, I entreat to be allowed to withdraw into a foreign country with my wife and my children. Lastly, if the Chamber of Peers determine to decree my arrest, I solicit that they will fix as the place of my detention the fortress of Ham, in Picardy, where I was for a long time in captivity in my youth, *or in some other fortress at once commodious and spacious.* (Loud laughter.) That of Ham would agree better than any other with the state of my health, which has been for some time enfeebled, and which the late events have greatly injured. The misfortunes of an *upright man* ought in France to meet with some sympathy; but at all events, M. le Baron, I may almost venture to say that it would be *barbarous* to bring me into the capital at a time when so many *prejudices* have been raised against me—prejudices which my unsupported voice cannot appease, and which time alone can calm. I have been long and too much accustomed to see all my intentions misrepresented and placed in the most odious light. To you, M. le Baron, I have submitted all my wishes, not knowing to whom I ought to address myself, and at the same time I request you to lay them before those to whom it of right belongs, begging you to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

“The Prince de POLIGNAC.

“P. S. I beg you to do me the favour to acknowledge the receipt of this letter.”

THE BOURBONS.

Charles (Louis Philippe) X. was the most aged Sovereign in Europe, having been born the 9th of October, 1757. He succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII., whose dissolution occurred in the 69th year of his age, on the 16th of September, 1824, and made his public entry into Paris, as King, on the 27th of the same month. Charles X. (at that period the Count d' Artois) married the 17th November, 1773, when he was in the 17th year of his age, the Princess Maria The-

resa, daughter of Victor Amadeus, the third king of Sardinia, Louis XVIII. having been united, in 1771, to the Princess Maria, a daughter of the same Monarch. By this Princess, who died at Gratz, in Hungary, June 2, 1805, Charles X. had issue Louis Antoine, Duc d'Angouleme, late Dauphin of France, born August 6, 1775, married, the 10th of June, 1799, Maria Theresa Charlotte, only surviving child of Louis XVI., born the 19th of December, 1778; Henry Charles, Duc de Berri, married, in 1818, Maria Caroline, daughter of Francis I., the late King of the Two Sicilies, by Maria Clementina, sister of the present Emperor of Austria, by whom the Duc de Berri had issue, Maria Theresa Louisa (Mademoiselle), born September 28, 1819, and Henry Charles Ferdinand, Dieudonne d'Artois (a posthumous Prince), born the 29th of September, 1820. The Duc de Berri was assassinated, in Paris, February 14, 1820.

While Charles X. and his profligate ministers were cannonading the people of Paris, William IV., who had recently ascended the throne of England, animated the people of London by appearing in public, and manifesting a free-hearted and kind disposition. The contrast was obvious, and stirred the pen of ELIA to the effusion below, which he communicated to *The Times*.

THE ROYAL WONDERS.

Two miracles at once! Compell'd by fate,
 His tarnish'd throne the Bourbon doth vacate;
 While English William,—a diviner thing,—
 Of his free pleasure hath put off *the king*,
 The forms of distant old respect lets pass,
 And melts his crown into the common mass.
 Health to fair France, and fine regeneration!
 But England's is the nobler abdication.

CHARLES LAMB.

There is an historical coincidence which owing to existing circumstances strikes every body as singular. Thrice has the crown of the Capets fallen from the elder to the younger branch, and the consecutive reigns of three brothers have always preceded that change in the reigning family. After Philip le Bel followed the reign of the brothers Louis le Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel. Then the sceptre fell into the hands of Valois. The three brothers Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., finished the career of the royal family, and called the Bourbons to the throne. Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., terminate the list of the monarchs of that

family, and the House of Orleans rises in the midst of a tempest.—*The Times*.

FAMILY OF ORLEANS.

Louis Philippe (Duc d'Orleans) born the 6th of October, 1773, married November 25, 1809, the Princess Maria Amelia, born December 14, 1782, second daughter of Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, sister of Francis I., and aunt to the present Dutchess of Orleans, and by whom his Royal Highness has a surviving family of nine children—viz. 1. Ferdinand Louis Philip, Duc de Chartres, born the 8th of September, 1810; 2. Louisa Maria Theresa Charlotte Isabella, Dutchess d'Orleans, born April 3, 1812; 3. Maria Christiana Caroline, Dutchess de Valois, born April 12, 1813; 4. Louis Charles, Duc de Nemours, born October 25, 1814; 5. Maria Clotilda, born June 3, 1817; 6. Francis Ferdinand Philippe, Duc de Joinville, born August 14, 1818; 7. Charles, Duc de Ponthievre, born July 1, 1820; 8. Henry, Duc d'Aumale, born June 16, 1822; 9. Anthony, Duc de Montpensier, born July 31, 1824. Louis Philippe I. has an only sister unmarried, the Princess Adelaide Eugene Louisa, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, born August 23, 1777.

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON.

Many excellent men viewed the admiration of the French nation for the military power of Napoleon, and their acquiescence in his despotism, as a national blindness, which might end in utter dereliction from the principles of Freedom. A prophetic anticipation that France would again break her bonds, closes the following lay of a distinguished minstrel of Liberty, the late Mr. EDWARD RUSHTON, of Liverpool.

TO FRANCE.

Canst thou, who burst with proud disdain
 Each high-wrought link of slavery's chain;
 Canst thou who cleansed with noble rage
 Th' Augean filth of many an age;
 Canst thou, whose mighty vengeance hurl'd
 Destruction on thy foes—the world,

Yet bade the infuriate slaughter cease,
 When vanquish'd despots whined for peace ;
 Canst thou, O France! from heights like these descend,
 And with each nerve unbraced—to proud Napoleon bend !

Was it for this thy warriors rose,
 And paralyzed vast hordes of foes ?
 For this, all prodigal of life,
 They rush'd amid the bellowing strife,
 And, like the desert's burning breath,
 Where'er they rush'd, they scattered death ?
 For this, with many a gaping wound,
 Thy daring sons have strew'd the ground,
 And girt with smoking gore, and hills of slain,
 Have gloried in their cause, and spurn'd the oppressor's chain !

When vaunting freemen join'd the array,
 And gloomy squadrons prow'd for prey,
 Was it for this, beneath the wave
 Thy seamen found an oozy grave?
 For this, when all around was wreck,
 And mingled horrors stain'd the deck,
 When slowly setting towards their fate,
 While the broad banners wav'd elate,
 Was it for this they VIVE LE NATION! cried,
 Scorn'd the submissive act, and felt the o'erwhelming tide?

Was it for this the sorrowing sire
 Has seen his bleeding boy expire ?
 For this, the matron, sad and pale,
 Has told her son's disastrous tale ?
 For this, the widow oft has press'd,
 With tears, the nursling to her breast ?
 Was it to lift the ambitious soul
 Of ONE above the law's control,
 That thus dire war left millions to deplore,
 And the broad earth and seas were tinged with human gore ?

No !—fearless France shall ne'er be found
 Like the huge brute on India's ground,
 That through the ranks impetuous sweeps,
 And loads the field with mangled heaps,
 And yet, each scene of carnage o'er,
 Obeys that goad he felt before ;
 No !—fearless France shall still maintain
 Those rights that millions died to gain,
 And soon, though laurel wreaths her chains adorn,
 Shall show a grov'ling world that chains are still her scorn.

O France! thy energetic soul
 Will never brook unjust control ;
 Will never crouch to Slavery's load,
 Nor bear the oppressor's iron load :

No !—France, who bade her monarch fall,
 Will ne'er before this idol crawl ;
 Will ne'er receive with abject awe
 A martial miscreant's will as law ;
 No ;—banish fear, ye friends of human kind,
 France to a giant's arm unites a towering mind.

He who o'erwhelms his country's foe,
 Yet lays his country's freedom low,
 Must fear, though girt with guards and state,
 From each bold arm the stroke of fate ;
 And thou, usurping warrior, thou
 To whom the weak and timid bow ;
 Thou splendid curse, whose actions prove
 That states may be undone by love :
 Thou foe to man, upheld by martial breath,
 Thy march is on a mine—thy every dream is death.

And when this meteor's baleful rays
 Are lost in Freedom's ardent blaze,
 Yes, when indignant France shall rise,
 Her form all nerve, all fire her eyes,
 And, scorning e'en the bayonet's sway,
 Shall sweep the audacious wretch away ;—
 Then, with degraded mien, no more
 Shall man his fellow-man adore ;
 Then o'er his powers shall *Principle* preside,
 And the bright star of *Truth* shall prove his polar guide.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH REVOLUTIONS.

The following Historical Parallel is from *Le Globe*, a French Journal.

ENGLISH REVOLUTION. FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE STUARTS.

Charles I.
 Resistance of the Parliament.
 Refusal of Subsidies.
 Parliament dissolved.
 The Long Parliament.
 Increasing irritation.
 Charles I. at York.
 Civil War.
 Flight of Charles, taken at the
 Isle of Wight.

CAPETS.

Louis XVI.
 Assembly of Notables.
 Refusal of Subsidies.
 Oath of the Tennis Court.
 Legislative Assemblies.
 Increasing irritation.
 Louis XVI. at Versailles.
 Emigration, Vendee, &c.
 Flight of Louis, taken at Va-
 rennes.

THE STUARTS.

Trial and death of Charles.
 English Republic.
 Oliver Cromwell, Protector.
 Parliament dissolved.
 New Parliament.
 Military despotism and foreign aid.
 Alliance of Cromwell with Mazarin and Louis XIV.
 Fall of Richard Cromwell.
 General Monck.
 Restoration.
 Charles II.
 Promise to maintain the Constitution.
 Amnesty (excepting to Regicides).
 Cromwell's army disbanded.
 Triumph of the Royalists.
 Parliamentary discussions.
 Whigs and Tories.
 Catholic and Royalist.
 Reaction.
 Death of Russell and Sydney.
 Influence of the Duke of York, brother to the King.
 James II.
 Fine speech on his accession; deception.
 Triumph of the Catholics and Tories.
 Jefferies and his accomplices.
 National indignation.
 William of Nassau.
 Fall of James and the Stuarts, called the Glorious Revolution.

CAPETS.

Trial and death of Louis.
 French Republic.
 Buonaparte, Consul.
 Eighteenth Brumaire.
 Senate.
 Military despotism and foreign aid.
 Marriage of Napoleon with an Archduchess of Austria.
 Fall of Napoleon.
 Talleyrand, Fouché, &c.
 Restoration.
 Louis XVIII.
 Charter.
 Ditto.
 The army of the Loire, ditto.
 Triumph of the Royalists.
 Ditto.
 Liberals and Ultras.
 Catholic and Royalist.
 Reaction.
 Death of Berton, Bories, &c.
 Influence of the Pavilion Marsan.
 Charles X.
 Ditto.
 Triumph of the Jesuits and Ultras.
 Villèle and Polignac's ministry.
 Ditto.
 Philip of Orleans.
 Fall of Charles and the Bourbons, the Glorious Revolution.

Of all the authorities upon which people can rely, in a grand political crisis, history is the most powerful. In the present state of affairs it will be seen on which side it leans.

EX-DEY, AND EX-KING.

At Paris, on the receipt of the news of the surrender of Algiers, Charles X. resolved to commemorate the event by a royal procession of great pomp. A splendid pageant was accordingly got up on Sunday, the 11th July, and the King, attended by an immense retinue of his Ministers and other officials of his government, proceeded to the church of Notre Dame, followed by twenty-eight coaches, with eight horses each;—altogether presenting a spectacle calculated to call forth the enthusiasm of the people. To add to the solemnity, mass was celebrated at all the other churches. A great multitude collected to witness the procession; but although the King had taken the precaution to avail himself of the presence of the Dutchess of Berri, as a kind of protection, he was unable to elicit any warm expressions of loyalty. There was an occasional attempt at “Vive le Roi,” but the exclamation, instead of spreading throughout the dense mass, died away a solitary sound. It was altogether one of the most *mournful rejoicings* that can possibly be imagined. Notwithstanding the event which was the occasion of the procession, and the means adopted to increase the splendour of the show and render it imposing, yet the unpopularity of the King threw a gloom over the whole proceeding, which no effort on the part of the court could dissipate. So strong and unconquerable, even then, was the feeling of the French against Charles X. and his Government.

On Wednesday, the 28th of July, while the people were braving his troops in battle, and hurling him from the throne, the *Semaphore of Marseilles* published the following extract of a document from Algiers:—“In the name of God, &c., I renounce the absolute sovereignty to the victorious and grand Charles the Tenth: and I agree to pay him the tribute; and will also furnish him with the contingent, obeying him in the same manner and in the same form as my predecessors and the Dey of Algiers. I also expect to receive from the virtuous Charles the Tenth all succour and protection that a subject has to expect from his legitimate King.

When the Ex-Dey of Algiers was informed of the Revolution in France, he exclaimed,—“God is great!—the King of France dethroned me, and now he is dethroned himself!—God is great!”

MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—LOUIS
PHILIPPE I.

Although the Duke of Orleans, now Philippe I. King of the French, was usually called a cousin of Charles X., the relationship they bear to each other is very remote. The common ancestor of both was Louis XIII., in 1640, and, consequently, as the line of each lengthened from him, the consanguinity of the descendants became more distant.

Louis Philippe, eldest son of the late Duc d'Orleans, and of Marie Adelaide of Bourbon Penthièvre, was born on October 6, 1773. At first he was named Duc de Valois; but afterward Duc de Chartres. Early in the Revolution, his father dropped his title, assumed the name of Egalité (Equality), and under that denomination associated himself with men of sanguinary violence, in the horrible scenes of the first Revolution. At nine years of age the Duc de Chartres and his brothers, the Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, were entrusted to the care of the celebrated Madame de Genlis, who conducted his entire education upon the plan of Rousseau's *Emilius*, until he was seventeen years old. She strengthened both his body and mind. Early in childhood, she taught him the principal modern languages; accustomed him to serve himself without assistance—to despise every kind of effeminacy—to sleep habitually on a wooden bed, merely covered with a straw mat—to face the sun, cold, and rain—to habituate himself to fatigue, by daily violent exercises, and by walking five or six leagues with leaden soles to his shoes. By her aid he acquired many branches of useful knowledge, and she inspired him with a taste for travelling. Since his great ancestor, Henry IV., no other prince had been so trained to hardihood; and, at the present day, few persons in any station have been so properly and so thoroughly qualified to engage in the business of life.

When fifteen years old, during a tour with Madame de Genlis, and his brothers, and their sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, into Normandy, he was at Mont St. Michael, a place then remarkable for a cage in which a Dutch newspaper editor had been confined seventeen years, for writing against Louis XIV. Madame de Genlis acquainted her pupils with every thing that could improve or usefully inform their minds, and, deeming this an opportunity for enabling them to take a lesson, she inquired of the people in the neighbourhood respecting the

“prisoner’s cage,” which gave celebrity to the spot. “I interrogated them,” she says, “about the famous *iron cage*. They told me it was not of iron, but of wood, framed of enormous logs, between which were interstices of the width of three or four fingers’-breadth. It was about fifteen years since any prisoners were confined there wholly, but they still put in those who were obstreperous for twenty-four hours, or two days, though the place was horribly damp and unwholesome, and though there was another prison as strong, and more healthy. I expressed surprise, and the Prior assured me that it was his intention, at some future time, to destroy this monument of cruelty. Upon this Mademoiselle d’Orleans and her brothers cried out, that they should be delighted to see it destroyed in their presence. The Prior said that he could afford them the satisfaction they desired the next morning, and that this would be assuredly the finest entertainment he could give them.—A few hours before our departure for St. Michael, the Prior, followed by the monks, two carpenters, one of the Swiss of the Castle, and the greater part of the prisoners, who, at our request, were allowed to be present, accompanied us to the place containing this horrible cage. In order to reach it, we traversed caverns so dark that we were obliged to use lighted flambeaux. After descending many steps, we reached a frightful cavern, where stood this abominable cage. It was extremely small, and placed on ground so damp that the water ran under it. The Duke of Chartres, with enthusiastic expression, and with a force beyond his years, gave the first blow with his axe to the cage, after which the carpenters cut down the door, and removed some of the wood. I never witnessed any thing so interesting as the transports, the acclamations, and the applauses of the prisoners, during this demolition. In the midst of the tumult, I was struck with the melancholy and miserable looks of the Swiss, who regarded the operation with the greatest signs of grief. I mentioned this to the Prior, who told me that the man regretted the destruction of the cage, because he made money by showing it to strangers. The Duke of Chartres gave ten louis to him, saying that for the future, instead of showing the cage to travellers, he would have to point out to them the place where it once stood, and that surely that view would be much more agreeable to them.” At so early an age such an expression bespoke a rectitude of mind which marked the desire and act of destroying the cage as more than boyish.

The destruction of the Bastile in July, 1789, was another

opportunity for the instruction of youth upon Madame de Genlis's plan. She says, "The desire I had of showing my pupils every thing induced me to come from St. Leu, and spend a few hours at Paris, to witness from the garden of Beaumarchais the assembling of the whole population of the capital, for the purpose of pulling down and demolishing the Bastile. It is impossible to give an idea of the scene; you must have seen it in order to conceive of it. This redoubtable fortress was covered with men, women, and children, working with unequalled ardour, on the loftiest parts of the building, even on its turrets. The astonishing number of these voluntary workmen, their activity, their enthusiasm, their pleasure at seeing the fall of that terrible monument of tyranny, their avenging hands, which seemed consecrated by Providence, and which annihilated with astonishing rapidity the work of many centuries—all this spoke at once to the imagination and to the heart. No one had been more shocked than I at the excesses committed at the taking of the Bastile; but as I had also been witness for twenty years of many arbitrary imprisonments, I never cast my eyes on that fortress without shuddering, and its demolition afforded me unspeakable delight." It is not to be doubted, that in company with such an instructress, whom he regarded as a mother, the Duc de Chartres witnessed this extraordinary scene with equal pleasure, and derived a moral from it which influenced his public and private life. At this age, when the passions develop themselves, he was training in virtuous and manly habits, under a woman of cheerful temper and excellent sense. His conduct was amiable and prudent, and he acquired a sedate and reserved character, which subsequent events strengthened and confirmed.

About the same time, Madame de Genlis received a letter from him, which she justly calls "most touching," and cites the passage from it by which she was most affected. "I propose," says he, "to deprive myself of my pocket-money up to the conclusion of my education, that is to say, up to the first of April, 1790, and to devote that money to beneficent purposes. On the first of each month we will decide the use that is to be made of it. I beg you to receive on this subject my most sacred word of honour, that I should wish this to remain a secret between ourselves; but you know well, that all my secrets are, and always shall be, yours." When the Duc de Chartres thus wrote and determined, he was barely sixteen years old.

On attaining seventeen, his father, the Duc d'Orleans, in-

formed Madame de Genlis, that the education of the Duc de Chartres had terminated. His father was immensely rich, and according to a usage of the French court, the Duc de Chartres was provided with a separate establishment, and a large annual allowance, as a Prince of the Blood Royal. It may be imagined that now, being independent of control, he indulged in pleasures usual to youth of high birth, and that, dazzled by the attractions of a luxurious metropolis, and with the power of enjoying its novelties and charms to excess, he lost sight and shunned the presence of his former mistress. His course was highly honourable to her and to himself. He had been taught the importance, and now he realized the lesson, of self-control. The first use he made of his liberty was to acquaint Madame de Genlis, that until he was eighteen years of age he should visit her daily at Belle Chasse, to take his lessons as usual, and he kept his word.

By the wish of Madame de Genlis, her exemplary pupil became a member of the Philanthropic Society. In her presence he was informed of a decree of the National Convention, annulling the rights of elder brothers: he embraced his brother the Duc de Montpensier, whom he tenderly loved, and exclaimed, "Ah, how delighted I am!"

An earlier decree allowed colonels proprietors the option of either quitting the service, or assuming active command. In consideration of his high birth, the court had given two to the Duc de Chartres. He entered the national service by retaining one of the regiments, the 14th Dragoons, and in June, 1791, he joined it in garrison at Vendome.

Within a few days after taking the command of his regiment, he had bathed in the river, and was dressing on the shore, when one of the bathers was seized with a violent cramp; and cried for assistance; the Duke instantly jumped into the water, swam to him, seized him by the hair, and at the imminent hazard of his own life brought him to the shore. The man was a custom-house officer, and the next day he went to the Duke's with his wife and children, and threw himself in gratitude at his feet. The man was saved in the middle of the day, in presence of many spectators, and the humanity and courage of the Duke were rewarded with the solemn presentation of a civic crown by the city. He enclosed a leaf of it in an affectionate letter to Madame de Genlis, and warmly thanked her for having made him learn to swim. "In fact," says Madame de Genlis, when I sent him and his brothers to the swimming school, I often told them that it was a branch of knowledge

they ought to acquire, both for themselves and for others. For the same reason I taught them to bleed and to dress wounds. During a whole winter I took them regularly to the Hotel Dieu, to dress the wounds of the poor." Such an education as Madame de Genlis bestowed on the Duc de Chartres and his brothers is unknown to England.

About this time, the Duc de Chartres, at the instigation of his father, the Duc d'Orleans, became a member of the Jacobin club; and at a meeting of the club in Vendome, on the 7th of August, 1791, he acquiesced in the principles of the revolution, and laid on the table the decoration of the order of the Holy Ghost, which he had been accustomed to wear. He was then in his nineteenth year. That he had an enlightened love of liberty was manifested by signal humanity and respect for order. A priest, who had refused to conform to the new constitution, was accused by the infuriated populace of Vendome with having derided the procession of a constitutional curate. The Duc de Chartres courageously interposed, and rescued the man at the moment he was about to perish under their brutal rage.

The Duke marched with his regiment, and joined the army of the north. His first military achievements were under General Biron. He fought in the action of Quicorium, on the 28th of April, 1792, and in the action of Bossu the next day. As mareschal de camp, under General Luckner, he commanded a brigade of cavalry in the action before Courtray. In July, his brigade was detached, and served with the army, a 25,000 men, ordered to oppose the Duke of Brunswick and 80,000 Prussians. In the different engagements he was distinguished by valour and penetration. He attained the rank of lieutenant-general; and on the 20th of September, commanded the second line of Kellerman's army at the battle of Valmy. His obstinate defence of a mill in front of the village contributed mainly to the success of the day. He was offered the post of governor of Strasbourg, which he declined, because he must have remained inactive. He joined the army of Flanders under General Dumouriez, who entrusted him with the command of the second column. On the 5th of November he bivouacked with his division on the heights of Jemappe, and, on the following day, commanded the centre of Dumouriez's army in the decisive battle of Jemappe. He rallied a body of troops which fled in the heat of the engagement, and led them back to the charge; his military abilities and persevering courage were mentioned with high praise by Dumouriez in his

despatches. On the 13th he headed the right wing of the army at Anderlecht; entered Brussels with Dumouriez the next day; and, on the 27th, was engaged for ten hours in the attack and rout of the Austrian rear-guard at Varroux, which put the French in possession of Liege. On these occasions, his brothers also had commands.

In several other engagements the Duc de Chartres commanded with distinction. In a memorial by Dumouriez against the Duc d'Orleans, he says, "his sons have effectually served their country in the armies I commanded, without displaying, at any time, the least tinge of ambition. For the eldest of them [the Duc de Chartres] I entertain the highest friendship, founded on the best merited esteem."

After the execution of Louis XVI., Dumouriez, who had desired to see order restored to France under a constitutional monarchy, was unjustly suspected of designing to place the Duc d'Orleans on the throne; and the National Convention sent commissioners to arrest him. He seized the commissioners, and sent them prisoners to the Austrians, and, to save his own life, fled for protection within the Austrian lines. About the same time, the brave Duc de Chartres and his brothers had been unjustly proscribed and declared outlaws, and a decree for their arrest was issued by the National Convention. Their crime was relationship to the late King. On the 6th of April, 1793, the Duc de Chartres escaped to Mons, the head-quarters of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg. The Archduke Charles offered him a Lieutenant-Generalship, the command of a division in the Austrian service, and the honours due to his birth. These proffers he immediately declined; for he had resolved never to bear arms against his country: the only favour he required or accepted was a passport. His brothers were less fortunate. They were seized at Nice, and rigorously confined at Marseilles. Their father, the Duc d'Orleans, was dungeoned in the Conciergerie at Paris. Their mother had long been separated from him, and lived secluded.

While the brothers had been thus engaged and were thus circumstanced, their sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, with whom they had been reared, was taken charge of by Madame de Genlis, and brought to England in October, 1791. The ladies resided about three months at Bath; several months at Bury St. Edmunds, and made a tour through different parts of the kingdom, and on account of their connexion with the late Duke, and their liberal sentiments, received many insults from

the insolence of emigrants of the old Court of France. In September, 1792, the Convention issued a decree respecting emigrants, which compelled Madame de Genlis, for the sake of Mademoiselle d'Orleans, to return with her immediately to Paris. On the following day, they were ordered to quit Paris, within forty-eight hours, and France without delay. They retired to Tournay, and from thence, on the reconquest of Flanders, to a temporary asylum at Zug, in Switzerland.

The Duc de Chartres remained at Mons only twenty-four hours, while his passport was preparing, and with less than a hundred louis-d'ors, being the whole of his wealth, set out for Switzerland, and joined his sister at Zug. The magistrates of the town would not permit them to remain, and they withdrew to Zurich, whence they were also expelled. From the moment of the Duke's arrival in Switzerland, he was persecuted by the aristocratical party there; and, knowing that Robespierre would hold his relatives in France responsible for his flight, he determined to disappear so completely that it should be supposed he was no longer in existence. He therefore placed his sister in a convent, and afterward journeyed on foot to the loftiest mountains of the Alps; but, not daring to show himself in places which are commonly the resort of the curious, he pursued an interesting and wholly unknown route. As he had left with his sister the little money which he possessed, he passed four months of his retreat in extreme penury and privation. On great days and holydays his expenditure, the cost of lodging and diet for himself and a faithful valet, who could not be prevailed upon to quit him, amounted to 30 sols. (1s. 3d.); but, being at length reduced to his last louis, the Duke was obliged to relinquish his only servant.

No man, more than the Duc de Chartres, preserved by firm and prudent demeanour the respect due to great misfortunes. Persons, who in the flourishing state of the Orleans family would have bent before him, had dared to treat him arrogantly. He was now scarcely twenty years of age; had commanded in the field of battle, and shown the most impetuous and distinguished gallantry; and at this age, when reason scarcely begins to allay the heat of youthful blood, his firmness and constancy were unalterable. He calmly suffered the severity of his lot and harsh treatment without complaint, and without even seeming to regard them as out of the ordinary course. On the departure of his servant, which was about the end of the year 1793, he heard of a vacancy in the professorship of mathematics at Reichenau, a college of the Grisons, and, with

others, he became a candidate for it, under a borrowed name: he satisfactorily replied to the questions of the examiners, and obtained the appointment. The name he assumed was Corby. He recollected it as belonging to a shoemaker in the Palais Royal; and it served to recall to his mind his beloved country, and the palace of his ancestors. About this time Robespierre succeeded in obtaining the death of the Duc d'Orleans, and consequently the Duc de Chartres succeeded to his father's title.

In the college of Riechenau the Duc d'Orleans taught mathematics in the German language, besides geography, history, and the French and English languages; and so won the affection of the pupils by his kindness, and the respect of the masters by his intellectual attainments, that M. de Salis, who had persecuted him as Duc d'Orleans without having known him personally, entertained great respect for the good sense and merits of the young professor of Reichenau, whom he knew only as M. Corby, and invited him to become the preceptor of his sons. The duke declined, and for eight months he remained in his college, rising at four o'clock every morning, and fulfilling his duties with scrupulous punctuality and care. The death of Robespierre, and a more moderate exercise of power in the succeeding government, removing his apprehensions for the safety of his mother and brothers, he relinquished his professorship, with an honourable certificate of the services and abilities of M. Corby, from the authorities of the college. The simplicity of his manners prevented the least suspicion of his rank, and he withdrew to renew an affectionate correspondence with a few friends, who furnished him with a small sum of money.

He desired to go to America, but there were difficulties he could not surmount, and he walked through several countries in Europe. He economized and maintained his health by travelling on foot, and in that manner, about the middle of 1794, arrived at Hamburg. From thence he went to Copenhagen, explored Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and visited the Mahlstrom, or Great Whirlpool, notwithstanding the dangers besetting the approach. He penetrated to the North Cape, and within thirteen degrees of the Pole, wandered in Finland, and returned by the way of Sweden to Hamburg. On his route he had been recognised, and offered military command, which he refused, in pursuance of his resolve never to serve against France. His mind had expanded with his studies in the college of the Grisons, was strengthened by self-

examination and reflection in solitude, and was elevated by the sublime scenes of nature. Mixing with persons of all classes and opinions, he gained such a knowledge of mankind as few can attain. Perhaps such moral and physical acquirements were never united in an individual of such station; and certainly no individual of any station ever rose to such high moral dignity without severe and long probation in adversity.

On the Duc d'Orleans contemplating retirement to America, it was with a view of enabling himself to procure the means of existence. Some land in that country, which required clearing, was offered to him by an American: in answering the proposition he expressed himself in terms which beautifully exemplify his character. He says, "I am heartily disposed to labour for the acquisition of an independence. Misfortune has smitten, but, thank God, it has not prostrated me. I am more than happy that misfortunes in my youth prevented the formation of habits difficult to break through, and that prosperity was snatched from me before I could either use or abuse it." He that has dispositions and feelings like these may be injured, but cannot be destroyed. A man that conquers himself is unsubduable by the evils of life: in his integrity he smiles upon afflictions, as an able commander in an impregnable fortress during an assault, and holds out against the combined forces of the world.

From before the escape of the Duke of Orleans to Mons in April 1793, and during his pedestrian wanderings, his brothers remained in prison, frequently apprehensive of death from the factions alternately ruling in France. In 1796, while the Duke was in concealment in the dutchy of Holstein, and his brothers were in the fourth year of their imprisonment, he received a letter from his mother, in which she earnestly expresses a hope "that the prospect of relieving the misfortunes of his afflicted mother and his unhappy family may induce his generous spirit to contribute to the peace and security of his country." The Dutchess had received intimation that the French Executive Directory would liberate his brothers on condition that the Duke of Orleans left Europe, and that his brothers followed his example. This she informed him of, and his affectionate answer to her letter was:—"When my dearest mother shall have received this letter, her orders will have been executed—I shall already have departed for America. I seem to be in a dream when I think how soon I shall again embrace my brothers and be reunited to them. I, who formerly imagined that our separation was impossible. Think not, however, that in any thing

I complain of my destiny. Oh, no! I feel too sensibly how much more frightful it might really be. I shall not even deem it unfortunate, if, after being restored to my brothers, I learn that my dear mother is also well and comfortable, and especially if I may indulge the thought of contributing in any manner to the tranquillity and happiness of France. For my country I cannot feel any thing personal as a sacrifice; and, while I live, there is none that I am not prepared to make her." He immediately prepared to embark for America under the stipulations of the Directory, and with their passport embarked at Hamburgh for an asylum in the transatlantic world.

In October, 1796, the Duke of Orleans arrived at Philadelphia, where in the course of a few months he experienced the pleasure of a most affectionate meeting with his brothers, the Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, on their landing from France. They mutually resolved to part no more, and arranged a mode of living together in mutual happiness. They kept one servant, and, attended by him, made an extensive tour, in which they visited General Washington, who cordially and hospitably received and entertained them at Mount Vernon. On parting from their venerable host, they penetrated into the interior, went to the great lakes, traversed forests and savannas, and spent much time in living among the native Indians. On returning to Philadelphia, their residence in that city was enlivened by intelligent society, until they set out for New-York, whence they went to Massachusetts and other states, leisurely sojourning in each, particularly at New-Orleans. They inquired into the institutions and government of the union and the different states, observed their operation, and acquainted themselves with the laws and constitution of England. While thus occupied, they learned that their mother, the Dutchess of Orleans, had been forced into Spain. Anxiously desiring to see her, they proceeded down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Havana, where the Duke of Orleans wrote to the King of Spain for permission to pass into that kingdom for the purpose of visiting her. After a tedious waiting of eighteen months at the Havana, an answer was returned to the application, and they embarked for the Isle of Providence, whence they sailed in an English vessel for Halifax. On their arrival they were kindly welcomed by the Duke of Kent, then Governor of Nova Scotia. Here they spent some time, during which the Duke of Kent entertained them handsomely, and frequently and pressingly invited them to take up their resi-

dence in England. They returned to New-York, whence they sailed in a packet-boat for Falmouth.

In February, 1800, the Duke of Orleans with his brothers arrived in London, and was formally introduced at the court of St. James's. After a short stay, the Duke of Orleans made an effort to see his mother, and sailed for a Spanish port, but in consequence of the war he was not allowed to land, the ship was ordered away, and he returned, smarting with disappointment, to England. The three brothers took up their residence at Twickenham, and lived in retirement, frowned upon from Hartwell, where Louis XVII. lived with the Count d'Artois (afterward Charles X.), the Duc d'Angouleme, and the rest of the Bourbon family, in the midst of adherents to the old *regime*. The independent spirit and the known liberal sentiments of the Duc d'Orleans and his brothers were not to be tolerated. Neither of the brothers would accept a shilling from the English Government, and the Royalists at Hartwell were all in the receipt of pensions—this was an additional offence—such an offence as could only have been committed by those who loved their country better than the “right divine of kings to govern wrong.” Slights of this kind such culprits were well able to bear, and they spent their time in mutual instructions and rational pleasures, without an inroad upon their happiness till the health of the two younger brothers declined. The Duke de Montpensier fell into a consumption, and to the inexpressible grief of his brothers died in May, 1807. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. This affliction increased certain symptoms of the same disease in the Count de Beaujolais. In the following year he was advised to go to a milder climate, and was attended to Malta by the Duc d'Orleans, whose attentions to him were unremitting and unavailing; for he died a few days after their landing. Thus bereaved, the Duc d'Orleans left Malta for Messina, and visited the court of Palermo. Thence he went to Gibraltar, and thence returned to England.

The Duke's sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, whom in 1793 he had placed in a convent at Bremgarten, had removed to the convent of Fribourg under the protection of her aunt the Princess Conti. They afterward went to Bavaria, and into Hungary, where Mademoiselle d'Orleans remained until the Princess died. In 1802, her mother, the venerable Dutchess of Orleans, then residing in Catalonia, wishing to see her once more, sent a lady to conduct her from Presburg, and in the month of March they joyfully met after a separation of many years, and lived together at Figueras. In 1808 the French in-

vaded Spain, suddenly bombarded Figueras, and the ladies were compelled to escape in the night, and seek shelter with the Spaniards in arms. Information of their situation reached the Duc d'Orleans. He arranged to convey them from the scene of war. The Dutchess preferred to remain in Spain, but sent her daughter to join the Duke. Mademoiselle d'Orleans, expecting to find her brother at Malta, arrived there after his departure ; she sought him at Gibraltar with like ill success ; she then came to England, and missed him at London. Hastening to Portsmouth she met with him just as he was about to embark in an English frigate for the Mediterranean, and they sailed together for Palermo.

At the former visit of the Duc d'Orleans to the court of Sicily, he had become attached to the Princess Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV., who had been educated by a lady of singular merit. This princess possessed many amiable qualities and domestic qualifications, which she had exercised in a season of adversity, to the astonishment of most, and the admiration of all, of the court ladies. In 1798, on the invasion of the French, she had been hastily driven from Italy, to take refuge in Sicily with her brother, a child of six years, who perished during the horrors of a tempestuous and dangerous voyage. On her landing, nothing had been prepared, she was in distress from the death of her brother—in a new residence—in a strange country, with a trifling pittance. Notwithstanding rigid economy, she endured many privations ; but the qualifications she had derived from an excellent education her industry turned to account, and she preserved herself from dependence. This was the lady whom the Duc d'Orleans esteemed, and she equally esteemed him. It was on a visit to her that he embarked with his sister. At Palermo the marriage between the duke and the princess was settled. Besides his sister, he had but one dear relative—his mother ; and he was anxious that both should be present at the ceremony—the only ceremony in the world, perhaps, that contributed to his happiness. He had commissioned the Chevalier de Broval to arrange the means of conducting his venerated parent from a Spanish port to the island of Minorca ; and the Duke himself sailed to Port Mahon, and conducted her to Palermo, where, for the first time in sixteen years, the members of the Orleans family met together on the 25th of November, 1809, when the Duke's marriage was solemnized.

In May, 1810, the regency of Cadiz sent a frigate with despatches to the Duc d'Orleans, requesting him to accept of a

military command in Catalonia. He went on board—landed at Saragossa—was received with distinguished honours—viewed the fortifications of the place—hastened to Cadiz—but the commission he had been solicited to receive was withheld. The government of Spain was divided by faction, and he returned to Palermo in September, a few days after the birth of his first son. Shortly afterward political dissensions commenced in Sicily, and agitated the island for four years. In these the duke took no part except to conciliate. During this period he had another son and two daughters.

On the recall of Louis XVIII. to France, by the operations of the combined army, the Duc d'Orleans proceeded to Paris alone, where he made a short stay, and then returned to Sicily for his family. Shortly after their arrival, Louis XVIII. appointed him colonel-general of the Hussars. On the news of Napoleon's landing from Elba, in March 1815, the king ordered the duke to Lyons; but effectual resistance could not be made in that quarter, and the duke hastened back to Paris. On the 16th the king appointed him to command the army of the North, with the Duke of Treviso (Mortier). The duke adopted every possible means to secure the fidelity of the troops to the royal cause. The king was at Lisle, in person. It was his desire to make a stand there with the household troops, and the force that could be obtained from the National Guard, but all endeavour was fruitless, and to avoid capture he hastened away. On the 24th, the Duc d'Orleans followed him. A French paper reports that, when the duke took leave of his officers, he said to one of them, "Go, and resume the national cockade. I feel honoured by having worn it, and would wish to wear it still." If he said this, it was in reference to his having served under the tri-colour early in the revolution. On quitting Lisle he addressed the following letter to Mortier:—

"My dear Marshal,—I give up to you entirely the command which I have had the happiness of exercising conjointly with you in the department of the North. I am too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of France because new misfortunes compel me to quit it. I go to hide myself in retirement and oblivion. It only remains for me to release you from all the orders which I have given you, and to recommend you to do what your excellent judgment and patriotism may suggest as best for the interests of France.

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.

On this letter being shown to Napoleon, he turned to the Duke de Bassano, and said, "See what the Duke of Orleans has written to Mortier. This letter does him honour; he always had a French heart."

During the Hundred Days, the Duc d'Orleans retired to England; and Louis XVIII. was again seated on the throne of France. The Duke returned to Paris, but visited this country afterward. In the summer of 1816 he was residing at Twickenham and received a respectful invitation from the Society for the relief of Distressed Schoolmasters to honour their annual dinner in London with his company. He addressed an answer to the Treasurer of the Society, regretting his inability to attend, enclosing a liberal donation for the charity, and adding, "that among the motives which made him feel an attachment to school-masters was that of having been himself *once* a member of the profession. It was one of the many vicissitudes which had fallen to his lot, that, at a period of severe distress and persecution, he had good luck of being admitted as teacher in a college, where he gave lessons regularly for the space of eight months. He hoped, therefore, that the Society for distressed Schoolmasters would permit him to tender his mite as a fellow-schoolmaster." It is affirmed that some prophecies have a double sense. Mr. Brougham's memorable saying, "the *Schoolmaster* is abroad," and his views of what the Schoolmaster was capable of effecting were in one sense almost prophetic. The Duc d'Orleans, of ancient royal ancestry, and affianced to royalty—with the blood of Henry the Great running in his veins—with a landed income far greater than the richest in France to support his title—voluntarily fell into the ranks of a Society of Schoolmasters, and called himself "a fellow Schoolmaster." True, indeed, it is, figuratively, that "the schoolmaster is abroad;" and that, figuratively and literally, "the schoolmaster is enthroned," and teaching nations how to live.

It happened that, in the same year, 1816, during the absence of the late Duke of Kent at Brussels, his birth-day, November 2, was celebrated by a splendid public festival, at Fishmongers' Hall, and the Duc d'Orleans, as a personal and warmly-attached friend of the Duke of Kent, was one of the numerous guests. On giving the health of the royal visiter, the Lord Mayor, as chairman, particularly congratulated him on many circumstances connected with his residence in England. The Duc d'Orleans returned thanks in a brief but elegant address, delivered with peculiar fluency and force. He had been engaged, he said, as was flatteringly observed by the Lord Mayor, in

rearing his infant family in this country, and the best acknowledgment he could make, in return for the many kindnesses he had received here, was the assurance that, in his parental instructions, he should ever inculcate in the minds of his children the purest principles of the British constitution, and an endearing attachment to its institutions and liberties. There existed a warm friendship between the Duc d'Orleans and the late Duke of Kent, who a short time before his death wrote a letter with this passage :—“ the Duc d'Orleans is my particular friend, and I consider him, without a single exception, as one of the most judicious and sensible men that I ever knew, or can ever hope to know. He is perfectly well disposed ; but has many illiberal enemies among those who, with most cruel injustice, visit upon him their just hatred of the father.”

Paul Courier, vine dresser, a French writer, distinguished for talent and honoured for honesty, two qualities seldom combined, in a letter printed in 1822, says :—

“ I love the Duke of Orleans, because, although born a prince, he deigned to become a man. He never made any promise to me ; but, had the occasion occurred, I would have trusted in him, and, the compact once made, I think he would have adhered to it without deception, without deliberating about it with gentlemen, or consulting Jesuits on the subject. My reason for thinking so is this :—He is of our own time—this age, not of another ; and has seen little of what we call the *ancient regime*. He fought in our ranks, and therefore is not afraid of inferior officers. He afterward became an emigrant, contrary to his wish ; but he never made war against us, knowing too well what was due to his native soil, and that one cannot be in the right against one's country. He was aware of that and many other things which are not to be learned in the rank to which he belonged. Fortune willed that he should descend from that rank, and while young live like ourselves. In France he fought our common enemies ; out of France he laboured for his daily bread. It cannot be said of him that ‘ he has forgot nothing, and learned nothing.’ Among foreigners his business was instruction, not asking alms. He did not urge Pitt nor implore Cobourg to avenge the cause of aristocracy by ravaging our plains and burning our villages. Since his return he has not founded masses and seminaries, nor endowed convents, at our expense ; but, respectable in his conduct and in his morals, he has given an example which preaches better than the missionaries. In a word, he is a good man. For my part, I wish that all princes were like

him : none of them would lose by that, and we should be gainers. If he should ever govern he will put many things in order, not merely by the prudence which he may possess, but by another virtue not less considerable, but too little celebrated—I mean his economy ; a citizen-like quality, if you will, which the court abhors in a prince, but which is so valuable, so excellent, for us tax-payers. What do I say ?—so divine, that with it I would almost quit him for every other quality. While I speak of him in this way, it is not because I know him better than you ; nay, perhaps I do not know him so well, having never seen him. I know only what is said ; but the public is not stupid, and can judge princes, for they live in public. Neither is it because I am his partizan, for I have never been of any man's party. I do not follow any one ; for I do not seek my fortune in revolutions and counter-revolutions, which always turn to the profit of some folks. Born one of the people, I remain in my place by choice ; and, were I obliged to choose, I should still be of the party of the people—of the peasants like myself.”

When the Duc d'Orleans settled in France, after the Hundred Days, he quietly retired within his domestic circle. His children have been educated with the care which it may be imagined such parents would affectionately bestow on the offspring of their affection. Their mother, in every sense an excellent woman, has found constant employment in the regulation of her household, and in the education and management of her daughters. It is a happy family, characterized by a simplicity of manners inexplicable to people of fashion.

The chief estate of the Duc d'Orleans is the Palais Royal, so called from Louis XIII. and the Queen regent, with the Royal Family, having taken up their residence there in 1643. It was originally commenced in 1629 by the Cardinal Richelieu as a mere hotel, but by his enlargements it at length assumed the name of the Palais Cardinal. It was presented by him to Louis XIII., who formed the Place du Palais Royal in front of it to afford apartments to Louis XIV. He, on coming to the throne, increased the Palais Royal in size, and gave it to Philippe of Orleans, Duc de Chartres, upon his marriage with Marie Françoise de Bourbon. It was afterward successively modified, rebuilt, and embellished. In the former revolution it was called the Palais Egalité, and after the death of the late Duc d'Orleans was converted into cafés, ball-rooms, and places for gambling. In 1795 a military commission was established here, and it was the residence of the president and

other officers: it was then called the Palais du Tribunal. On the return of Louis XVIII., in 1814, the present Duc d'Orleans furnished it for his own residence. During the Hundred Days Lucien Buonaparte established himself in the Palais Royal and received the ministers and grand dignitaries of Napoleon. On the return of the King, the Duc d'Orleans resumed possession of the Palais Royal. The Duke's principal business and recreation in Paris have consisted in altering and improving this edifice, and in planting and adorning the gardens: his works of this kind have enabled him to give daily employment to upwards of 500 persons. He has been a judicious promoter of art, and contributed largely to the diffusion of useful knowledge and enlightened opinions.

Since the Duc d'Orleans finally settled in France, he has appeared very little in public affairs, and was seldom heard of but through the revilings of courtiers. The breaker of the prisoner's cage at St. Michael's, the proscribed and exiled of his country, the penniless wanderer in the high Alps, the teacher of the mathematics in the Grisons, the pedestrian traveller to the North Pole, the traverser of the American wilds, the observer of the people of despotic and free states, the student of the laws and usages of nations, the valiant warrior, the accomplished scholar, the lover of truth, the practical philosopher, the friend of Washington and Lafayette, knew all that passed, and said nothing. The cherished advisers of the living representative of divine right on the throne of France were eminent intriguers and fanatic priests, hoary in ignorance and superstition—believers in few things credible and in all things incredible,—confirmed disbelievers of "facts and revolutions," which they knew of and had witnessed. By them and by their master the opinions of the Duc d'Orleans were derided, and his advice scorned. Had he lifted his voice aloud he would have excited their imperishable hate, and perhaps fallen a victim to precautionary malice. He could not be the counsellor of him who counselled only with fools and flatterers, and he would not be the instigator of the people. He knew that the ripening of knowledge was not to be hastened, and that until ripened it would not work its perfect work. Wisely, therefore, he had calmly observed in silence the march of events which commenced with the principles that he grew up with, and with which he knew the procession would terminate. To acknowledge these principles was not etiquette at court. They had demanded introduction and were refused. The people determined to stay the plague of legitimacy—the principles

burst in—Charles X. bowed, and fell before them, as Dagon fell before the ark—and the schoolmaster of the Grisons became King of the French. An old courtier eagerly knelt to kiss his hands; Louis Philippe I., with the tri-colour on his heart, drew back, “We shall have done with this!” he said, and offered his hand for a friendly shake; the courtier drew back in return; “By the holy bottle of the holy oil of Rheims,” exclaimed the terrified ex-minion, “this is not a *King!*”



FULL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CELEBRATION

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

IN THE

CITY OF NEW-YORK,

ON THE 25TH NOVEMBER, 1830 :

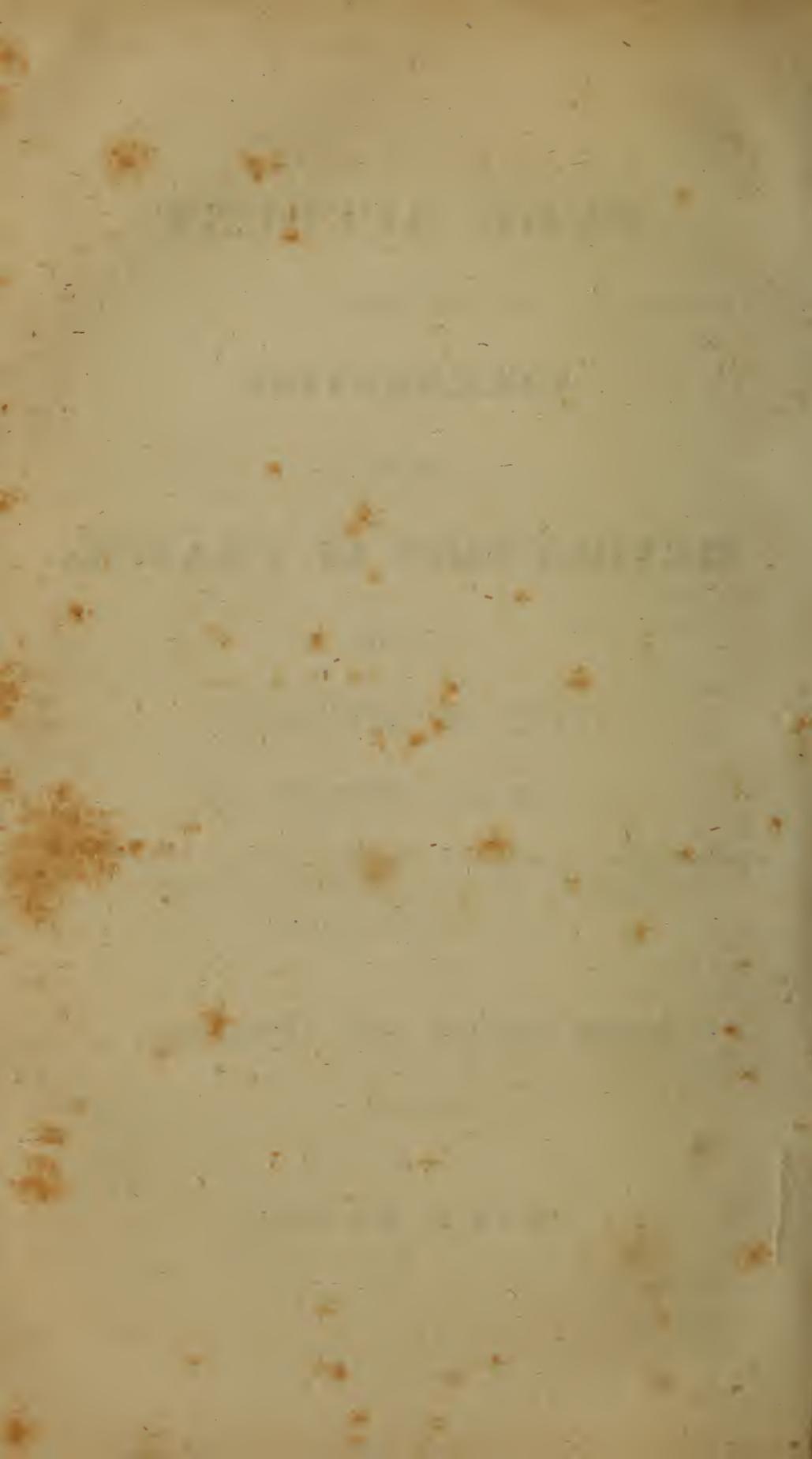
**BEING THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF AN EVENT THAT
RESTORED OUR CITIZENS TO THEIR HOMES
AND TO THE ENJOYMENT**

OF

THEIR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

BY

MYER MOSES.



REMARKS.

IF there be any event calculated to excite the noblest feelings of our nature, it is that of a great nation successfully contending against tyranny and oppression. The struggles and sufferings of the Greeks in the cause of freedom, elicited our warmest sympathy. Their emancipation from Turkish slavery was hailed by us with a generous enthusiasm, commensurate only to the subsequent disappointment occasioned by the annihilation of the hopes we had formed of the establishment of freedom upon the ruins of despotism, in that land where a republic had once so gloriously flourished. The crowned despots, who, under the guise of humanity, interposed between the heroic Greeks and their Moslem oppressors, willed it otherwise; and the descendants of Lycurgus and of Aristides, of Xenophon and of Pericles, read their destiny in the fetters which they are doomed to wear, as the vassals of some crowned despot.

The recent glorious and unprecedented revolution in *France*, which the world beholds with amazement, and regards with admiration, presents to us a picture of a more cheering description. We behold a great nation majestically resume its rights, and severing in a moment the chains which a vile despotism attempted to fasten upon it. Tyranny, resistance, and victory followed in a space so brief, as to seem the effect of miracle. The revolution was effected: its consequences will be felt by all nations, and extended to future ages. No individual can claim the merit of having originated it. Austerlitz had its Napoleon—Waterloo had its Wellington; but the victory of Paris belongs alone to its heroic people. It has been achieved by the people, and for the people; and to them attaches an unrivalled glory, whose brightness shall serve as a guiding light to the world, until nations cease to exist.

During the twenty-five years which the *Bourbons* had been exiled (a period of regeneration and grandeur for France), the condition of society and government had been changed: the principles of equality had been introduced into the former, and that of liberty into the latter. Restored in 1814 by the enemies of vanquished France—the armies of all Europe combined—the *Bourbons* were incapable of appreciating those

institutions, which had rendered France enlightened and great, and which had cost oceans of blood, and millions of treasure, to establish. Their first essay at innovation was to proscribe that flag whose variegated colours had, during one quarter of a century, shed a lustre over France, and led her sons to victory and to glory. As a substitute, they displayed that standard which had been so often covered by defeat and disgrace. They at once showed themselves to be the dynasty of the priests and emigrants, and surrendered to their creatures the government, and all else that belonged to, and was dear to the people. It was impossible that liberal and enlightened France could long endure such a state of things. Between the nation changed by the revolution, and the dynasty of the Bourbons, there existed an incompatibility which placed reconciliation out of the question; a contest between the two flags, the white and the tri-coloured—between the two principles, despotism and liberty—between the emigrants and the mass of the nation, was unavoidable. It was necessary that the Bourbons should vanquish and enslave *France* for ever, or that *France*, by a bold and determined blow, should exterminate the Bourbons from the land which they had disgraced. That great question has been decided: mistaking the moderation of the people for weakness, their patience for fear, the oppressors heaped wrong upon wrong, until the cup was filled to overflowing. The fire was now to kindle: the blaze was lighted by the *heroic Parisians*, and the three days of their brilliant illumination soon spread throughout regenerated France. The king of France “by the grace of God,” whose misrule had made him and his royal house exiles for ever from the land of their fathers, had ceased to govern; and the people, who had conquered for themselves, were fully competent to reflect, and to decide for themselves. *France*, beautiful France, now happy and free, illustrates the power vested in the *majesty of the people*.

It is not difficult to foretel the consequences which must result from this glorious event. A revolution in France is a revolution in Europe—her position constitutes her a centre of motion, and the slightest agitation which affects her, causes a vibration through every other part of the world. Belgium has already manifested its influence, in the successful accomplishment of her freedom and independence. A few noble and patriotic souls have raised the shout of liberty in the now gloomy regions of Spain and Portugal, which will reverberate triumphantly through their vine-clad mountains and fertile val-

leys. Prussia will feel its effects in Poland, and in its own dominions. Austria trembles for its consequences in Italy and Germany; and even in Great Britain the cause of reform will be advanced by it, in a manner the most effectual. *Russia*, remote as she is, with her extensive territory, her millions of population, her vassals, her lords, and her absolute government, swayed with a despot's power, yet has had scattered within her dominions sparks of the great fire wafted from revolutionary France; they will not become extinguished—some patriot hand will keep them alive.

In our own happy country, the sympathy which it has excited has been general and overwhelming. Statesmen, orators, poets, all contend in amicable rivalry for the honour of becoming its eulogists. The gallant veteran of our own glorious revolution, animated by the triumph of our ancient ally, grows young again in the recollection of his former achievements; with honest exultation he beholds his compatriot and fellow-soldier, the great and gallant Lafayette, by the unanimous acclamation of his chivalric countrymen, exalted to that distinguished situation to which his godlike devotion in the sacred cause of liberty so pre-eminently entitles him. Our yeomanry, the zealous advocates of liberty, the defenders of the oppressed and persecuted of the regions of the earth, the *legitimate* possessors of feelings and principles by the right of heritage from patriot fathers; freemen, not because they are the offspring of the *Republic*, but because they are noble in mind and exalted in character—because they look far beyond their own happy country, and rejoice or regret as their fellow-man becomes unfettered of the chains of tyranny, or sinks the devoted victim of the oppressor's wrongs:—with such a race of men, how boundless the sympathy, how immeasurable the excitement in all that relates to France and to Frenchmen; to that beautiful land that rose from the ruins and devastation of long-protracted wars, and that replaced what the invader's hand had despoiled, with a brilliancy and lustre that bedazzled the admiring world—to that nation of men, identified for the last forty years with all the great political events of the world, and with the most glorious and warlike achievements that the annals of history can produce; looking back to the battle of *Jemmapes*, tracing the long chain of brilliant victories, and at last resting the finger upon that link which points to *Lutzen and Bautzen*. These men, and the sons of these men, have, for themselves and for posterity, broken the sceptre of despotism: they now stand in the erect and

noble position of *man*. What their magnanimity claimed from us, they have—our sympathies, our rejoicings. For their happiness and prosperity we offer up our wishes, our hopes, and our desires. For the perpetuity of their institutions based upon *liberal principles*, a solemn invocation to Almighty God.

One other cause existed ; one other motive influenced ; one other feeling excited and pervaded all ranks of the people of this country—the good, the virtuous, the patriotic *Lafayette*. As in “1776” so was he found in “1789 ;” as in “’89” so was he to be approached in “1830,”—*the firm, undeviating advocate of the rights of man*. Was this not enough to make proud his fellow-citizens of this Republic, to raise the smile of approbation upon the furrowed cheek of his veteran associate, to rouse a spirit of exultation in their sons, to spread a great glory and rejoicing, and to proclaim from the mountain’s top, and from the recess of the valley that our own Lafayette—he, true to the principles that moved him to action in early youth—sought the standard of freedom, fought and conquered under it, and returning home triumphant, he gave to his native France his love, but to liberty his devotion. Firm and consistent, for forty years he has braved the storms of revolution. The advocate of Liberty, he rallied around her banner, and was alone impelled by her destinies. Now, in green old age, he stands in his regenerated land, as his and our dear *Washington* did in ours, “First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

PRIMARY MEETING,

Held at Westchester House, Oct. 5th, 1830, by the Working Men of the city of New-York, to take into consideration the propriety of celebrating the late glorious *Revolution in France*.

The meeting being organized, the following resolutions were submitted by Mr. *Robert Walker*, and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this meeting cannot but express their admiration and esteem for the brave and magnanimous daring of their brother mechanics and working men of Paris, who, rising in their strength, regardless of consequences to themselves, nobly burst as under the chains which an ignorant and bigoted aristocracy had forged to subvert the rights and liberties of France.

Animated by a desire of discharging the debt of gratitude which every friend of freedom feels himself under to these noble heroes, be it

Resolved, That a Committee of one from each Ward be appointed to prepare an address and call a public meeting for the purpose of congratulating (to use the words of that veteran of liberty, Lafayette) "the glorious Parisian population," on the happy result of their noble devotion and sacrifices to the cause of the liberties of mankind.

In accordance with the last resolution, the following persons were named :

1st Ward, Willoughby Lynde.	8th Ward, Geo. H. Evans.
2d " John Ditchett.	9th " John Alwaise.
3d " Joel Curtis.	10th " Eben'r. Whiting.
4th " George Anderson.	11th " James Wheeler.
5th " Robert Walker.	12th " Thomas Cooper.
6th " Henry Durell.	13th " Robert Hogbin.
7th " David Byng.	14th " Andrew Jackson.

Resolved, That Mr. Paul M. P. Durando be added to the committee.

Resolved, That this meeting adjourn.

JOSEPH PERKINS, Chairman.

EDW. C. COOPER, Secretary.

It was contemplated to have convened the above committee on the evening of the 8th, but the fast approaching period of the elections throughout the state, and the general excitement that prevailed with all the conflicting parties, induced the committee to defer any farther arrangements, until that period, when all parties having exercised their right of active exertion and their right of suffrage, should be restored to that calm of feeling, which always in our happy country succeeds the storm of political contest ; accordingly, no measures in advance of the grateful object contemplated were adopted until the meeting held at Westchester House, November 8th, 1830.

CELEBRATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

At a meeting of the Committee of Mechanics and Working Men, appointed by a public meeting of their fellow-citizens, held at the Westchester House, Bowery, Nov. 8, 1830, in the absence of the chairman, Mr. ROBERT WALKER was called to the chair, and JOHN ALWAISE appointed Secretary ; the subjoined resolution was adopted.

Resolved, that in order to render the contemplated cele

bration more effective, and to divest it of all party feeling, the committee increase their numbers, by adding to the list the names of the following citizens.

ORIGINAL COMMITTEE.

Willoughby Lynde	Henry Durell	James Wheeler
John Ditchett	David Byng	Thos. Cooper
Joel Curtis	George H. Evans	Robert Hogbin
George Anderson	John Alwaise	Andrew Jackson
Robert Walker	Ebenezer Whiting	P. M. P. Durando

ADDITIONAL NAMES.

Walter Bowne	Gen. Lamb	G. C. Verplanck
Thos. Hertell	N. Schureman	T. M. W. Young
M. M. Noah	George Seaman	Jona. Thompson
H. C. Stinemets	Henry S. Watson	O. W. M. Price
George D. Strong	Henry Durell	Peter Stagg
Joseph Dreyfous	W. W. Russell	Isaac Webb
John B. Cazeaux	George Gorum	John Webb
Henry Riell	Seth Geer	Geo. W. Niven
Joel P. White	Azariah Ross	Isaac Smith
Billings Hayward	Wm. P. Hallett	Joseph C. Hart
R. C. M'Cormick	Gideon Tucker	— Vouthier
George Deloines	Campbell P. White	Louis Gayot
A. Brunel	Henry W. Titus	Dr. J. Dekay
Fulgence Chegary	Jona. Thompson	Clarkson Crolius
John Bruce	Daniel Gorham	Henry Hone
— Chevrolat	Francis Kain	David Austin
Peter Mondon	John Holly	Albert Gallatin
James R. Page	Charles Mills	James Monroe
Addison Hill	G. C. Verplanck	S. L. Gouverneur
C. B. Marshall	Wm. H. Bunn	Thomas H. Green
John Haggerty	John Swain	Capt. Monroe
John P. White	Francis Cutting	Ebenezer Ford
Joseph Perkins	C. C. Cambreleng	E. J. Webb
John Remick	John Ferguson, Na-	John Eastmond
Russel White	val Officer	Thos. H. Legget
Jonathan Osborn	George C. Morgan	E. McGaraghan
B. J. Meserole	Wm. Froment	Charles O'Conner
J. M. Jaquelin	John Lang	Cass. Childs
General Morton	Archibald Tappan	Henry S. Meeks
Elisha W. King	John I. Mumford	Fitz G. Hallock
P. C. M. Andrews	Alex. Brady	Alfred S. Pell
Francis Pares	Col. G. P. Morris	C. Darbefeuille

Barnabas Bates	Anthony Haff	Joseph Perkins
Wm. Jas. M'Neven	Wm. H. Peck	Jacob Wyckoff
Jacob Perkins	Mordecai Myers	Nicholas Dean
Paul Grout	E. C. Cooper	Richard Riker
E. Bijota	J. J. Cameron	Henry Crevolin
James Palmer	Thomas Wills	Dennis M'Carthy
James W. Webb	John F. Sibell	Edward M'Ginnis
Daniel Jackson	Saml. Swartwout	Gen. Muir
Israel Pinckney	Joseph Baggot	Robert M'Queen
S. T. McKinney	Adam Thompson	John Lozier
Reuben Withers	John L. Graham	John Latham
Jas. G. Bennet	James Morgan	Oliver White
Philip Hone	Elijah F. Purdy	Abm. Kershaw
Danl. Ward	J. W. Barney	Jacob Lorillard
Jonathan Marshall	Col. Murray	Gideon Lee
James A. Robinson	Col. N. F. Arnold	David Bryson
John Robinson	Charles Wilkes	Thos. W. Harper
George Bruce	Isaac Wright	Com. Chauncey
John Hillyer	D. Crassous	W. Seaman
Wm. Leavins	John Harris	Col. Trumbull
Thos. Tate	Simon Clannon	Henry Egbert
Wm. Kelly	John Fowler	Rembrandt Peale
Fred. S. Cozzens	Cornelius McLean	Judge Oakley
John Y. Cebra	John Morrison	Benjamin Bailey
P. Pitou	Joseph Hunt	Asher Martin
Henry McKee	Preserved Fish	Peter Young
N. Darling	Elisha Tibbitts	Timothy Woodruff
D. C. Pell	Charles Egleson	Thos. Snowden
Robert Emmett	Isaac Pierce	John R. Peters
Oliver M. Lowndes	Gen. Doughty	Doctor Pascalis
H. L. Glen	John L. Graham	Doct. Peixotto
Levi F. Prescott	Hugh Maxwell	Duncan Phyfe
John Dean	Gen. Manley	Col. Alexr. Ming, jr.
John Paterson	Andrew Wilson	W. B. Townsend
M. Van Schaick	David Rogers	Michael Burnham
John Frazee	Dudley Selden	Amos Butler
Wm. H. Ball	George Curtis	Myer Moses
Peter King	Silas M. Stillwell	Mr. Stanislaus
George W. Arnold	John M. Bloodgood	Mr. Denman (Editor
S. Sherlette	Gen. Spicer	Truth Teller)
J. H. Potts	David M'Gee	Wm. Marshall
Henry Eckford	Samuel Lloyd	Jeremiah Dodge
James Shaw	Joseph Durell	Peter Pinckney
Wm. S. Coe	Wm. Geib	J. W. Walker

David Ramsay	Maturin Livingston	Elias Wade, Jr.
S. Van Rensselaer	Col. Varick	Isaac Cross
Morgan Lewis	Abm. Martling	Nicholas C. Everett
Nicholas Fish	Ogden Hoffman	Thomas Whale
Wm. W. Gilbert	Col. Charles King	Doct. Kipp
Comfort Sands	Col. Charles Mapes	A. Le Foy
Dr. McCormick	Lt. Levy, of the Navy	Amos Palmer
Governor Yates	John Manesca	John Wallis
Gen. Coates	C. Cronus, Jr.	Joseph Mount
J. Sands (Brooklyn)		

On motion, Resolved, that the recent triumph of Liberty in France be celebrated in this city, on the 25th inst.

On motion, Resolved, that this committee adjourn, to meet on Friday evening next, Nov. 12, at 7 o'clock, at Tammany Hall, and that the above named citizens consider themselves members of the committee, and as such are respectfully invited to attend.

On motion, Resolved, that the daily and weekly papers in this city be requested to publish the foregoing proceedings including the list of names.

ROBERT WALKER, Chairman.

JOHN ALWAISE, Secretary.

At a subsequent meeting of the original Committee, it was resolved that the Hon. James Monroe be requested to act as President of the meeting to be held at Tammany Hall on the 12th instant; and the Hon. Walter Bowne, and Judge Hertell, were appointed a committee to address him upon the subject. The following correspondence took place upon this interesting occasion.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 12th, 1830.

The Committee of Mechanics and Working Men, and other citizens of New-York, appointed by a public meeting held at the Westchester House on the 8th inst. to make arrangements to celebrate the recent glorious triumph of Liberty in France, respectfully invite Col. MONROE, late President of the United States, to preside at the meeting to be held this evening at Tammany Hall, to adopt measures to celebrate the great event in a suitable manner.

The Committee, in making this request of their venerable and highly esteemed fellow-citizen, are fully aware of the truth, and duly appreciate the facts, that the earliest efforts of his youth—the energies of his manhood, and the decline of life,

have been marked both in the cabinet and the field, with a constant and untiring zeal in the cause of liberty and free principles.—Though the late signal overthrow of despotic misrule and oppression in France cannot but be interesting to all the friends of civil and religious liberty throughout the world, it must be peculiarly gratifying to a veteran and companion in arms of our great and good fellow-citizen, the venerable LA FAYETTE.

The Committee therefore hope that the health of Colonel MONROE will enable him to indulge his fellow-citizens with his presence at the meeting this evening, to preside over their deliberations.

In behalf of the Committee.

WALTER BOWNE.

THOMAS HERTTELL.

Col. JAMES MONROE, late President of the United States.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 12th, 1830.

I have received your invitation to attend the meeting, to be held this evening at Tammany Hall, of the Mechanics, Working-Men, and other citizens of New-York, to celebrate the late glorious revolution in France, in favour of liberty, with the sensibility which so generous a mark of your confidence was calculated to excite.

An effort in favour of liberty, by the people of any country, has always commanded my high respect, and its failure excited my deep regret. This remark applies with peculiar force to France, from whom we derived great aid in our revolutionary contest. Having witnessed for several years, in my mission to that country, the exertions of that people in support of that great cause, in which they displayed a gallantry and patriotism, which repulsed the surrounding nations, and astonished the civilized world, I could not otherwise than be deeply affected by its failure. I have rejoiced to find, that the most afflicting disaster did not extinguish, nor even diminish the spirit, as has been proved by the recent most glorious event. The moderation and humanity which they have displayed, show that they have derived useful admonition from the errors of their former struggle. The prudence, also, with which they have adopted the council of virtuous and enlightened men, to whom they have committed the direction of affairs, affords an additional strong ground on which to confide in their success.

Having seen in our revolutionary struggle, the most satisfactory proofs of the talent, virtue, and gallantry of our fellow-citi-

zen, General La Fayette, and been closely connected with him and his affairs, in my missions to France, in which his devotion to liberty, and every previous impression in his favour, were confirmed, I have seen with delight, his call by the nation to the station which he now holds, because I find in it a generous reward of his merit, and great support from his councils, to the cause in which France is engaged.

It is my intention to attend your meeting, if my health will permit, and I shall do it, delicate as it is, if no unfavourable change occurs.

JAMES MONROE.

Walter Bowne, Thomas Herttell, Esqs.

MEETING AT TAMMANY HALL, NOV. 12TH.

Honourable James Monroe, President; Albert Gallatin, Thomas Herttell, Walter Bowne, Esqs., Vice-Presidents; Daniel Jackson, of the 1st Ward, M. M. Noah, Esqs., Secretaries.

There are circumstances of occasional occurrence, that, abstracted from all other considerations, seem to carry with them their own consequence, and to be sustained alone upon their exclusive merits; such indeed may be said of *Mr. Monroe's* presiding at this meeting. Notwithstanding the call was only upon the General Committee, yet the great Hall of St. Tammany was crowded to excess, a fact highly complimentary to the feelings of those who were present, as it was not only evincive of their desire to join in the contemplated celebration, but was also a testimonial of respect towards one of the earliest Patriots of the Republic, who had consented to preside upon the occasion.

With this numerous assemblage, all was dignified silence,—all respectful attention,—when the venerable President rose to address the meeting. He spoke of the hallowed events of our own glorious revolution, and remarked upon the admirable form of our government, as fully illustrative of the happy results of our Independence. He reverted to this period of history as making the first serious impression upon the feelings of the people of Europe, and considered the events of those days as materially instrumental in directing the mass of mankind to a proper consideration of their condition; it aroused their latent faculties and energies, and pointed to the barriers that had so long impeded their course to the enjoyment of ra-

tional liberty. He then drew the attention of the meeting to the first revolution of *France*, and took an enlightened view of the circumstances connected with it, comparatively with those identified with the events of the 27th, 28th, and 29th July, 1830,—the tendency of which was to show the distinction between the corrupt material that unfortunately was permitted to amalgamate with the pure spirits of 1789, and which destroyed the glorious ends then contemplated to be realized; but now, the people were moved to action by one virtuous feeling—one glorious impulse—and therefore every rational inference would lead to the conclusion, that the present revolution would not only secure to the French people happiness and freedom, but would also be generally beneficial to mankind.

Mr. Monroe remarked upon the character of the illustrious *Lafayette*, the early and untiring advocate in the cause of freedom; he portrayed with feeling emotion the services rendered by that distinguished individual to our beloved country, and claimed for him a large share of the enviable honour connected with the glorious results of the Revolutionary War; he reverted to the virtuous and patriotic course adopted by his friend *Lafayette*, in both the revolutions of France, and remarked, that under the most severe and difficult trials called for from exigencies peculiarly interesting to the whole civilized world, and upon which were suspended the destinies of his country, that *Lafayette* was alone influenced by the purest feelings of patriotism. He slightly touched upon the interesting crisis of his embassy to France, and spoke of scenes that he had witnessed, and events with which he had been identified, the better to illustrate the purity of character that marked his early and distinguished friend, in order to strengthen, if possible, a sense of the claim of gratitude due to the services, and of admiration to the virtues, of this firm and determined advocate in the cause of rational liberty.

The respected speaker highly commended the objects of the meeting, he observed that it particularly belonged to the people of this happy country, to commemorate an event that must come home to the feelings of all; that none could so well appreciate the noble efforts of a people to disenthral themselves from oppression, than that nation who had fought their way to liberty, and were now in the full enjoyment of their emancipation. He spoke of the great State of New-York,—of her vast resources; and what in the course of no distant period, they would develope, and add to her unparalleled prosperity.

He thanked the meeting for the distinction manifested towards him, and begged them to believe that he fully participated in their feelings upon this grateful occasion. The venerable President then took his seat, amid the thrice reiterated cheers and acclamations of the numerous assemblage.

The following preamble and resolutions were then offered and unanimously adopted :

Whereas the late revolution in France, by the bravery, justice, and moderation which characterized it, is worthy of being celebrated by the freemen of this country, as a signal triumph of an enlightened people, who have merited the enjoyment of liberty by their gallant resistance to tyranny and oppression,—Therefore

Resolved, That the 25th of November, being the anniversary of the evacuation of this city in 1783, be fixed upon to commemorate the glorious results of the French Revolution, and that a procession of the working men, artisans, mechanics, charitable and literary societies, and other citizens, be recommended on that day.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to confer with, and ask the co-operation of our uniform corps, in the celebration of this glorious event.

Resolved, That the Major-Generals of Infantry be requested to invite the officers of their respective commands to join in the celebration of the day.

Resolved, That the Honourable the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of New-York be invited to participate in the festivities of the day, under such arrangements as that honourable body shall deem proper.

Resolved, That the natives of France be invited to unite in the celebration of the day, and that the tri-coloured flag be displayed on that day from all the public places.

Resolved, That the Firemen, with their badges and banners, be invited to join the procession.

Resolved, That the Students of Columbia College, with their President and Professors, together with the Scholars of the Public Schools, be requested to join in the procession.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to receive delegates from the different mechanic and charitable societies disposed to participate in the celebration, and that such societies under their respective officers will assemble on that day, at places to be appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to prepare an Address to the French people, expressive of the

feelings of the people of New-York on their recent and glorious triumphs.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to select an Orator on the occasion.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to choose a Grand Marshal of the day.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the Students of the College and Scholars of the Public Schools.

Resolved, That a committee of fifty persons be appointed as a General Executive Committee of Arrangements, who shall be authorized to take measures for the accommodation and order of the different societies—for the accommodation of public functionaries—to fix the time and place of the Oration, and to do such other acts as may be calculated to carry into effect the foregoing resolutions, and that they publish the order of the day in the different papers.

Committee to receive Deputations from the different Mechanic Societies disposed to join in the celebration.

Robert Walker	Ebenezer Ford	Francis Cain
Joel Curtis	James Conner	P. M. Durando
Paul Grout		

Committee to receive Deputations from Colleges and Public Schools.

Samuel Stevens	Hugh Maxwell	Richard Riker
Dr. D. L. Peixotto	Gideon Lee	Willoughby Lynde
Oliver M. Lownds		

Committee to prepare an Address to the French People.

Thomas Herttell	Charles King	Dudley Selden
John Duer	Dr. McNevin	John Frazee
Samuel Swartwout		

Committee to select an Orator.

Wm. M. Price	S. L. Gouverneur	Geo. D. Strong
Dr. DeKay	Henry Hone	Alex. M. Muir
Jos. Perkins		

Committee to select Grand Marshal.

Andrew Jackson	B. J. Meserole	David Byng
Col. Murray	John Alwaise	Frederick Groshon
John Ditchitt		

Music Committee.

Geo. P. Morris	Clarkson Crolius, jr.	Geo. W. Arnold
Jas. Bellanay	Joseph Dreyfous	Paul Grout
Joseph Bouchaud		

Committee to confer with the Military, to produce their co-operation in the celebration.

Jas. Watson Webb	Jas. A. Moore	Saml. J. Hunt
J. J. Manning	H. A. Simmons	

General Committee of Superintendence and Arrangement.

Philip Hone	M. Van Schaick	P. C. Peaquet
Geo. Bruce	Amos Palmer	Antoine S. Perrott
Jos. Baggott	Jacob Lorillard	Joseph Dreyfous
Charles O'Conner	Jas. Watson Webb	John Lozier
Lewis A. Brunel	Daniel E. Tylee	Barnabas Bates
Geo. W. Arnold	John I. Mumford	Lewis Gerjot
C. Crolius, sen.	John Lang	Col. G. P. Morris
Sylvanus Miller	Wm. M. Price	Alderman Strong
Joseph Bouchaud	Walter Bowne	Wm. B. Townsend
Edward J. Webb	J. B. Cazeaux	Campbell P. White
Thomas Tate	Elisha Tibbits	Henry Arcularius
Geo. H. Evans	M. M. Noah	James Auchincloss
Wm. Seaman	Col. Pentz	Amos Butler
N. Dean	Daniel Jackson	Michael Burnham
Doct. Pascalis	Gen. Spicer	Francis Hall
Simon Clannon	Wm. Leavins	David Hale
Cornelius McLane	Col. Mumford	John L. Graham
Nicholas C. Everett	James G. Bennett	P. C. M. Andrews
Henry Eckford		

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries, and published.

JAMES MONROE, President.

ALBERT GALLATIN, }

WALTER BOWNE, }

THOMAS HERTTELL, }

Vice-Presidents.

DANIEL JACKSON, }

M. M. NOAH, }

Secretaries.

Governor OLIVER WOLCOTT, then in this city, was waited upon by Mr. HERTTELL, in behalf of the Committee, who requested him to act as one of the Vice-Presidents of the meeting at Tammany Hall, to make arrangements for the celebra-

tion of the late glorious Revolution in France. He stated to Mr. Herttell, and desired him to say to the Committee, that he participated largely in the feelings which prompted this celebration, and, did his health permit, he would be most happy in uniting with the citizens of New-York, in testifying his high estimation of the successful struggle of the Patriots of France against their Bourbon oppressors. He hoped, however, that his name might appear among the friends of liberty, who upon this occasion may assemble to commemorate one of the most important events which has marked the nineteenth century.

At a meeting of the General Committee of Superintendence and Arrangements for the Celebration of the French Revolution, held at Tammany Hall on Saturday evening, the 13th inst. PHILIP HONE was appointed Chairman, and Wm. M. Price and Daniel Jackson Secretaries.

The following committee was appointed to originate a plan of celebration, and to report the same to a meeting of the General Committee of Arrangements on Tuesday evening next at 7 o'clock. Walter Bowne, John B. Cazeaux, John Lozier, P. C. Montgomery Andrews, Wm. B. Townsend, Simon Clannon, Daniel Jackson, Philip Hone, and the chairmen of the several special Committees heretofore appointed; viz. Jas. Watson Webb, Robt. Walker, Samuel Stevens, Thos. Herttell, Wm. M. Price, and Andrew Jackson.

Resolved, That the above committee be directed to meet at this place on Monday evening, at 7 o'clock.

A Committee of Finance was appointed as follows:—Saml. Swartwout, Lewis A. Brunel, J. B. Cazeaux, Geo. Bruce, and Myndert Van Schaick.

Resolved, That the committee to receive deputations from colleges and public schools, be requested to invite the Superintendents, Professors, and Cadets of the United States' Military Academy at West Point, to unite in the celebration of the day.

The following committee was appointed to take charge of the subject of printing, viz. Wm. B. Townsend, Geo. H. Evans, Daniel E. Tylee.

Resolved, That the Chairman be empowered to appoint a committee of seven, to confer with the Fire Department, on the subject of the above celebration.

PHILIP HONE, Chairman.

WM. M. PRICE, }
DANL. JACKSON, } Secretaries.

The Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements extended invitations to the Cincinnati Society—to the U. S. Officers of the revolutionary and of the late war—to the Albany Military Association—to the Superintendent, Professors, and Cadets of the Military Academy at West Point—to the Honourable the Corporation of the village of Brooklyn—to the College of Physicians and Surgeons—to the Library Association of Clinton Hall, and to the Apprentices' Association. The following veterans of 1776 were also invited: Anthony Glenn, Enoch Crosby, David Williams, Alexander Whalley, and John Van Norsdale. These, together with such other invitations as are embraced in the resolutions of the general meeting of the 12th, were all accepted, with the exception of the *West Point* Institution, which was declined, not because that fair proportion of our youths identified with that *National School* were not alive to the cause, and fired to the same "amor patria" that so recently had blazed forth in the *Polytechnic School of Paris*,—but growing out of the necessity incumbent upon the *Principal*, rigidly to conform to the laws prescribed, and not to be encroached upon even for a cause so peculiarly interesting, and one that must have elicited at *West Point* a more than common *sympathy*.

The Committees specially appointed made the following nominations—

Samuel L. Gouverneur, Orator of the Day.

The Reverend Richard Varick Dey was requested to pronounce a prayer upon the occasion of the Celebration.

Samuel Swartwout, Marshal-in-Chief;

Who appointed the following Gentlemen as Aids :

M. M. Noah,	George Davis,	B. Delapier,
Charles Clinton,	John L. Graham,	Wm. Dumont,
Joel Curtis,	T. Groshon,	E. M. Greenway,
John R. Livingston,	Silas E. Burrows,	Robt. Lawrence,
C. D. Colden,	Danl. Jackson,	Charles McEvers, jr.
M. M. Quackenbos,	Amos Palmer,	Richard Pennell.
Prosper M. Wetmore,	G. D. Strong,	Henry Ogden.

Dress of the Marshal-in-Chief and his Aids.

Blue Coat, with white facings and gilt buttons.

Buff Vest, with plain gilt buttons.

White Pantaloons.

Chapeau-de-bras, tri-coloured Cockade and Plume.

Tri-coloured Scarfs.

Tri-coloured Badge, with the stripes of the United States' flag to be worn on each lappel.

Dress Sword and gilt Spurs.

The *Marshal-in-Chief* received a deputation from a number of French gentlemen, who volunteered to attend him as an escort, on the part of the French population of this city. The following is the correspondence upon the subject.

New-York, Nov. 19, 1830.

Gentlemen—Your obliging offer to attend the *Marshal-in-Chief*, on the 25th, as an escort, on the part of the French population of this city, is accepted with great satisfaction.

It will afford me the greatest pleasure to be associated with and have near me on that day, young and chivalric Frenchmen, the natives of that noble nation whose wonderful achievements and astonishing moderation during the recent revolution, have filled the world with admiration.

The dress and other equestrian equipments to be used on the occasion, will be selected by yourselves. The time and place of meeting on the celebration will be communicated in general orders.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

S. SWARTWOUT, *Marshal-in-Chief*.

To Martins Panon, H. Chevrolat, G. Duvivier, Th. Auber, C. Calemard, Dr. Depeyre, A. Lemoyne, A. S. Perrot, Esquires.

New-York, Nov. 22, 1830.

SAML. SWARTWOUT, *Marshal-in-Chief*,

Sir—In the name of my comrades, as well as in my own, I acknowledge the receipt of the letter you addressed to us, on the 19th inst., and return you our sincere thanks for the flattering expressions it contains.

Permit me to avail myself of this opportunity to inform you, that Mr. T. Auber having declined the honour conferred upon him, Mr. Vouthier has been elected in his place.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

M. PANON.

The *Marshal-in-Chief* appointed Col. *James B. Murray* as officer of the day of celebration to take charge of the Washington Parade Ground, who associated with him Col. *S. J. Mumford*.

Capt. *John D. Jackson*, of the "*Scott Cadets*" was also

appointed to mount guard at the Washington Parade Ground, and to report to Col. *Murray* for orders.

Committee to prepare an Address to the French People.

The above Committee appointed *William M. Price, Esq.* to read said Address.

Meeting of the Committee of Arrangements subsequent to the day of Celebration.

At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements, the Committee to prepare an Address to the French People, and the Finance Committee, P. Hone, Chairman, Wm. M. Price, Daniel Jackson, Secretaries. The Committee to whom was referred the application to Mr. Gouverneur for a copy of his oration, reported, that Mr. Gouverneur complied with their request.

[Correspondence.]

NEW-YORK, November 30th, 1830.

Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esquire.

Sir—We have the honour of enclosing to you a copy of the proceedings of the Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the late Revolution in France, held at Tammany Hall, on Monday, 29th November, 1830. As the Committee appointed at that meeting, we request you will favour us with a copy of your oration for publication, at such time as may be most convenient. We are with great regard,

WILLIAM M. PRICE,
ANDREW JACKSON,
SAMUEL SWARTWOUT,

Gentlemen—I have just received your very flattering note of this date; my oration was delivered at your request. I enclose the only copy in existence, which is subject to your control. With great respect, your obed't serv't,

SAML. L. GOUVERNEUR.

New-York, 30th Nov. 1830.

To Messrs. WM. M. PRICE,
SAMUEL SWARTWOUT,
ANDREW JACKSON.

Resolved, That the above Committee be empowered to publish the oration in the manner they may deem proper.

Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretaries address a letter to Gen. Lafayette, introducing Messrs. Thos. Herttell, J. B. Cazeaux, Hopkins McCracken, and Frederick Bronson, as bearers of the address to the French People.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Committee of Arrangements for celebrating the French Revolution, are hereby presented to Samuel Swartwout, Esq. Marshal-in-chief, for the able manner in which he carried into effect the regulations of the Committee, and that his arrangements of the procession, and the final completion of the proceedings at the Washington Parade Ground, are highly satisfactory to this Committee, as they believe to the public at large.

PHILIP HONE, Chairman.

WM. M. PRICE, }
DANIEL JACKSON, } Secretaries.

Immediately after the publication of the proceedings at Tammany Hall on the 12th instant, meetings were held of various societies, and associations, and we give an account of such meetings, as illustrative of the ardent feeling that prevailed, and as indicative not of a momentary excitement, but of the deep impression made, and of the lively interest that existed towards an enlightened and valiant people; of a nation who had delivered themselves from oppression, and who had given to the world a grand and noble scene to gaze upon,—that while in amazement they viewed the unparalleled achievement, they were lost in admiration of the prudence and moderation which succeeded it.

MEETING OF PRINTERS.

A meeting of the Printers of the city of New-York was held at the Shakspeare Hotel, on Wednesday evening, November 17th, 1830. Mr. John Lang was appointed Chairman, and William W. Vermilye and John W. Walker were appointed Secretaries.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered, and unanimously adopted:—

“That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” are *truths* which our fathers of the Revolution, at a fearful crisis, pro-

nounced to the world as “*self-evident*.” In support of the great principles involved in them, their swords were unsheathed—their blood was spilt, and their treasure lavished. During the seven years’ struggle which followed the noble declaration, in which the natural rights of man are clearly and boldly defined, the influence of the PRESS was powerfully felt. The Press was then, as now, “the great LEVER of public opinion.” By its exercise, the spirit of liberty and patriotism was instilled into the bosom of the American public; and truly has it been said, that its influence, in those dark days, “was powerful enough to break the way for the march and the swords of heroes; and did as much as *they*, to sever the chains which tyranny would have perpetuated.” It is acknowledged, that principally through the agency of the Press, and those immediately connected with it, was the recent important and glorious Revolution in France effected—a Revolution which is destined ultimately to shake to its centre every despotism in the old world! The march of human improvement is onward. The rays of *truth* and of *knowledge*, lighted into eternal existence by the Press, are already searching the dark places of tyranny, and dazzling the eyes, and striking dismay to the hearts, of the deluded believers in “the *divine* right of Kings.”

It is with sentiments of pride, arising from an intimate connexion with the Press, and by the ties of fellow craftsmen with those who were among the first to step forth boldly in defence of the rights of man, in the perilous hour, do we declare our participation, in commensurate degree, in the patriotic enthusiasm which animates the bosom of our whole community; and rejoicing, as we do, in common with our fellow-citizens generally, that the noble spirit of our patriot fathers which triumphed over the hosts of tyranny, and lighted the way to the enjoyment of our many civil and religious blessings, has aroused the slumbering energies of the French people to a struggle which has resulted so gloriously, and which will be felt by all future generations of men: therefore,

Resolved, That we consider the late glorious triumph of liberal principles in France, as an event second in importance only to *our own* great and memorable achievement of independence.

Resolved, as Americans, friends of civil liberty and social order, we hold in high veneration the character of that great and good man, who, after passing the storms of two revolutions, one in the new, and the other in the old world, has, in

the evening of his days, afforded a new and brilliant instance of his wisdom and patriotism, in the events which have recently transpired in his native land.

Resolved, That as this brilliant revolution originated with and was principally effected by the talents, patriotism, enterprise, and undaunted public spirit of our *typographical brethren* in Paris, it particularly becomes *us* to unite in the proposed celebration on the 25th instant. Therefore

Resolved, That we cordially accept the invitation of the "Committee appointed at Tammany Hall, on the 12th instant, to receive deputations from the different Societies."

Resolved, That Messrs. Chandler, Buckingham, and Van Norden be, and they are hereby appointed delegates to confer with the above-named committee at Tammany Hall on Thursday evening.

Resolved, That Messrs. Morris, Conner, and M'Devitt, be a committee to select a suitable person to prepare an ode for the occasion.

Resolved, That John Lang be appointed Grand Marshal, and A. Ming, Jr. and Thomas W. Renne, Deputy Marshals for the day.

Resolved, That William E. Dean, William Osborne, and Charles M'Devitt be a committee to confer with Messrs. Hoe and Rust, on the subject of presses and a moveable stage.

Resolved, That John W. Walker, Hugh Pattinson, and Thomas Crooker be a Finance and Printing Committee.

Resolved, That the following be a General Committee, with full powers to appoint Sub-Committees, and make all such arrangements as they may deem expedient, for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of this meeting:—George F. Hopkins, James Swords, George Long, Michael Burnham, Wm. L. Stone, Amos Butler, John W. Walker, Jonathan Seymour, John Turner, Cornelius S. Van Winkle, John Elliott, Thomas Snowden, David Ramsey, E. B. Clayton, Daniel Fanshaw, P. C. M. Andrews, A. Chandler, H. C. Sleight, T. A. Greene, D. K. Minor, Thomas W. Renne, Wm. G. Heyer, Wm. A. Mercein, Justis S. Redfield, John Watt, John Windt, James Smith, Wm. Osborne, Wm. L. Pelsue, N. L. Coombes, James Thomas, Hugh Pattinson, John Finch, Wm. E. Dean, Harris Sage, Jacob P. Jones, S. H. Harris, T. Fish, I. Hoit, Geo. Mather, N. Penfold, Hammond Wallis, A. Sherman, W. Lynde, S. Bartlett, Thomas Jordan, G. L. Austin, B. C. Brown, James Booth, H. A. Brown, Wm. S. Dorr, Robert Vanderpool, J. M. Danforth, Edward Grattan, Thomas George, John Lintz, M. Van Yorx, Joseph W. Hynde, Benjamin G. Jansen, John C. Morrison, John M'Kay, Alexander Newman, John Nald, H. R. Piercey, S. R. Parker, Samuel Rust, Jesse Rice, F. S. Scatchard, Alexander Taylor, James Turney, William Van Norden, Thomas Crooker, Alex. Ming, jun.

Resolved, That a request be made to the publishers of daily papers to suspend the publication of their papers one day, in order that those engaged upon them may have an opportunity to join in the celebration.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published in all the papers in the city.

JOHN LANG, Chairman.

WM. W. VERMILYE, }
JOHN W. WALKER, } Secretaries.

At a meeting of the Students of Columbia College, held, by permission of the President, in the College Chapel, Nov. 19, 1830, to adopt measures relative to the approaching celebration of the French Revolution, President Duer was requested to act as Chairman, and Robert G. Vermilye appointed Secretary.

The President communicated to the meeting an invitation he had received from a committee appointed at a late meeting of the citizens, for making arrangements for celebrating the late glorious French Revolution, to unite in the ceremonies of the 25th Nov. inst. Whereupon the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we join in congratulation with our fellow-citizens, on the recent triumph of Liberty in France, and hail the event with the warmest feelings of interest and joy.

Resolved, That we participate fully in the feelings which animated the French people, and are happy to bear witness to the brave conduct, on that memorable occasion, of the students of Paris, who contributed so largely to the glory of the event.

Resolved, That while the congratulation is general, it becomes us especially to rejoice in the prospect of literary and intellectual improvement, which must be intimately connected with the progress of civil freedom.

Resolved, That, actuated by these motives, we will cordially unite in the ensuing celebration of the French Revolution.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting, and communicated to the Chairman of the Committee from whom the invitation was received.

WM. A. DUER, Ch'n.

ROBT. G. VERMILYE, Sec'y.

MEETING OF PRINTERS, AT ALBANY.

At a meeting of the Printers of the city of Albany, held pursuant to adjournment, at Bement's Recess, on Monday evening, 22d November, CHARLES R. WEBSTER was appointed chairman, and EDWIN CROSWELL and JOHN B. VAN STEENBERG assistant chairmen; and THOMAS R. RANNEY and JOHN VISSCHER, secretaries.

The proceedings on a former meeting having been read, at which it was resolved to appoint delegates to attend the celebration in the city of New-York, on the 25th inst., in honour of the late glorious revolution, were reported by a committee appointed for that purpose, and unanimously adopted:—

The age in which we live is full of remarkable incidents. The scenes which are now acting, will form a fruitful theme for the future historian; and the present era will be celebrated by after ages as the period when the foundation of old and oppressive systems of society were rooted up,—the right of SELF-GOVERNMENT boldly claimed, and the power of *choosing* rulers freely exercised. Truths of which the mass of the human race have heretofore been ignorant, are now generally diffusing, giving to man the capacity to understand, and the spirit to assert, his “natural and inalienable rights.” Knowledge (which is power) is leaving the recesses of cloisters and the precincts of palaces, to enlighten the world, and level all arbitrary and unnatural distinctions. The principle acted on in the American Revolution—that *all governments derive their power solely from the consent of the governed*—is now recognised by a great portion of the civilized world, and must eventually explode the old theory of the “divine right of kings,” and the unlawfulness of resistance to regal or pontifical authority. THE PRESS has been the chief instrument in this great political renovation—the principal agent in effecting the many meliorations in the social condition of the human family.

The friends of freedom—the believers in the *equality of mankind*—have recently achieved a signal victory, at which all true philanthropists rejoice, and which we feel called upon to celebrate in an especial manner. The late revolution in France was incited mainly by an encroachment on the liberty of the Press. Among the “ordonnances” which provoked the citizens of Paris to drive from power those who evinced that they no longer held it by the proper tenure, that which excited the

deepest indignation was in the significant words—"The Liberty of the Press is abolished!"

In view of these considerations, and in proud gratification that we are workers in an art whose labours are productive of results so important and so beneficial to mankind, we do resolve,—

That we join our hearty congratulations to those of our typographical brethren in the city of New-York, on the auspicious event to be celebrated by them, in connexion with other citizens, on the 25th inst.

That Charles R. Webster, Robert Packard, Jesse Buel, Azariah C. Flagg, Edwin Crowell, Elisha W. Skinner, John B. Van Steenberg, Robert Martin, Thurlow Weed, Gerrit W. Ryckman, Solomon Baker, G. K. Winne, M. M'Pherson, L. G. Hoffman, H. H. Van Dyck, John Visscher, W. R. Ford, S. Southwick, jr., Jas. Duffy, H. D. Stone, Thos. O. Wands, A. L. Stewart, F. J. Hosford, A. H. Glenn, and J. Malcom, be delegated to convey to our New-York brethren the sentiments of the Printers of Albany, and to unite with them in person, as we all do in heart, in the public manifestation of their joy at the triumph of liberal principles in France.

That, as lovers of liberty, we hail that event as indicative of the profluence of the great principles contended for by our fathers, and a proof of the doctrine of popular supremacy, so well taught by the heroic citizens of Paris, during the memorable "three days' struggle."

That, as Americans, we rejoice at the progress of the spirit of resistance to tyranny which received its first impulse in our own country; and that we look with admiration on the part taken by that justly renowned and revered citizen, whom America claims in common with France.

That, as Printers, we regard the influence of the Press in the event which we celebrate, as a signal instance of the benign effects flowing from our art; and that we ardently hope that this is the harbinger of future and more important triumphs, and that the march of free principles may be steadfast, until all rulers, by whatever title known, shall be acknowledged as the servants of the people, holding their power by their will, and exercising it solely for their benefit.

CHAS. R. WEBSTER, Chairman.

E. CROSWELL,

J. B. VAN STEENBERGH, } Assistant
Chairmen.

THOS. S. RANNAY, } Secretaries.
J. VISSCHER,

DAILY JOURNAL PRINTERS.

At a meeting of the Printers, attached to the Daily Journals in this City, at Tulley's Exchange Coffee-House, Saturday, Nov. 20th, it was unanimously resolved to celebrate in a suitable manner the event of the recent triumph of liberal principles in France, by joining in the procession. Thomas A. Green was appointed Marshal, who selected for his aids Caspar Childs, and John H. Potts.—Wm. H. Brown was delegated to bear the banner to be painted for the occasion, and Wm. W. Tindall, Caspar C. Childs, Charles R. Lincoln, Adrastus Fish, Stephen R. Butler, John C. Harwood, John H. Potts, and Cornelius B. Marshall, a Committee of Arrangements.

CHARLES R. LINCOLN, Chairman.

WM. W. TINDALL, }
 JOSEPH PHILLIPS, } Secretaries.

CELEBRATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

At a meeting of the Committee appointed at a numerous meeting of the Natives of France, resident in New-York, Mr. Joseph Bouchard was appointed President, and Messrs. J. B. Caseaux and L. A. Brunel, Secretaries: the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the French, and descendants of French, residing in New-York, be invited to meet to-morrow evening at Tammany Hall, to deliberate upon the best means of celebrating the late glorious Revolution, to take place on the 25th inst. as determined upon by a meeting of the citizens of New-York, of which the venerable James Monroe was President.

Nov. 17, 1830.

JOSEPH BOUCHARD, President.

L. A. BRUNEL, }
 J. B. CASEAUX, } Secretaries.

CELEBRATION OF THE LATE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A Meeting of the French inhabitants of this city was held, pursuant to public notice, at Tammany Hall on Wednesday evening, 17th inst. Mr. Joseph Bouchard having been called to the chair, and Messrs. Geo. de Loynes and C. Darbefeulle, appointed Secretaries, the following resolutions were proposed, and subsequently adopted:—

Resolved, That all French and descendants of French in this city, be invited, through the medium of the public papers, to assemble on the morning of the 25th inst. at Combault's, No. 599 Broadway, at the hour which shall be designated by the General Committee of Arrangements.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed with power to have a tri-coloured flag made for the occasion, as well as tri-coloured cockades and badges.

Resolved, That Messrs. H. Peugnet and L. Peugnet, be the bearers of the colours during the procession.

Resolved, That at the close of the ceremony, those colours be presented, in the name of the French residents of this city, to the 1st division of New-York State Artillery.

Resolved, That the badges and cockades worn on the occasion shall be uniform.

Resolved, That the President and Secretaries shall form a Committee to communicate these resolutions to the General Committee of Arrangements.

Resolved, That these proceedings shall be inserted in the public papers.

Several committees were appointed, and among them a Committee of Arrangements, composed of Messrs. Gayot, Trusson, Darbefeulle, Tardy, Dreyfous, and Allain, sen. and a Committee of Finances, composed of Messrs. Brunel, Bouchaud, Brugiere, De Loynes, Jacquelin, D'Hervilly, and Crevolin.

JOSEPH BOUCHARD, President.

G. DE LOYNES,
C. DARBEFEUILLE, } Secretaries.

NATIVES OF FRANCE.

At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements appointed by the French citizens residents of New-York, on the evening of 22d inst. the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved, That the officers and crews of the French vessels now in port be invited to join their fellow-citizens in the procession of the 25th November.

Resolved, That the order of procession be as follows:

Eight Guards on Horseback.

Music.

Do. Committee.

Committee of Address.

The Flag.

Finance Committee.

French Consul and Chancellor.

Officers and Crews of French Vessels.

Frenchmen and descendants of Frenchmen, six abreast.

The members of the Committee of Arrangements will act as Marshals of the day.

The procession will be formed at Combault's House, Broadway, and move at half-past eight o'clock precisely, down Broadway to Walker-street, down Walker to Beach and Hudson, up Hudson to the line in Canal-street.

Resolved, That, to conclude the ceremonies and amusements of the day, it is recommended that the different Committees attend the Park Theatre on the evening of the 25th, with their banners and decorations, where the Military Officers, Grand Marshal, Aids, and Chief of other Societies will be present.

Resolved, That the officers and crews of the French vessels as well as the French residents of New-York in general, be also requested to attend the performances of the Park Theatre on the above evening.

Resolved, That Messrs. Louis Loutrel and G. Chastelain be added to the Committee of Arrangements.

James Allain, sen.	John A. Tardy,
C. Darbefeuille,	Louis Gayot,
Julian Chastelain,	Louis Loutrel,
Joseph Dreyfous,	G. Trusson.

☞ All the French, and descendants of the French, who intend to join in the procession to celebrate the late Revolution in France, are requested to assemble at Combault's Hotel, No. 599 Broadway, on Thursday morning, 26th inst. at 8 o'clock, precisely. Tri-coloured badges and cockades, as adopted at the general meeting held at Tammany Hall on the 17th inst. will be furnished without any charge.

L. Gayot,	Jos. Dreyfous,
J. A. Tardy,	C. Darbefeuille,
Allain, sen.,	G. E. Trusson,
J. Chastelain,	L. Loutrel,

Committee of Arrangements.

TAILORS.

At a meeting of Tailors, held at the Shakspeare Hotel, corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, on Monday, the 15th inst. it was

Unanimously resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to call a General Meeting of the Trade, at No. 11 Spruce-street, on Thursday the 18th inst., at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of appointing delegates to co-operate with those of other trades on the 25th inst. to celebrate the recent Revolution in France.

JOHN D. BRASHEARS, Chairman.

JAMES UNSWARTH, Secretary.

A CARD.

The *Journeymen Coopers' Society*, having unanimously resolved to join in the celebration of the late French Revolution, on the 25th inst., respectfully invite the Masters and Journeymen of this city, not members of the Society, to unite with them on the occasion, from their place of meeting at the Third Ward Hotel, No. 19 Warren-street.

JAMES SEGUINE, President.

WILLIAM ASTEN, Secretary.

COOPERS' APPRENTICES.

At an adjourned meeting of Coopers' Apprentices, convened at the Cooper Shop, No. 89 Pine-street, Charles Dykes being called to the Barrel, and Jacob Tremper and Francis Giraud, appointed Secretaries, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted ;

Feeling a proper sense of the benefits that will be realized by the achievement of the late glorious Revolution in France—

Resolved, That we sympathize with the relatives and friends of those youthful patriots who perished.

Resolved, That we rejoice at the triumphant success of those surviving young heroes, who, by their courage and good conduct, have added additional lustre to their country's glory.

Resolved, That our employers be requested to allow us to participate in the approaching celebration.

Resolved, That they are requested to render us such suitable facilities as will add to our credit and respectability on this occasion.

Resolved, That our Standard shall bear the motto of "*Free Trade and Coopers' Rights.*"

And it was further resolved, That Master Charles Dykes shall be the Marshal of the day.

CHARLES DYKES, Chairman.

JACOB TREMPER, }
FRANCIS GIRAUD, } Secretaries.

BUTCHERS.

At a numerous meeting of the Butchers of the city of New-York, convened pursuant to public notice at J. Acker's Tavern, Bowery, for the purpose of considering the propriety of joining in the approaching celebration of the 25th of November, Jacob Aims was called to the chair, and Thomas Jeremiah appointed Secretary.

The following resolutions were then submitted and passed unanimously.

Resolved, That whereas a very general sentiment prevails among our fellow-citizens, that the late successful struggle of the French People in favour of Constitutional Liberty should receive their public approbation; and whereas the period appointed for that purpose is one which we hail among the proudest in the history of our Republic; therefore

Resolved, That we will cheerfully unite with the various associations who propose to celebrate the 25th Nov. 1830.

Resolved, That in common with our fellow-citizens, we feel the mighty debt incurred during the period of our revolutionary struggle, in consequence of the voluntary and generous aid furnished by the French People, and that in rendering them the tribute now proposed, we but act on the side of simple justice, while at the same time we feel assured that the noble spirits who guard the destinies of France will be more gratified than though our national treasury had showered upon them its millions.

Resolved, That we view in the recent movements in Europe, exemplified by the brief but conclusive war of Paris, a happy evidence that man is free when he wills to be free; while at the same time the solemn admonition is conveyed to us, that freedom may be lost when we cease to appreciate its blessings.

Resolved, That with the view of giving effect to our intended celebration, that a committee of twenty be appointed from the several markets, with the chairman and secretary, and that said committee have full power to appoint sub-committees and make every necessary arrangement to accomplish the object of the meeting. Whereupon the following gentlemen were named and unanimously approved: John Henning, Albert Fisher, Jacob Ridabock, Mathew Bird, John P. Aims, Henry Hide, Thomas Winship, Benjamin Ward, Leonard Smith, John Flock, Daniel S. Hide, Arnest Fisk, Jacob Vogell, George Clinch, John Fash, William Vanch, George Vaughan, Christian Harriet, P. Underhill, J. Wheaton, Jacob Aims, Thos. Jeremiah.

Resolved, That Jacob Aims, George Clinch, and Thos. Jeremiah be, and the same are hereby appointed delegates to confer with the General Committee of Arrangements at Tammany Hall.

Resolved, That the Butchers of Brooklyn village and Jersey city be invited to partake with us in the proposed celebration.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen form a committee auxiliary to the general committee. John Trigler, John Scott, Walter Desbrow, Daniel Winship, Wm. Rellenger, Wm. Mook, Charles Gwyer, John Perrin, Lansing Jervis, B. Granger.

Resolved, That John Trigler be requested to serve as Grand Marshal, with power to appoint his aids.

JACOB AIMS, President.

THOS. JEREMIAH, Secretary.

TO SADDLERS.

The Saddlers of the city of New York, are requested to attend a general meeting of the trade, to be held at Phenix Hotel, 142 Fulton-street, this evening, at 7 o'clock, to take into consideration the propriety of joining our fellow-citizens in celebrating the glorious events in France.

Such evening papers as are friendly to the objects of this meeting are requested to copy the above.

LEATHER DRESSERS.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of Leather Dressers held last evening at Hamilton House, 216 William-street, it was unanimously resolved, that we join in the ensuing celebration on the 25th Nov. next, in honour of the late glorious French revolution. John E. Cameneyr, Joseph Watson, and John H. Bowie were appointed delegates to meet the general committee at Tammany Hall. Signed

JOSEPH WATSON, President.

JOHN H. BOWIE, Secretary.

CORDWAINERS.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Cordwainers held last evening, the 17th instant, at the Sixth Ward Hotel, Duane-street, at which Mathew Armstrong was called to the chair, and Thomas Baker appointed Secretary, it was unanimously

Resolved, That we join in the ensuing celebration on the 25th Nov. in honour of the late glorious event of the French revolution. Accordingly Henry Walton, Mathew Armstrong, and John Scribner were appointed to meet the general committee at Tammany Hall, on the 18th instant.

MATHEW ARMSTRONG, President.

THOMAS BAKER, Secretary.

PAINTERS, ATTEND.

The general committee of arrangements will meet on Tuesday evening, the 23d instant, at Harmony Hall, corner of William and Duane Streets, to transact such business as may be connected with the celebration of the French revolution. Those painters who feel disposed to join the procession, are

requested to be present at the meeting, to obtain suitable badges for the occasion.

THOMAS W. POOLEY, President.

MICHAEL RYAN, Secretary.

BRICKLAYERS, PLASTERERS, AND SLATERS.

At an adjourned meeting of the Bricklayers, Plasterers, and Slaters, held at Broadway House, on Thursday evening, 18th instant, it was

Resolved, That all disposed to unite with them in the celebration of the glorious French revolution, are requested to meet with them at Broadway House on Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

BLACK AND WHITE SMITHS.

At a well attended meeting of the Black and White Smiths of the city and county of New-York, held at Broadway House on the evening of the 18th instant, Mr. William Gamble was called to the chair, and Moses Evans appointed Secretary, it was

Resolved, That John Kneringer, Colin Tolme, and Moses Evans be a delegation appointed to meet the general committee of arrangements at Tammany Hall, and to unite with them in celebrating the late extraordinary revolution in France. It was further

Resolved, That a general invitation be given to the Black and White Smiths of the city and county of New-York, to join in common with their fellow citizens, in the celebration of that event; and that the meeting adjourn, to meet again at the present place of meeting on the evening of Monday, the 22d instant, for making farther arrangements to that effect; and that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the city papers.

WILLIAM GAMBLE, Chairman.

MOSES EVANS, Secretary.

HOUSE CARPENTERS, SHIP JOINERS, SASH AND BLIND MAKERS.

At a meeting of the House Carpenters, Ship Joiners, Sash and Blind Makers, held last evening at the Westchester House, Bowery, according to notice, John Dean was appointed chairman, and Wm. Morris, Secretary. The following was

Resolved, That John McCoy, Wm. Morris, Hendrickson Waters, Moses E. Oakley, and Samuel Burrows, form a committee of arrangements.

JOHN DEAN, Chairman.

W. MORRIS, Secretary.

STEAM ENGINE BUILDERS.

At a meeting of the Steam Engine Builders and Boiler Makers, held last evening, at No. 426 Lombardy Street, Mr. George Newcom was called to the chair, and Mr. Richard Barton appointed Secretary. On motion,

Resolved, That measures be adopted for celebrating the late glorious revolution in France.

Again, on motion, resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to wait on the general committee at Tammany Hall, on Monday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

On motion resolved, That the following gentlemen here appointed on the committee, Wm. Leister, Charles Makepeace, Sherman Havens, Cornelius Canoun, and John Richester.

Resolved, That a general invitation be given to all steam engine builders and boiler makers in the city, to join with us on the occasion.

Further resolved, That a committee of three be appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, That the committee consist of the following gentlemen: W. Lowery, Benj. Goff, and Wm. Jusuck.

GEORGE NEWCOM, Chairman.

RICHARD BARTON, Secretary.

 STONE CUTTERS.

At a general meeting of Stone Cutters, held at the Working Men's House, 95 Chapel-street, on Wednesday evening, Nov. 17th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we consider the French revolution of 1830 an event of deep interest, not only to France but to the world; an event calculated to arouse throughout Europe the spirit of liberty, to teach monarchs that they cannot always with impunity sport with the lives and property of their subjects, regardless of their rights and their happiness—to teach them that there is in reality no sovereign power but the will of the people.

Resolved, therefore, That with appropriate dresses and banners, we will unite with the numerous mechanic, literary, and other societies, on the 25th instant, in the celebration of that truly memorable event.

ANDREW WILSON, Chairman.

W. B. SAWYER, }
 JAMES CLARK, } Secretaries.

 MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS.

At a meeting composed of the Musical Instrument Makers

of the city, held at 66 Division-street, for the purpose of joining in the celebration, Mr. John Black was called to the chair, and Thomas Kearsey and John Pethick were appointed secretaries.

On motion, resolved, That we join as a body in the celebration of the ensuing anniversary of the evacuation of our city by the British forces, and the recent glorious events in France.

Resolved, That a committee of arrangements be appointed to meet at the Westchester House to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock.

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in all friendly papers.

Resolved, That we now adjourn to meet at the Westchester House on Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock, and that manufacturers generally be invited to attend.

N. B. Professors of music are respectfully invited to attend.

TO THE CABINET MAKERS.

The Committee of Arrangements, according to a resolution of the 23d inst. do hereby notify the trade in general, that they have appointed Broadway Hall, as a place of meeting on the morning of the 25th inst. at 8 o'clock precisely. The Cabinet Makers who feel disposed to unite with us on the occasion, are requested to furnish themselves with Badges and Cockades, at John Ford's, No. 208 Broadway.

The Committee have appointed Samuel Waterbery as Marshal for the occasion, assisted by the Committee of Arrangements.

SAMUEL WATERBERY, Chairman.

HENRY A. BERNIAUD, Secretary.

UPHOLSTERERS.

The Upholsterers of the city of New-York are requested to attend a meeting to be held at the Shakspeare Hotel, corner of Nassau and Fulton-streets, on Thursday evening the 18th inst. at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of taking measures to celebrate the late glorious Revolution in France.

CARVERS, GILDERS, &c.

At the meeting of Carvers, Gilders, and Frame-makers, held on Friday last, the following persons were appointed a Committee of Arrangement, to provide Banners, Badges, &c. suitable for the approaching celebration: David Stewart, Francis Renouf, John Shimmins, Edwin T. Bennet, Samuel Kennedy, and Wm. S. Conely.

Chs. Del Vecchio was elected Marshal of the day, Thomas

Millard and Edwin T. Bennett as aids. On motion, resolved, That we hereby invite the Gold Beaters and Looking Glass Storekeepers, to attend our next meeting and co-operate with us on the occasion. The apprentices are also invited to attend.

Adjourned, to meet next Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Westchester House.

CHS. DEL VECCHIO, Chairman.

JAS. S. GREIG, Secretary.

CHAIR MAKERS.

At a meeting of the Fancy and Windsor Chair Makers and Gilders of the city of New-York, held at the corner of Mott and Chatham streets on Wednesday evening the 17th inst., Mr. John R. Cowperthwaite was called to the chair, and Mr. Daniel Smith appointed secretary, when, on motion,

Resolved, That we will join with our fellow-citizens in celebrating the glorious Revolution of France.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with the Delegates at Tammany Hall, in relation to the celebration on the 25th inst. Mr. John K. Cowperthwaite, Mr. H. Bunnell, Mr. J. Robertson, committee.

JOHN K. COWPERTHWAITTE, Chairman.

DANIEL SMITH, Secretary.

SADDLERS.

A meeting of the Saddlers will be held this evening, at 7 o'clock, at the Phœnix Hotel, 142 Fulton-st., to hear the reports of the Committees appointed to make preparations for the approaching Celebration. General and punctual attendance is requested.

ROBT. DINGEE, Chairman.

P. C. METCALF, Secretary.

TOBACCONISTS.

The several Tobacconists of the city of New-York and its vicinity who feel disposed to join in the celebration of the late glorious Revolution in France, are requested to meet on Monday evening next, 22d inst. at half past seven o'clock, at Westchester House, Bowery, to make the necessary arrangements therefor.

NEWS CARRIERS.

At a meeting of the New-York News Carriers Benevolent Association, held at the house of Mrs. A. L. Delamater, on Monday evening, the 22d day of Nov. 1830. Mr. Wm. Jones, the President, in the chair, and Mr. James Moore, was appointed Secretary.

Resolved, That we will join with our fellow-citizens on the 25th inst. in celebrating the recent Revolution in France.

Resolved, That we do hereby invite the News Carriers generally, of the Daily and Weekly Publications in this city, to join our procession on the above day.

Resolved that Mr. Abraham Ridgeway, Mr. John Kelly, and Samuel G. Wyckoff, act as our delegates to represent us to the General Committee at Tammany Hall.

Resolved, That the Association meet at Montgomery House, 338 Broadway, on Thursday the 25th inst. at half past 8 o'clock precisely.

WM. JONES, Chairman.

JAMES MOORE, Secretary, pro tem.

N. B. Badges furnished by the Association.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

At a special meeting of the Board of Engineers and Foremen, held on Thursday evening last, the 18th inst. at Firemen's Hall, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the members of this Department will unite with their fellow-citizens in celebrating the late triumphant and glorious contest for Liberty, and the overthrow of Tyranny in France.

Resolved, That the following persons constitute the several Committees to make the necessary arrangements:—

Badge Committee—F. R. Lee, G. De Angelis, J. Murphy, D. B. Palmer, G. Hamilton.

Music Committee—James Gulick, J. S. Huggitt, D. Weeden, E. Winhip, P. Baseter.

Marshal's Committee—D. J. Williams, T. Howe, D. Dietrich, R. F. North, Isaac Rhodes.

Finance Committee—Morris Franklin, A. B. Rich, W. B. Townsend, E. T. Lewis, J. A. Roome.

Resolved, That Uzziah Wenman, W. P. Disosway, and D. B. Palmer, be a Committee to inform the Grand Marshal of the day of the proceedings of this meeting.

Resolved, that James Gulick be appointed Grand Marshal, and John Ryket, Jr. and Thomas Howe, Deputy Marshals for the Fire Department.

UZZIAH WENMAN, Chairman.

WM. P. DISOSWAY, Secretary.

TO THE EXEMPT FIREMEN.

At a meeting of the Board of Engineers and Foremen, held at Firemen's Hall, on Thursday evening last, the 18th inst. it was unanimously

Resolved, That the Exempt Members of the Fire Department be respectfully invited to join with the Firemen in celebrating the late Revolution in France.

UZZIAH WENMAN, Chairman.

WM. P. DISOSWAY, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Fire Wardens, held at Firemen's Hall, on the 22d inst. it was on motion unanimously

Resolved, That, participating in the feelings of our brother Firemen, in celebrating the recent success of the liberties of the French people, that we, as a body, join in the procession with our brother Firemen.

Resolved, That we assemble at the Hospital Green (in Broadway), at 8 o'clock, on the 25th inst. and that the exempt Wardens are respectfully invited to join with us on the occasion.

JOHN W. DEGRAW, Chairman.

CORNELIUS AGNEW, Secretary.

SEAMEN'S SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this Society, held at Hamilton House, on Friday evening, 19th inst. it was unanimously

Resolved, That the members of this Society will unite with their fellow-citizens in celebrating the late triumphant victory and overthrow of tyranny in France.

JONO. MUNSON, President.

J. C. NICHOLSON, Secretary.

PILOTS OF THE PORT.

At a meeting of the Pilots of the Port of New-York, by way of Sandy Hook, held on Monday morning, at Germaine Hotel, it was unanimously resolved that they join in the ensuing celebration on the 25th November, in honour of the late glorious French Revolution, whereupon, John Minugh, Reuben Hope, Thomas Hope, John Tennure, and Robert T. Norris were appointed a Committee of Arrangements to meet the General Committee at Tammany Hall.

Resolved, That we invite the Hurl Gate Pilots to join us in the procession.

Resolved, That David Mitchell be appointed Marshal of the Day.

JOHN WHITE, Chairman.

ROBT. T. B. MITCHELL, Secretary.

WATERMEN.

At a meeting of the Watermen of the city of New-York and its vicinity, held last evening at the News Office, Whitehall,

Mr. Richard Robins was called to the Chair, and Wm. Gibson appointed Secretary, and the following preamble and resolutions unanimously adopted :—

Whereas it has been determined by a meeting of citizens held recently at Tammany Hall, to celebrate, on the 25th inst. the late triumph of liberal principles in France.

Therefore, resolved, That in accordance with a general invitation of the Committee of Arrangements, we will unite with our fellow-citizens in the procession on that occasion.

Resolved, That Mr. Cornelius Cammeyer be appointed Marshal of the day.

Resolved, That we will unite with the Printers of the daily journals in the procession ; and that the Marshal be requested to confer with them on the subject.

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be transmitted to Major George V. Howard, for the tender of his elegant race boat Whitehall, for the occasion, and that the same be accepted.

Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting, and the Marshal of the day, constitute a Committee of Arrangements to prepare the emblems, &c., for the procession.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the daily papers.

RICHARD ROBBINS, Chairman.

WM. GIBSON, Secretary.

JEWELLERS AND SILVERSMITHS.

The Jewellers and Silversmiths are requested to meet at the Exchange Coffee House, corner of Nassau and Pine Streets, this evening precisely at 7 o'clock, to make arrangements to celebrate the late French Revolution. By the request of many Jewellers and Silversmiths.

COMB MAKERS.

At a meeting of the Comb Makers held at the Bowery House, corner of Broome-st. and Bowery, on Friday evening the 19th inst., it was

Resolved, That we, as a body of mechanics, do participate with our fellow-citizens on the approaching celebration of the late events in France.

Resolved, That the Comb Makers in this, and the adjoining States, together with others friendly to our intentions, be invited to join with us in the proposed celebration.

Resolved, That the Comb Makers meet on Tuesday evening, the 23d inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M. to make the necessary preparations, preparatory to the celebration, and that general and punctual attendance be requested.

Resolved, That the proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published, E. B. THAYER, Chairman.
ABRAHAM WEEKS, Secretary.

THE NEW-YORK GAS WORKMEN'S FRIENDLY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this Society, called for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of joining our fellow-citizens in celebrating the late glorious French Revolution, the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, That we, as a body, do participate with our fellow-citizens in the approaching celebration of the late events in France.

Resolved, That Robert H. Todd, Daniel Wishart, and Alexander Marshall, be our delegates to represent us at the General Committee.

Resolved, That Alexander Marshall, Robert H. Todd, Wm. Davies, Thomas Marsh, Wm. Greenfield, be a Committee of Arrangement to provide a suitable banner, badges, &c.

Resolved, That the Society meet at the sign of the Blue Bonnet, Frankfort-street, on Thursday the 25th, at half past eight o'clock, A. M.

ALEXANDER MARSHALL, President.

THOMAS MARSH, Secretary.

HIBERNIAN UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

An extra meeting of the "Hibernian Universal Benevolent Society," of the city of New-York," will be held this evening (Monday), at Mr. McDermott's, Sixth Ward Hotel, at 7 o'clock, precisely, to make appropriate arrangements for celebrating on the 25th inst. the late glorious events in France. A punctual attendance of the members is requested.

By order of the President.

B. M'Avoy, Secretary.

TYPE FOUNDERS.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of Type Founders, assembled pursuant to notice, at the Franklin buildings, on Friday evening, Nov. 19, Peter C. Cortelyou, was called to the Chair, and David Bruce, jun. chosen Secretary; it was, on motion,

Resolved, That conceiving as we do, the late important change produced in the condition of France, is greatly to be attributed to the constant discharge of the Artillery of the Press, bravely levelled in defence of their political liberty, and feeling ever ready to furnish ammunition to maintain so glo-

rious a warfare, we most cordially determine to join in the celebration of so joyful a victory.

Resolved, That we now adjourn to meet again on Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock, at St. John's Hall.

PETER C. CORTELYOU, Chairman.

DAVID BRUCE, Jun. Secretary.

BOOKBINDERS.

At an extra meeting of the New York Association of Journeymen Bookbinders, held at Ira Clark's, Park Row, on Monday, 15th Nov. it was unanimously resolved, that the Society unite with their fellow-citizens in celebrating this glorious event; and that a meeting of the Association be held on Friday evening next, to make the necessary preparations.

By order of the President.

JOHN SALMON, Secretary.

CARTMEN'S MEETING.

At a meeting held according to adjournment at Acker's Hotel, corner Bowery and Stanton streets, on Monday evening, the 22d instant, Wm. Whitley was called to the chair, and James Lattin and Jonathan Knapp were chosen secretaries, and it was resolved unanimously that Mr. Jonathan Knapp address the meeting; accordingly the following was delivered.

Mr. Chairman, and fellow-cartmen,—I take the liberty of offering a few remarks to this meeting upon the propriety of our celebrating the late Revolution in France.—Many of our citizens consider the event of little or no importance to the inhabitants of the United States; but, Mr. Chairman, I think very different of such an event when France is concerned. Let us look back to the history of our own country during the struggle for independence, a contest which gave birth to a nation, if it is not already, it bids fair to be the greatest among the nations of the earth, and permit me to tell you, fellow-cartmen, in my humble opinion, that had it not been for the assistance of Lafayette, and the French army and fleet that were sent to this country, that we would have been groaning under the British yoke of tyranny to this day; and there is no doubt but oppression upon oppression would have been heaped upon our necks far more burthensome than our fathers before the Revolution experienced—and shall we refuse to show our gratitude and respect to France and the companion of Washington, the father of our country. Where is the man that has done so great a deed as Lafayette, without the

hope or expectation of reward? It is true that we had some of the best generals that history gives any account of. But our men were nearly worn out by fatigue, and our army reduced to a handful of good men, and our ways and means for carrying on the war were entirely expended, and at this awful and critical juncture, the French having a spirit of independence, flew to our aid, and the combined forces freed us from the tyrannical grasp of the British king: and, fellow-cartmen, let our conduct on the approaching 25th instant show to the world that we are Americans at heart, and let us beware of that destroyer of the character of mankind, let our conduct on that day particularly, be such that we may gain the respect of all classes of the American community, that the character of the cartmen of the city of New York may rank as high as any other class of the community.

It was further resolved, that a committee be appointed to wait on the cartmen of Brooklyn, requesting them to associate with us.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published, together with the above address.

WM. WHITLEY, Chairman.

JAMES LATTIN,
JONATHAN KNAPP, } Secretaries.

At a very numerous meeting of public cartmen, held according to public notice at the Military Hall, corner of Grand and Ludlow streets, on the evening of the 19th Nov. 1830, for the purpose of adopting a plan of organization to be observed at the celebration of the French Revolution on the 25th instant, Wm. Whitley was chosen chairman, and Jonathan Knapp and James Lattin appointed secretaries. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz.

Resolved, That Richard Robinson (Foreman of Class No. 1) officiate as Grand Foreman, and Garrit Van Ostrand, and Abm. Voorhees, assistants.

Resolved, That Maj. John Carnes be Grand Marshal, and Wm. Whitley, Wm. B. Traph Hagen, George Sibelt, John Van Wart, Jonathan Knapp, and Thomas Bloomer, assistants.

Resolved, That the cartmen assemble at the junction of the Bowery and Third Avenue, on the 25th instant, and that the line be formed at 8 o'clock A. M. precisely.

Resolved, that the cartmen appear on horseback, wearing a white frock, cartmen's badge on the left breast, and tri-coloured cockade.

Resolved, That such other regulations as are necessary, be made by the different committees appointed for that purpose, and by future meetings of the cartmen.

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in the papers friendly to the cause of liberty.

WILLIAM WHITLEY, Chairman.

JONATHAN KNAPP, }
 JAMES LATTIN, } Secretaries.

APPRENTICES.

A meeting of the New-York Apprentices was held at Broadway Hall on the 23d instant, agreeably to public notice, to take into consideration the propriety of celebrating the late Revolution in France—on motion, Mr. John Green was appointed chairman, and Wm. H. Chandler, secretary, for the evening.

Resolved, That it is considered expedient to celebrate, with the citizens of this city, the late Revolution in France.

Resolved, That we nominate three candidates to meet the Committee of Arrangements this evening at Tammany Hall, viz. Wm. S. More, Josephus N. Crain, and Robert Hoey, who reported their success, and their place in the procession, immediately after the cartmen.

Resolved, That the apprentices who intend to take part in the celebration on that day, are requested to invite their associates, and to wear the tri-coloured cockade.

On motion, it was resolved, That a committee be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the day, to consist of six; viz. Achilles R. Crain, Robert Hoey, Josephus N. Crain, Wm. S. More, Charles Byram, and John Ball.

The Committee of Arrangements have taken into consideration, the duty they owe, as a society of young men, to celebrate, as far as in them lies, the 25th of November, in unison with their seniors, in commemoration of the glorious Revolution in France, and do unanimously recommend to the association the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the apprentices now present will ask their fellow-apprentices to meet with them on the 25th of November, at No. 440, Broadway Hall, half past 7 o'clock.

Resolved, That every apprentice will furnish himself with a tri-coloured cockade for the occasion.

Resolved, That a marshal and two aids be appointed to superintend and direct the order of the day—Robert Hoey for marshal, and Charles Byram and Wm. S. More, appointed as aids.

Resolved, That any young mechanic who feels disposed to bring out any piece of work on that day, be allowed the privilege to do the same.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the papers friendly to the cause.

Resolved, That the master mechanics be requested to allow their apprentices to take part in the celebration of the day.

JOHN GREEN, Chairman.

WM. H. CHANDLER, Secretary.

AUCTIONEERS' CLERKS.

At a meeting held on Saturday evening, it was unanimously resolved, to celebrate the triumph of liberal principles, by joining in the celebration on the 25th instant. The banners of the auctioneers will be borne by the chairman and secretary of the meeting.

SAMUEL PECK, Chairman.

JAMES MORRISON, Secretary.

MERCHANTS' CLERKS.

At a meeting of the merchants' clerks of the city of New-York, at the Shakspeare Hotel, on Tuesday evening, November 23d, Joseph Breck was called to the chair, and T. Tuttle, jun. appointed secretary. The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :

That in consideration of the late glorious events in France, which have placed her among the free nations of the earth, we deem it expedient to join with the other associations in the celebration to take place on the 25th inst. Therefore, Resolved,

1st. That we join with our fellow-citizens in celebrating the late Revolution in France.

2d. That a committee of three be appointed to wait on the Tammany Hall Committee, and request that a suitable place be assigned us in the procession.

3d. That this committee consist of the chairman, secretary, and Wm. M'Cauley.

4th. That a suitable badge and cockade be obtained for the occasion.

5th. That a committee be appointed to prepare an invitation to the clerks generally to co-operate with us. When all classes of our fellow-citizens are taking active measures to celebrate the late glorious Revolution in France, it would ill become the merchants' clerks of this city to remain inactive on the occasion. We, the committee (appointed for that purpose), do

respectfully request them to participate with us in the festivities of the day. As the means of doing this with the more unanimity, they would earnestly request them to meet this evening at the Exchange Coffee-House, to receive the reports of the various committees appointed last evening.

6th. That this meeting be adjourned till Wednesday evening, at the Exchange Coffee-House, corner of Nassau and Pine streets, at 7 o'clock.

7th. Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Daily Advertiser, and Courier and Enquirer.

JOSEPH BRECK, Chairman.

T. M. TUTTLE, Secretary.

FIRST DIVISION NEW-YORK STATE ARTILLERY.

Division Orders.

New-York, Nov. 18, 1830.

The several societies and associations of the citizens having agreed to celebrate by a public procession the glorious events which took place in France on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days of July last, have invited the corps of Artillery to unite with them on the occasion. They have selected for the time of the celebration the 25th instant, a day rendered interesting to us as the anniversary of the day which restored our citizens to their altars and their homes, at the close of the Revolutionary War.

As members of this free Republic we cannot but hail with joy the extension of the blessings of freedom to the other members of the great family of mankind. And we cannot but view with feelings of the deepest interest and pleasure, the establishment of the principles of freedom and self-government in that nation, whose gallant soldiers shed their blood with ours in the War of Independence.

The Major-General was therefore pleased with the ready assent of the corps to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in the proposed celebration.

The Committee of Arrangements for the civic procession have directed the several societies to assemble in Canal-street, to move at 10 o'clock.

The Major-General therefore directs the troops of the division to form in Hudson-street, on Thursday, the 25th instant, the right resting on Canal-street, so that the line be prepared for review at a quarter before ten o'clock precisely. Brigadier-General Hopkins, of the Foot Artillery, will cause the national flag to be hoisted at the Battery at sunrise, and will fire a na-

tional salute at Washington Parade Ground, at the close of the Address, which will be delivered by Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.

Col. A. Ming, jun. and Lieut.-Col. Andrew Warner, of the 13th regiment, will officiate in the staff of the Major-General, and will be recognised accordingly.

The Committee of Arrangements having recommended the tri-coloured badge to be worn in the procession, the Major-General recommends to the corps the adoption of the same.

Commissary-General Muir will furnish the necessary ammunition for a salute, and for nine rounds of musketry, upon requisition from the proper authorities.

By order of Major-General MORTON.

S. D. JACKSON, Division Inspector.

INFANTRY OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW-YORK.

The officers of the Infantry of the city and county of New York, will assemble in Varick-street, opposite St. John's Chapel, on the 25th instant, at 9 o'clock, A. M. precisely, in full uniform, and on foot, for the purpose of joining in the contemplated celebration of the late triumph of Freedom in France.

GEORGE S. DOUGHTY, Brig. Gen.

3d Div. Infantry.

WM. L. MORRIS, Col. 97th Reg.

45th Brig. 28th Div. Infantry.

JOHN LLOYD, Col. 10th Reg.

3d Brig. 2d Div. Infantry.

} Committee.

N.B. The appropriate tri-coloured badge to be worn on the breast, may be obtained on the ground at the time of assembling.

The letter of the regulations of the U. S. Army and the practice of the officers under it, appear to have varied *in relation to wearing the sash* when off duty; but *in accordance with the practice adopted in the Army*—the sash will be worn on the present occasion.

THIRD DIVISION OF N. Y. S. INFANTRY.

The officers of this division are invited to join in the celebration, on the 25th instant, of the Revolution in France. They will assemble in the uniform of their corps, on Thursday next, at 9 o'clock A. M. precisely, in Varick-street, in front of St. John's Church.

AUGUSTUS FLEMING,

Maj. Gen. of 3d Div. Inf.

THIRD REGIMENT N. Y. S. ARTILLERY.

4th Company Jackson Guards.

This company will assemble for parade in full uniform at the Arsenal Yard, on the 25th instant, at half past 7 o'clock, A. M. to commemorate the Evacuation of this City by the British in 1783, and also the late glorious Revolution in France, which has set so happy an example to the oppressed of all nations.

The members will call for badges at the Captain's quarters, 75 Catharine-street.

By order of Captain RIDDEN.

CHARLES DOHERTY, O. S.

WASHINGTON GUARDS.

*Second Regiment N. Y. S. Light Infantry.**Regimental Orders.*

New-York, November 17th, 1830.

The Commandant cannot allow this, the first opportunity, to pass, without expressing the pleasure he experienced on the day of the last inspection parade. The prompt attention, soldier-like deportment, and neat appearance of the regiment, were such as to merit his most decided approbation.

The late glorious Revolution in France, by which a whole nation was delivered from the iron hand of oppression, and made free and independent, having received the unanimous applause of every friend of Liberty—it is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that the Commandant announces to the regiment, that he has received an invitation from the Committee appointed (by the meeting at which James Monroe, formerly President of the United States, presided) to make arrangements for the commemoration of this grand event; and likewise from the Commandant of the First Brigade of New-York Artillery, to join his command. The Commandant cannot refrain from expressing his belief, that every man attached to his command who glories in the name of an American, and who values the liberty of his own country, will hail with delight the opportunity of celebrating the “Three Glorious Days”—the harbingers of universal liberty to Europe.

The regiment will parade in full uniform, without knapsacks, on Thursday, the 25th instant. The line to be formed in Chatham square at 8½ o'clock, A. M. Commandants of Companies will order their commands sufficiently early to enable the Adjutant to have the line formed by the time specified.

A tri-coloured breast-knot will be furnished each officer, non-commissioned officer, and private on the ground.

By order of G. P. HEWITT, Colonel.

H. M'UTCHEEN, Acting Adjutant.

THE OFFICERS OF THE U. S. ARMY.

The officers of the U. S. Army during the late war will meet at the Adelphi Hotel, in Canal-street, on the morning of the 25th instant, at half past 8 o'clock, with black cockade and eagle, as worn during that war, and the French badge of the day, to join in the celebration of French emancipation.

By order of Major HOWARD, President.

W. T. WILLARD, Secretary.

25th NOVEMBER, 1830.

This day, ever memorable from an event so peculiarly identified with our Revolutionary history, was at this crisis to burst upon us with an increase of intense interest. It was the day appointed to commingle with our own rejoicings events equally glorious to France, and of promising benefit to all mankind—to commemorate the disenthralment of our early ally upon that very day, the return of which, for forty-seven years, had been signalized as one of enthusiastic recollection. The patriotic feeling was not circumscribed to this great city: it spread throughout the State and the adjacent country; and its influence conducted thousands to the spot where was to be presented a sublime and imposing *spectacle*, rendered so by the hallowed causes that called for it, and by the zealous and undivided effort to make it worthy the great objects contemplated.

For several days preceding, our steamboats and stages were in continual requisition, conveying throngs of our fair countrywomen, who, with fathers, husbands, and brothers, participating in the noble feeling, were desirous to be present,—to look upon and to share in all of grateful pleasure, and of pure delight, that would grow out of the *events of the day*. The Committee of Arrangement had notified, that should the weather be unfavourable, the celebration would be postponed to the first fair day succeeding. The morning of the 24th was indicative of such postponement—the evening realized all doubt; and the 25th was ushered in, not by the bells' merry

peal, the loud sounding cannon, and all the active and joyful note of preparation, but by a continuation of the north-east storm, which unceasingly raged in despite of disappointed man. The day, however, was yet the *25th of November*, and was not to be forgotten by the *Veteran Corps of Artillery*; they had braved the missiles of battle in the gloomy hour that tried men's souls, and they were not to be dismayed by the pelting of the storm. These men of "1776" at early light repaired to the Battery, and from the cannon's mouth told, in loud re-echoing sound, that it was the proud and hearty welcome of the return of a day glorious in our nation's history. The stars and stripes waved majestically from the summit of our batteries, our national vessels, and our public edifices. The shipping also exhibited this proud insignia of the *Republic*, and several societies, as they were wont to do, celebrated the day around the festive board.

The morning of the 26th opened to view under a more auspicious sky; and, at early dawn, nearly the whole population of this immense city were in active movement. One spirit, one feeling seemed to pervade all ranks and ages; and, save a pitiful few, whom nothing generous can inspire, nothing noble can actuate, and nothing patriotic can excite—all were enthusiastically alive to the celebration of the *French Revolution*. The feuds of party were immolated at the shrine of patriotism; political partisans, who, but one short month previous, were arrayed in determined opposition, were now seen amalgamating, and alone contending who should best promote the cause of *liberal principles*. Nor were these the most gratifying of the passing scenes. Our *countrywomen*, the virtuous and patriotic daughters of the matrons of 1776—they who bear their heritage so fit and proper—they who, in our second war, were distinguished for devotedness to their country—were now to be seen wearing the smile of cheering approval, which seemed to say, *we participate with you*.

At sunrise, the *Veteran Corps of Artillery*, true to their post, went over the order of the preceding morning, and fired a salute from the Battery. The bells of the various churches rang a merry peal throughout the day; all the public vessels, and the shipping in the harbour, made the most brilliant display of the various national flags, and of signals, that has ever been witnessed in this city; and from the public houses were seen waving the tri-coloured flag and the star-spangled banner. In the city, all business was suspended; the stores and shops were closed; the wharves presented a striking contrast to that

bustle and activity that, at times of business, we are accustomed to witness. Wall-street, even that busy mart, was deserted. The Exchange in vain asked for its usual occupants; and the Customs looked as though the days of the embargo had revived.

It is worthy of remark, and speaks volumes in praise of the character of our population, that this grand celebration, in which it is calculated upwards of 100,000 souls were actually engaged, passed off without any serious disturbance—without a solitary accident, and without any of those encroachments upon *personal property*, so common upon these occasions. Upon this last astonishing fact we must put the most liberal construction, and say, that the day was considered so sacred in its character, that even villany and depravity were constrained for the time, to wear a virtue.

THE PROCESSION.

The appointment of *Samuel Swartwout, Esq.* as *Marshal-in-Chief*, was judiciously made, and met with general approbation. His active mind, promptitude of action, and acknowledged experience, were qualifications essentially necessary upon the present occasion. Each hour of the day was valuable; and to move off, at the time appointed, at least 25,000 men, with the numerous appendages of the *pageant* that necessarily impeded such movement, was not easily to be effected; yet this was promptly done, and we owe to the *Marshal-in-Chief*, and his well-appointed aids, the measure of keeping alive the interest of the anxious multitude; for their activity would not permit even the most restless to remark, that they sickened from delay.

MARCH.

The line of march was taken up at about half past 10 o'clock, and the right of the procession reached Washington Square at about 1 o'clock. At this time the extreme rear was passing the corner of Canal and Sullivan streets. The streets through which the procession passed were thronged to excess; and it was delightful to behold, throughout the whole distance, the balconies, porticoes, and windows of nearly every dwelling crowded with spectators, and these bespreading a halcyon light around, for they were the virtuous and patriotic daughters of a great and happy republic—of a land consecrated

to liberty—the land of *Washington* and of *Hancock*—of *Greene* and of *Adams*—of *Warren* and of *Jefferson*—of *Franklin* and of *Madison*—of *Laurens* and of *Monroe*;—the land that in “1812” called to the battle-field, and to the councils of the nation, “*sons worthy their sires,*” and whose deeds of valour, and minds capacious, proclaimed to the world, that “*the mantle had descended.*”

CELEBRATION OF THE LATE REVOLUTION IN
FRANCE, NOVEMBER 25th, 1830.

At sunrise a salute will be fired by the Veteran Corps of Artillery, from the Battery.

At eight o'clock, twelve o'clock, and five o'clock in the afternoon, the bells will ring a merry peal.

The American and tri-coloured flags will be displayed from public places, and the shipping in the harbour will hoist the various flags of their nations.

At eight o'clock, each society or association will assemble at their respective rendezvous, and at nine o'clock, *precisely*, be at head-quarters, on the north side of Canal-street. The military will form on the south side of Canal-street, their right on Broadway, and precisely at ten o'clock the whole will move in the following order :

A SQUADRON OF CAVALRY.

Trumpets.

SAML. SWARTWOUT, Marshal-in-Chief.

M. M. NOAH,	} Aids.
CHARLES A. CLINTON,	
SILAS E. BURROWS,	
DANIEL JACKSON,	

Barouche containing Colonel Monroe, late President of the United States, and President of the Committee of two hundred and fifty, accompanied by the Vice Presidents Galatin, Herttell, and Bowne.

The General Committee of Arrangements, composed of the Original Committee of Fifteen, and the Committee of Fifty, and such members of the Committee of Two Hundred as are not assigned to other places.

Orator of the day and Reader of the Address.

*Band of Music.**Choristers.*

Mayor and Corporation, with their Staffs of Office.

High Sheriff and Deputies.

Acting Governor, and the Lt. Governor elect of the State, and Governor of New-Jersey.

Members of Congress and the State Legislature.

Judges of the United States and State Courts, with their officers, and the Marshal of the United States.

Corporation of the village of Brooklyn.

President and Trustees of Jersey City.

FIRST DIVISION.

M. M. Quackenboss, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Society of the Cincinnati, together with Revolutionary Officers, and officers of the late war.

Foreign Ministers and Consuls.

Albany Delegation.

New-York Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Anthony Glenn, an officer of the Navy of the Revolution, in a barouche, bearing the identical standard of the United States, which was hoisted by him immediately on the British evacuating this city, in 1783; also, in the same barouche, Alexander Whaley, David Williams, and Enoch Crosby.

Mr. John Van Norsdale, on horseback. On the evacuation of the city, in 1783, Mr. Van Norsdale pulled down the British flag, and ran the halliards with which Mr. Glenn hoisted the American standard.

SECOND DIVISION.

Edward M. Greenway, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Citizens of France, bearing the tri-coloured flag, with appropriate emblems and devices.

Rev. Clergy of all denominations.

Trustees, Faculty, and Students of Columbia College.

Trustees of the N. Y. University.

Teachers of the Public and Private Schools.

Members of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the State of New-York.

Members of the Medical Faculty, Physicians and Students.

Members of the Bar, and Students at Law.

THIRD DIVISION.

Joel Curtis, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Officers of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Marine Corps of the United States.

Delegation from the Boston Light Infantry.

Albany Military Association, and Military Officers of other States.

Albany Delegation of Printers.

Officers of the Militia in uniform, off duty.

Band of Music.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Prosper M. Wetmore, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Printers, and Members of the Typographical Society, and Typefounders.

Tailors, and Journeyman Tailors' Society.

FIFTH DIVISION.

John L. Graham, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Bakers, and Bakers' Benefit Society.

Coopers, and Journeymen Coopers' Society.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Richard Pennel, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Butchers.

Tanners, Curriers, and Leather Dressers.

Cordwainers' Society, and Cordwainers in general.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Charles McEvers, Jr., Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Hatters.

Masons, and Journeyman Masons.

House Carpenters and Joiners.

Black and White Smiths.

Manufacturers of Steam Engines and Boilers.

Moulders.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

C. D. Colden, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Painters, Glaziers, and House Painters' Society.

Stone Cutters.

Musical Instrument Makers.

NINTH DIVISION.

Wm. Dumont, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Cabinet Makers.

Patent Bedstead Manufacturers.

Upholsterers.

TENTH DIVISION.

George D. Strong, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Carvers and Gilders.

ELEVENTH DIVISION.

F. Groshon, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Coach Makers, Saddlers, and Harness Makers.

Bricklayers, Plasterers, and Slaters.

Tobacconists.

News Carriers' Benevolent Society.

Band of Music.

TWELFTH DIVISION.

John R. Livingston, Jr., Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Firemen and Fire Department.

The Pilot Society.

New-York Watermen's Society.

Chair Makers' Society.

Comb Makers in general.

THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Amos Palmer, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Book Binders' Society.

New-York Gas Workmen's Friendly Society.

FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

Robert Lawrence, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Hibernian Universal Benevolent Society.

Erin Friendly Society, of Brooklyn.

Landlords' Society for Sea-faring Men.

FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

B. Delapiere, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Cartmen.

Apprentices in general.

Clerks in general.

SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

George Davis, Aid, delegated by the Marshal-in-Chief.

Dyers and Printers.

Citizens, Artizans, and Mechanics, not embraced in the foregoing arrangements.

THE MILITARY.

The civic part of the procession will form in Canal street, the right on the North River, its left on the corner of Canal-street, extending up Broadway. They will countermarch by the left, and move up Canal-street to Broadway, down Broadway to the Park, around the Park, up Chatham-street, up the Bowery to Broome, through Broome-street to Broadway, up Broadway to Fourth-street, down Fourth-street to Washington Square.

On arriving at Washington Square, the procession will enter at the eastern gate (the cars, engines, &c. to be left outside), and will pass round the Square until all the Societies are within the enclosure ;—the military forming in such order as the Major General shall direct.

When the Grand Marshal and Aids, the Orator, and the Reader of the Address, President, Vice Presidents and Secretaries of the General Meeting, the Sub Committee of Arrangements, and the Cincinnati, shall be seated on the stage erected for the purpose, a grand roll of the drums shall be the signal for the ceremonies to commence, as follows :

PRAYER.

Address from the people of New-York to the French people, to be read by Wm. M. Price, Esq.

ORATION

By Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.

ODE,

Written for the occasion, by Samuel Woodworth, Printer, and printed during the march of the procession, to be sung *by the choir*.

Presentation of the tri-coloured flag, by the natives of France resident in New-York, to the First Division of Artillery.

Marsellois Hymn, to be sung by the choir.

Feu de joie to be fired by the troops.

Bands to play Hail Columbia, and dismiss.

Colonel James B. Murray is appointed to take charge of Washington Square, as Officer of the Day, and will be respected accordingly.

Capt. John D. Jackson, of the Scott Cadets, will mount guard at Washington Square, on the 25th, and will report to Col. Murray for orders.

It is respectfully requested that the citizens suspend business on the day of celebration.

All persons in the procession will wear the tri-coloured badge in the button hole of the left breast.

It is requested that all obstructions be removed from the streets through which the procession will march, and that no carriages or carts occupy such streets during the procession.

In case the weather should prove so unfavourable as to render a postponement necessary, the Grand Marshal will give notice thereof, by causing a red flag to be hoisted at 8 o'clock A. M., at the City Hall, at Niblo's, at the Parade Ground, Castle Garden, and the Liberty Pole, Grand Street, in the tenth Ward: and, in case of such postponement, the cere-

monies will take place on the following day, unless a similar flag is displayed.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements.

PHILIP HONE, Chairman.

WM. M. PRICE, }
DANIEL JACKSON, } Secretaries.

The above regulations will be carried into operation this day.
S. SWARTWOUT, Marshal-in-Chief.

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

The following description of the Procession is in a great measure taken from the "New-York Courier and Enquirer," and the "New-York Standard." It has been improved upon, by introducing many names of the Military, Marshals, and others, who were prominent in the *Pageant*.

First came a Squadron of Cavalry elegantly uniformed, and mounted upon beautiful chargers, who appeared to have been selected for the purpose, and whose fine appearance gave an earnest of what was to follow.

The Marshal-in-Chief, accompanied by four of his Aids, the Surgeon of the day, and Messrs. J. F. N. Vouthier, Martins Parvou, H. Chevrelat, G. Duvivier, C. Colemard, Dr. Depeyre, A. Lemoyne, and A. S. Perrot, wearing the beautiful and appropriate uniform of the National Guards of France.

A barouche containing Messrs. Gallatin and Herttell, the Vice-Presidents of the Committee of two hundred and fifty, and the Orator of the day, and the reader of the Address. Col. Monroe was expected to occupy a seat in this barouche, but the feeble state of his health forbade his joining the procession until within a short distance of Washington Square.

The original Committee of fifteen appointed by the Working Men at Westchester House; Robert Walker, Esq. Chairman; the Committee of Arrangements and the Sub-Committee of fourteen, carrying batons as insignia of their authority, Philip Hone, Esq., Chairman; together with such members of the Committee of two hundred and fifty as were not on duty with the different societies or Military—all wearing a badge engraved for the purpose by Mr. T. R. Whitney.

Band of Music.

Choristers belonging to the Park Theatre.

Mayor and Corporation, with their Staffs of Office.

High Sheriff and Deputies.

Members of Congress and of the State Legislature.

Judges of the United States and State Courts, with their officers, and the Marshal of the United States.

Foreign Ministers and Consuls.

Albany Delegation of Printers.

New-York Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Anthony Glenn, an officer of the Navy of the Revolution, in a barouche, bearing the identical standard of the United States which was hoisted by him immediately on the British evacuating the city in 1783—also in the same barouche Alexander Whaley, David Williams, and Enoch Crosby.

Side by side with the Standard borne by Mr. Glenn, and which was loaned for the occasion by the Proprietors of the American Museum—floated a beautiful tri-coloured flag, forwarded from Philadelphia by Colonel James Page, Commandant of the State Fencibles, to whom it was lately presented by Miss Emilie Chapron.

This group attracted great attention, and from time to time received enthusiastic cheers from the assembled multitude. The venerable Patriots who composed it appeared to participate largely in the feelings of the day, while their countenances beamed with smiles of pleasure at recollections of the past and anticipations of the future. We thought we could occasionally see a tear trickling down their aged cheeks—but it was not in sorrow; the smile which played on their lips, and the eye that turned towards heaven, spoke only of heartfelt satisfaction, and a half-breathed prayer for the happiness and freedom of mankind.

Mr. John Van Norsdale, on horseback, who, on the evacuation of the city in 1783, pulled down the British flag, and reeved the halliards with which Mr. Glenn hoisted the American standard.

Citizens of France, about five hundred in number, under the direction of their Marshals on horseback, wearing the uniform of the National Guards. The brothers Peugnet carried alternately the tri-coloured flag of France, and immediately after them followed the French Consul and his suite. The whole marched six abreast, and wore the tri-coloured cockade, with appropriate badges. Their appearance was imposing, and every eye turned to them as the immediate representatives of the brave people whose triumph we were celebrating.

Trustees, Faculty, and Students of Columbia College, preceded by their President, William A. Duer, and Professor Renwick. The Students wore their gowns with a tri-coloured

badge, and one of them bore a beautiful Banner, which had been prepared for the occasion, presenting a medallion of Lafayette, with a Greek legend, importing, "The glory of this man shall be for ever."

Trustees of the N. Y. University.

Teachers of the Public and Private Schools.

Members of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the State of New-York.

Members of the Medical Faculty, Physicians and Students.

Members of the Bar and Students at Law.

Officers of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Marine corps of the United States in uniform, headed by Major-General Scott, Commodore Chauncey, and Colonel Gamble. Belonging to the Army, were Colonels Croghan, Vose, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Crane, Majors H. Stanton, C. B. Tallmadge, Captains L. Whiting, J. Schmuck, Lieutenants Mahan, and Kennedy, Doctors Macomb and Russel. The Navy, Captains Leonard, Chauncey, Kearney, Gregory, and Cooper, Lieutenants Mix, Hudson, Auchmuty and Craven, Doctor Cook

Delegation from the Boston Light Infantry, wearing the uniform of their corps with side-arms. Consisting of Messrs. James L. Hewett, William H. Tilleston, H. B. Humphrey, Joseph T. Atwill, William H. Hudson, Thomas Minns, Jr., J. E. Hazleton, H. B. Willis.

Albany Military Association and also Military officers of other States. Consisting of Generals Van Rensselaer, Cooper, and Dewitt, Colonels Van Schaick and Van Veaghten, Majors Sheppard, Eights, Lieutenants King and Townsend, with many others.

Officers of the Infantry in uniform, about two hundred in number, and marching in platoons with a front of six files. The effect of this part of the procession was very fine, and exceeded any thing of the kind we have witnessed. A correct idea of it, can only be formed by imagining a well drilled Regiment of men wearing the neat yet beautiful uniform of our United States Infantry Officers.

Printers, and Members of the Typographical Society and Typefounders, preceded by their venerable Marshal John Lang, one of the proprietors of the Gazette, and who has been connected with the press of this city for more than forty years.

Immediately after the Marshal, marched those who are connected with Morning and Evening Papers, bearing a large and beautiful Banner, having the device a Clymer Printing Press, over which soared, with wide extended wings, the Ame-

rican Eagle, holding in its talons the bust of Franklin ; and in its beak, the following motto : *Verite sans peur*—truth without fear. On the right, was the goddess of liberty, supporting the American flag : on the left, a full-sized figure of a slave, bound in chains, who had burst the shackles from one arm, and had laid hold of the press for emancipation. Behind him was a crown reversed, and the sceptre broken in three pieces, in allusion to the late Revolution in France. Then followed the Printers generally, with appropriate banners, and two platforms, each drawn by four horses, the first having on it two printing presses, striking off an Ode, written for the occasion to the air of the Marseillois Hymn, and distributing them to the crowd. On the other platform was one of the new invented printing presses, also, in operation, at intervals, throwing off various publications. On each platform were several printer's boys, dressed in green frocks, with three-cornered cocked hats, who received the sheets as they came from the press, and threw them out to the multitude, as they passed along the streets.

The Typefounders followed the Printers, their Grand Marshal, W. Hagar, preceded them ; and each member of the society wore a tri-coloured cockade, and a badge with the likeness of Washington and Lafayette, with an appropriate inscription commemorative of the events of the 27th, 28th, 29th July. Under the head of Washington was inscribed—" Our Country's Father" and under Lafayette " Our Country's Friend." At the head of the society Mr. Jonn Thompson carried a large banner. He was attended by two small boys who wore white silk aprons trimmed with blue and red. The banner had inscribed on it the name of the society, and a workman in the operation of casting type, and a boy in attendance. On the top the likenesses of the three reputed fathers of the profession, Guttenberg, Faust, and Schaeffer.

The second division had a blue banner carried by E. Pelouse ; the third division a white banner, carried by D. C. Lampard, and the fourth division a red banner borne by P. Hastings. Each of the banners exhibited appropriate inscriptions, and were handsomely executed.

The Tailors and Journeymen Tailors' Society followed the Printers, and with their numerous and beautifully executed banners and devices, made a gorgeous and appropriate display. Their Marshal, John Brashears, with the President, Secretary, and four Assistant Marshals, mounted, with white silk sashes spangled.

The Bakers and Bakers' Benefit Society, turned out in their

strength, and like the Tailors, exhibited on this occasion their numerous and appropriate banners. Neither of these societies have furnished us with a description of them, and we can only say, in general terms, that they were important parts of the pageant, and never appeared better.

Coopers and Journeyman Coopers' Society, with their banners, devices, &c. made a fine display. Mr. M'Callum, Marshal, was followed by the officers of the Society: James Seguire, President; E. M. Luther, Vice-President; John Moore, Treasurer, and Wm. Asten, Secretary.

The grand banner, seven feet by eight, borne by Mr. C. Brownell, representing Commerce and Industry, in a branch of the trade—the finishing of a buoy and a view of the East River, encircled by a white oak branch, in which was inscribed the motto "Love as Brethren," next followed. After several files of members came the American and tri-coloured flags, borne by distinguished members; and situated about central of the Society was the banner which belonged to the Coopers' Society, and was carried by them in the procession of 1789; this banner is six by seven feet, representing the arms of the State of New-York, with the union over—and same motto as before, underneath.

After this followed a small banner, representing in front a finished cask with a part motto over, "United we stand," and on the reverse a cask stripped of the hoops, and staves falling, with the motto "Divided we fall."

The Society was followed by a corps of the apprentices to the trade, who displayed a banner of blue, about three feet by four, borne by Master Robert G. Getty, with the motto inscribed on it, "Free Trade and Coopers' Rights," and having suspended at the head of the staff a small keg elegantly gilt, &c.

The badges worn by the members were composed of tri-coloured ribands, bearing the impression at the top of Lafayette, under, the title of the Society, the buoy in a finished state, and implements of the trade.

Butchers' Society, about three hundred, on horseback, with white aprons, check sleeves, and tri-coloured cockades. In front, the Marshal, John Trigler, and four Aids, Arnest Fink, John Perrin, Walter Disbrow, and George Clinch, wearing tri-coloured scarfs and sashes, chapeaus-du-bras and small swords. In a barouche were the following veterans of the trade, Jacob Aims, David Marsh, Daniel Winship, George Hutton, Caleb Vanderberg, and Jacob Varian. The whole wear-

ing a badge, having beautifully engraved upon it an ox about to be slaughtered, attended by a butcher; at his foot the horn of plenty, and over head "Public spirit is national wealth,"—also, inscriptions referring to the revolution in Paris, and medallions of Washington and Lafayette, with striped and tri-coloured flags festooned around them.

A car drawn by four oxen contained the skin of the ox President, so admirably stuffed, that we for a time supposed that it could be no less than the ghost of his venerable oxship; and it was not until we called to mind that we had partaken of a sirloin of this noble animal, that we perceived it was his skin only which we saw before us. The car was adorned with tri-coloured ribands, and the star-spangled banner and the tri-colour of the French floated over it. A band of music, in uniform, occupied a car drawn by four horses, led by blacks in oriental costume. A third car contained two lambs, with four boys dressed in white. One of the butchers had a car of his own, on which were a variety of meats, and persons employed in making sausages. All the cars were decorated with tri-coloured ribands, and the banners were numerous and appropriate.

Hatters.

Masons and Journeymen Masons.

House Carpenters and Joiners, with their appropriate banners and insignias. Robert Townsend, Jr., and Nathan H. Topping, Marshals.

Smiths' Society.—All wore trio-badges; motto "Working Men of Paris."

Three banners. One large, two small. On the large, in oil painting, Vulcan at his forge, no motto. On the reverse, Venus.

One small banner—motto "Sons of Vulcan," blue ground.

One small oil painting with yellow fringe, Hammer and Anvil, motto "Strike the iron while it is hot."

All these societies carried appropriate banners, with appropriate devices, and, like all who joined the procession, wore badges and tri-coloured cockades.

The Manufacturers of Steam Engines and Boilers formed a striking part of the procession, and their beautiful steamboat ploughed our streets, instead of our waters, without intermission. She was the object of attraction to all who beheld her, and was preceded by the manufacturers and their marshals. Next, Mr. Charles E. Duncan, jun., and his aids Capt. Wm. Wiswall and Mr. William Leicester. Then on the car drawn by

four horses, mounted on a stage richly carpeted and handsomely decorated with a tri-coloured drapery, came the steamboat, furnished with all its equipments, and apparatus, thoroughly manned with her officers and crew, cables, anchors, steering wheel, bell, and fuel; surmounted by flags ornamented with a portrait of Louis Philippe, with the names inscribed of Fulton, Livingston, and J. P. Allaire. The brass steam engine, fitted to the boat, and complete in all its parts, was on the principle of the high and low pressure combined, such as are used in the powerful towing-boats on the North River, and which were first applied by Mr. James P. Allaire to that purpose. This elegant engine was made by Gilbert Gray, an apprentice in the establishment of Mr. Allaire, and works with admirable precision; and though the cylinders are only one and one half, and three inches in diameter, its power is calculated to be nearly equal to half that of a horse.

Painters, Glaziers, and House Painters' Society, Stone Cutters, Musical Instrument Makers, and Iron Founders, all with appropriate banners, &c. &c.

Cabinet Makers. Besides banners, flags, and badges, the Cabinet Makers presented a beautiful car drawn by four horses, on which was displayed a variety of elegant cabinet furniture, consisting of pier-tables, &c. &c.—the whole handsomely decorated with tri-coloured ribands.

Next after the Cabinet Makers, came the Patent Sofa Bedstead Manufacturers, with a car containing a beautiful sofa bedstead, on which Mr. Johnson, his son, and his foreman, were seated during the march of the procession.

Carvers, Gilders, and Frame Makers, Charles del Vecchio, Marshal, carried portraits of Washington and Lafayette, in superb frames, elegantly carved and richly gilded; also a large banner, on which was painted "The sun rising in the east, and the Goddess of Liberty supporting the American flag in the west—the flag surmounted with a liberty cap. Lafayette supporting the tri-coloured flag in the east, with the white flag of France under his feet. An eagle sent by the goddess, passing through the air with a liberty cap in its beak, in the act of descending to place it on the staff of the tri-coloured flag; in his claw, a riband, with the words "Universal Suffrage." Borne by a carver,

The Apprentices to the Carvers and Gilders also carried a very pretty banner, designed and executed for the purpose, and all wore the same badge as the French citizens, with the exception that "Liberty" was substituted for "D'Orleans."

The Coach Makers, Saddlers and Harness Makers, made a beautiful display. They were arranged in the following order: Music; Marshal; Military Charger in full costume and tri-coloured plume, led by two grooms; Grand Banner; Committee of Arrangements, with tri-coloured sashes; Gentleman's Saddle Horse, led by groom; Lady's Saddle Horse, led by groom; Aid; Washington Banner; Employers; a Race Horse in full dress, led by a groom; a Race Horse equipped for the course, rode by a jockey; Clinton Banner; Six Men; pair of Coach Horses harnessed complete, led by two grooms; Six Men; Small Banner; Six Men; two Gig Horses abreast, harnessed complete, led by two grooms; Six Men; Small Banner; Six Men; a pair of Coach Horses harnessed complete, led by two grooms; Six Men; Small Banner; Coachmakers, Saddlers and Harness Makers in general; Small Banner; Apprentices.

Bricklayers, Plasterers, and Slaters, with banners, flags, and badges. Among other things we noticed a beautiful cornice borne in procession, and decorated with tri-coloured ribands.

Tobacconists, with banners, a car, and abundance of "the weed." On the car, a number of persons were employed in manufacturing tobacco, snuff, and segars, which were liberally distributed to the people, and by them pronounced "excellent." They were great favourites throughout the day, and had no lack of customers for the produce of their labours.

News Carriers' Benevolent Society, with banner and flags.

Fire Department. That portion of the procession composed of this department contributed greatly to the display, and was under the direction of Mr. James Gulick, one of the engineers. In numbers, including those from Brooklyn, they amounted to upwards of a thousand, and occupied more than a mile of the route, marching in the following order:—Engine No. 4, from the village of Brooklyn, mounted on a car erected on four wheels, which were nearly concealed by elegant festoons of tri-coloured cloths, suspended from the stage, and supported by gilded pins. The platform on which the engine was placed, was covered with handsome carpet, and a grand triumphal arch composed of laurel and other evergreens, was erected over the heads of three men, who were on the stage, to represent the company in their working costume; in the centre the motto "1776, Liberty, 1830," and many appropriate devices, the whole drawn by four horses, followed by the Brooklyn firemen.

Next in order was engine No. 28, of the New-York department, drawn by two horses, and decorated with American and tri-coloured flags and ribands; No. 12, placed on a car simi-

lar to the first in line, covered with a costly Brussels carpet, and decorated with luxurious festoons of drapery, composed of the three colours; the horses were led by negroes in Moorish attire, the hose covered with a patent leather case—the pipes, levers, &c. elegantly entwined with appropriate ribands, followed by brass signal lantern, torches, and other implements, elegantly polished and decorated; on either side of the stage was a large American and tri-coloured standard—the members followed. Next came Hook and Ladder Truck No. 1, drawn by members—the drag-rope covered with tri-coloured ribands, carriage, ladders, hooks, &c. painted tri-coloured, the bottom ladder being blue, centre white, and upper one red, two small ladders and a hook were erected from the centre, from the summit of which were displayed tri-coloured and American flags. Next came Engine No. 1, on a car drawn by four superb horses, each nearly 18 hands high, and said to be the finest team in point of size and power in the State; the car and engine handsomely decorated. No. 37, without a car, drawn by six black ponies. No. 23 had four bay horses, driven by a member seated on the box of the engine, who gave evidence that he was no novice in the situation assigned to him—the company followed, bearing the signal lantern (in which was a lighted lamp) and torches, a beautiful miniature engine, and other emblems. Engine No. 2, on a stage drawn by four horses, and handsomely ornamented, displaying at each end an American Standard and tri-coloured Banner. Hook and Ladder Truck, No. 3, drawn by members, flags waving from either extremity. Engine No. 32 drawn by four brown horses. No. 5, drawn by members bearing tri-coloured and American Standard, together with appropriate emblems, the machine beautifully decorated with ribands, flowers, &c. No. 40, mounted on a car drawn by four horses, and decorated with the American Standard and tri-coloured Banner, and a superb gilded eagle suspended over the engine. West Point Band. Then Engine No. 46, drawn by four horses without a car. Miniature No. 33, drawn by one small poney. No. 33, on a stage drawn by four horses, decorated with tri-colours. No. 26, without a car, drawn by six horses followed by members bearing miniature engines and other emblems. No. 27, drawn by members, and ornamented with American and tri-coloured flags. Lafayette Company No. 19, and a car superbly ornamented, and drawn by four horses, members following, bearing a banner, on which was a well-executed full length portrait of Gen. Lafayette. No. 14, decorated with flags, and drawn by four

white horses, led by negroes in Turkish costume, and followed by members. Lafayette company, No. 7, drawn by two horses, the company displaying a banner, on which was an elegant figure of Gen. Lafayette, as in his youth, on horseback. Hook and Ladder Truck No. 5, drawn by four horses. Engine No. 13, ornamented with flags, &c. and drawn by four gray horses, led by negroes in Arabian dresses. No. 20, drawn by members. No. 29, also drawn by members, the hose covered with a tri-coloured case. Nos. 41 and 44, on separate cars, ornamented as others previously described, and each drawn by four horses, which were driven by members in a masterly style. No. 11 was drawn by members in full working dress, exhibiting a striking contrast with their precursors in the line, which elicited the most enthusiastic plaudits from the multitude.

The Pilots' Society made a most interesting and imposing appearance. The society was preceded by a stage drawn by two horses, on the fore-part of which was placed a ship, representing a French ship of war under her three topsails, having just shortened sail to receive a pilot on board—she had a tri-coloured pendant flying at the main, and tri-coloured flags at the fore and mizen skysail mast head, and one at the mizen peak—directly astern of the ship a handsome modelled and complete-rigged pilot-boat was placed under full sail, with her yawl in readiness to put a pilot on board of the ship—the boat had American colours flying at the main, and her number in her sails—on each side of the stage, abreast of the ship, a lad was stationed to heave the lead, and frequently gave us the well known song of “by the mark seven,” &c.—on the fore-part of the stage, in the centre, the tri-coloured flag was hoisted on a staff; and on each side of the stage, the American flag was also flying. Unfortunately soon after starting to join the procession, one of the flag-staffs came in contact with a limb of a tree and was carried away, and having no means of fishing it, for the sake of uniformity, the seamen cut the other to the same length, which left the tri-coloured the most taunt, and caused some ill-natured remarks. Next to the stage, the band, followed by the Marshal and his Aids—then the banner of the society on one side, and the following motto on the other, “The People, the only competent Pilots to guide the Nation.” The society followed, with their medals and tri-coloured badges on the right and left breasts.

The New-York Watermen followed the Pilots, and were preceded by their Marshals, and the barge on a car drawn by four horses, which in 1825 was victorious in a contest with the crew.

of His Britannic Majesty's ship Hussar. The boat was manned by eight boys dressed in "red, white, and blue," with their oars shipped and pulling away in seamen's style.

Chair Makers' Society, under the direction of its Marshal and his Aids—in front a large banner, emblematical of the trade, with the following mottos: "Rest for the weary."—"By industry we thrive." Next were carried three tri-coloured chairs, on which were painted the names of Washington, Lafayette, and Jefferson; 27th, 28th, 29th July 1830; next the tri-coloured flag; next a member of the society with two small chairs and one settee, with the American and tri-coloured flags and liberty-cap with the motto "We make the chair of government, the people designate the occupant." Next a banner with the motto "Support the chair," and shortly after another banner, with the words "Liberty and Peace." In the centre, an elegant car drawn by two horses, in which were men at work, who during the procession, manufactured a handsome curled maple cane seat chair, and presented it to ex-president Monroe on the stage in Washington-square. A tri-coloured banner with 27th, 28th, 29th July, and several small chairs borne on a pole, were in the rear of the society. Each member of the society wore a badge prepared for the occasion.

The Comb Makers in general, with banners, &c. &c.

Book Binders, Robert Beatty, Marshal, Wm. A. Day, and John Day, Assistant Marshals, Banner of the Association, borne by Christian Brown, supporters, F. Grant and G. Jarvis; device of the banner—on the left Time with his scythe, prepared to destroy the literature with which the world is favoured, through the instrumentality of the press; on the right, with a scroll in her hand, the Genius of Literature, with a smiling countenance, pointing to the centre of the device, representing the interior of a bindery, workmen in the act of binding books to preserve them from the ravages of Time: on the reverse, the Arms of the State of New York. The procession followed, each wearing a tri-coloured badge, surmounted by the star badge of the Association, prepared for the occasion by the Committees of Arrangements. Officers of the Association. Committee of Arrangement. Employers. Division of Journeymen. In the centre of the line a ponderous volume, entitled French Revolution, July 1830, elevated on a stage drawn by horses, splendidly decorated, supported by four boys on each side. From the centre of the stage a tri-coloured flag was displayed, immediately in the rear of which a miniature standing press, with a copy of the classics.

Preceding the stage, Mr. John T. Bradford, principal finisher of the book.

2d division, Mr. John Day, Assistant Marshal.

Banner borne by A. D. Bower ; supporters M. Palmer and J. Nailor. Inscription—Book Binding, the art preservative of all arts. Division of Journeymen. Banner borne by Mr. Wm. Walker ; supporters H. Vyvyan and R. H. Arison. This splendid banner is the same that was displayed by the booksellers at the Canal Celebration, 1825. The device, a figure of Minerva with a lighted torch in her right hand, emblematical of the effects of learning on science and the mechanic arts. On the reverse, “ Knowledge is power.” Apprentices of the trade.

The New-York Gas Workmen’s Friendly Society, instituted Dec. 1825.

The Marshal with tri-coloured badge and sash, and bright gas ornament with badges, &c.

The President and Vice President of the Society with tri-coloured badges and sashes. The star spangled banner on the right of the President, and the tri-coloured flag on the left of the Vice President.

The Banner, blue ground and gold letters.

The Secretary, Treasurer, Committees, and Members, with badges.

Hibernian Universal Benevolent Society

Erin Friendly Society of Brooklyn.

Both of these societies made a fine display with their banners and badges ; their harp tastefully decorated and borne on a car, and each of the members wearing scarfs and badges. We regret that we have not received a detailed description of their appearance.

Seamen’s Society, composed of a number of respectable ship-masters.

The Cartmen numbered about 300, in white frocks, and all on horseback, wearing on their left breast a tri-coloured cockade, and a badge printed on white satin, designed and executed by B. G. Jansen, of this city. The badge representing a horse and cart, harnessed, and standing, with the word “ Cartmen” over it ; and beneath, the words “ Evacuation, Nov. 25, 1783 ;” after which a motto, “ Lafayette, disciplus Washingtonis, Galliae, insignis Liberator,” over a beautiful engraving on wood, illustrative of the triumph of liberal principles, and the disenfranchisement of a nation from the shackles of tyranny and oppression. In the back ground was seen the sun of science rising

in splendour, and dispelling the dark clouds of ignorance and superstition which have obscured the vision of the oppressed being in the foreground; who now beholds the Goddess of Liberty approaching, to whom he prostrates himself, when the chains fall from his wrists and ankles, and he becomes a freeman. A branch of laurel and lily, tied together beneath, spreads out on either side of the design, and on the top are the arms of the United States and France, surmounted by the eagle of America, whose protecting wings are extended over both; and underneath the whole, in plain type, "27, 28, 29th, July, 1830."

Their arrangement was as follows—Two Trumpeters. Grand Marshal and his Aids. A standard on which was represented a horse and cart encircled with a wreath of olive on a white ground, borne by the Foreman of the first class, assisted by two of the oldest Cartmen, and drawn on cart No. 1, painted in tri-colours. A division of cartmen. The standards of the United States and France, borne by the Foreman of the 2d class, and supported by four elderly cartmen, drawn on cart No. 2, painted similar to No. 1.

Apprentices in general, with badges.

Clerks in general, with badges.

Dyers and Printers with banners, badges, and a great variety of printed shawls, in which the "red, white, and blue" were beautifully and strikingly blended.

They were headed by the Messrs. Bryan, each member had an elegant silk shawl or handkerchief as a banner, with mottos, "We die to live,"—"We live to die,"—"Our impressions are lasting."

Citizens, Artisans, and Mechanics, not embraced in the foregoing.

The Cordwainers' Association, James Lennon, Marshal, was formed in three divisions, the front and rear divisions containing one hundred men each, all wearing tri-coloured badges and cockades. Front Division under the direction of Matthew Armstrong, President of the day, carrying an elegant hammer, supported on the right by Thomas Bennet, Treasurer, bearing a gilt key, and on the left by Thomas Baker, Secretary, carrying a gilt pen. Immediately behind these, was the grand Standard painted on blue silk, and displaying in the centre the arms of the craft. The supporters, on the right, a daughter of Crispin, in her right hand a scroll, with the words "Industry rewarded in America." On the left, Crispin in proper costume, in the attitude of being crowned with a wreath of oak leaves by the Genius of Liberty, appearing above, encompassed with rays of

glory; the motto, "Union is our strength;" underneath, wreaths of flowers; the horn of plenty, and the inscription, "Cordwainers of the city of New-York;" the whole surmounted with a gilt Eagle, and tastefully ornamented with bows, festoons, and perpendicular stripes of tri-coloured ribands.

In the centre of the front division were the American and tri-coloured flags. Three small banners of blue silk, having on them the names of Washington, Lafayette, Warren, Montgomery, and other distinguished heroes, were borne in the different parts of the procession.

In the centre division was a magnificent car drawn by four white horses, the front horses rode by jockies in tri-coloured dresses. The body of the car was entirely covered with horizontal stripes of red and white, the floor with a carpet of American manufacture. A canopy of white muslin, hung round with festoons of blue drapery, and supported on six columns concealed beneath spiral stripes of the same tri-coloured material, covered the whole. The interior representing a shoe shop in full operation, and filled with boots, shoes, rolls of leather, &c., was under the care of Matthew Vanderhoff, who was busily employed in preparing work for the two boys and the two young ladies engaged in trimming shoes, which were afterward suspended between the columns. In the front of the car was a mammoth boot with a tri-coloured top, and a small French flag above it. Behind the car were twenty-four little boys walking arm-in-arm, and four abreast, dressed in red pantaloons, white frocks girt round the waist with tri-coloured sashes, and blue caps, all wearing tri-coloured cockades and badges; two small French flags and one American, and also two boots of very diminutive size and curious workmanship, were carried by these boys, who excited great interest in all who saw them. The youngest was not more than three years old.

The rear division was conducted by John C. Ruby, Vice-President of the day, carrying a scroll, with the inscription "La Charte de la France," supported on the right by John Ennis, and on the left by Lewis Judson.—In this division was borne a large standard of blue silk, having in the centre the arms of the craft. The supporters, two sons of Crispin in full costume, representing two branches of the trade, the figure on the right holding up a lady's slipper, the one on the left, a man's boot. Over the arms, the half of the globe surmounted with the eagle, and the mottos, "Liberty and Independence," "United we stand, divided we fall." The whole surmounted with an eagle, and decorated like the standard before mentioned.

All the officers, in addition to the badges and cockades, wore tri-coloured sashes. The badges were those prepared by Mr. P. M. P. Durando, with the words *La Fayette, D'Orleans, La France, Paris*, entwined in wreaths of olive, surrounded with rays of light, and the date *Juillet 27, 28, 29, 1830*.

Tanners, Curriers, and Leather Dressers' Society, four hundred in number, followed the Butchers, preceded by their Grand Marshal, John E. Cammeyer, and his aid, George W. Taylor; the President and Vice-President; the Secretary and Treasurer, bearing the emblems of their respective offices; the Grand Standard—on the front a Tanner and Currier were represented in their working dresses; in the centre a Heart supported by an Oak Tree, upon which are drawings of a Currying Knife and Flesher; above, on the tree, a Bullock's Head, the sun at meridian, and a landscape in the back ground—motto, "By union we arise to splendour." On the reverse, full length figures of a morocco dresser and a skinner in their working dresses, resting on a heart supported by a mahogany tree, bearing in the centre their coat of arms; above the heart against the trunk of the tree, a Deer's Head, on the right, a Ram's Head, and on the left a Goat's Head; a landscape in the distance with the sun rising, motto, "Industry, the support of our Nation." The staff surmounted by a gilded eagle. A tri-coloured flag. A full band of music. Employers and invited guests.

The Tanners.—Marshal, Thomas Wilson. Banner of blue silk three feet square,—a gilded flesher in the centre, and the word "Tanners" in letters of gold. On the top of the staff a gilded Ox.

The Curriers, &c. of Newark, with their banners. The Curriers of New-York. Banner three feet square, the word "Currier" in letters of gold, and a correct representation of a currying knife; on the top of the staff a gilded horse; in the centre of the Curriers, a tri-coloured calf-skin banner, carried by a young man, and supported by two little boys. Mottos,—front—*July 4th, 1776, Juillet 27, 28, and 29, 1830, birth-days of liberty*,—on the reverse, "France and Belgium. We rejoice our brothers are free."

The Skinners.—Banner of blue silk, moon knife in the centre, the word "Skinners" in gold letters, a golden ram on the top of the staff. In the centre of the skinners a tri-coloured sheep-skin banner.

Morocco Dressers.—Banner of blue silk, the words "Morocco Dressers" in gold, and the emblems of the trade gilt in

the centre ; on the top of the staff a gilded goat. In the centre of the morocco dressers were displayed three banners of morocco, red, white, and blue—red with the following inscriptions : July 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1830 ; on the red the name of “ La Fayette” encircled by a wreath ; on the white and on the blue “Triumph of Principle,” with a cock, the arms of France.

MILITARY.

Order of the Procession of the Military under Arms.

The Troops made a most brilliant and imposing appearance, surpassing any former display within our recollection ; they were formed on Hudson-street, the right resting on Canal-street ; the line extending through Hudson-street to Chamber-street, and from thence up to Broadway, forming two divisions, the whole under the command of Major General Jacob Morton, of the 1st Division of New-York State Artillery ; by whom they were reviewed at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Order of the Column of Route.

Three Trumpeters, mounted, in uniform, and richly caparisoned.

Major General Morton, Commanding.

Division Inspectors for the Day.

Colonel Nathan T. Arnold, Division Inspector for 1st Division of N. Y. S. A. ; Col. Saml. D. Jackson, Division Inspector 2d do ; Col. Alexander Ming, Jr. of the 13th Regiment N. Y. S. A. ; Lt. Col. Andrew Warner, do. do.

General's suite, mounted, and riding fourabreast.

Major General Van Beuren, of Staten Island, commanding 2d Division of N. Y. S. Infantry ; Brigadier General Henry Arcularius, of 1st Brigade N. Y. S. Horse Artillery ; Brigadier Gen. Alexander M. Muir, Commissary General of State of N. Y. ; Brigadier Gen. George S. Doughty, of — Brigade of N. Y. S. I. ; Brigadier Gen. Striker, of — do. ; Lieut. Colonel — Gamble, of the U. S. Marine Corps ; Col. John L. Graham, Aid-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief ; Col. Daniel P. Ingraham, Division Judge Advocate ; Lieut. Col. Peter H. Schenck, Division Quartermaster ; Col. Griffin Tompkins, of Gen. Van Beuren's Staff ; Major Robert C. Wetmore, Major Daniel M. Tompkins, Aids-de-Camp of General Morton ; Capt. Robert Brown, Paymaster of 1st Brigade N. Y. S. Horse Artillery ; Capt. Striker, Aid-de-Camp of Gen. Striker.

Escort.

Capt. Beach's Company of Lancers of the 9th Brigade N. Y. S. A., their lances decorated with tri-coloured silk-streamers; 1st Brigade Horse Artillery; 1st Regiment Horse Artillery; two Trumpeters; Col. Henry Storms, Commandant; Lieut. Col. — —; Major Henry Burger; the horses drawing the field-pieces and caissons, each caparisoned with tri-coloured trappings, the pieces alternately bearing the American and tri-coloured flags; Staff-Officers, mounted.

Foot Artillery.

Ninth Brigade New York State Artillery; two Trumpeters; Brigadier General Gilbert Hopkins, Commandant; Major John Harris, Brigade Inspector; Capt. — —, Brigade Quartermaster; Captain Thomas Wills, Brigade Paymaster; Capt. — — Barker, Aid-de-Camp.

Eleventh Regiment of N. Y. S. A.

Colonel Townsend W. Burtis, Comd't.; Lieut. Col. — — Smith; Major Stacy Pancoast; the field-pieces, caissons, and horses, ornamented with tri-coloured trappings and equipments; Martial Band of Music; United States and State Standards, with tri-coloured streamers; Staff Officers, mounted; a Company of Infantry from Williamsburgh, L. I.

Thirty-first Regiment N. Y. S. A.

Col. William P. Robertson, Comd't.; Lieut. Col. Robert Steele; Major — —; the field-pieces and caissons of each company with tri-coloured ornaments; Martial Band of Music; United States and State Standards, with tri-coloured streamers; Staff Officers, mounted.

SECOND DIVISION.

Three Trumpeters richly caparisoned.

Sixth Brigade N. Y. S. A.

Brigadier General Peter W. Spicer, of 6th Brigade, Commanding 2d Division; Major René Pardessus, Brigade Inspector (this officer was several years in the French Republican Army); Major James T. Cromwell, Hospital Surgeon; Capt. Edward L. Walker, Brigade Quartermaster; Captain Wm. Spendlove, Brigade Paymaster; Capt. John Bant, Aid-de-Camp; Capt. Charles B. Talmidge, Volr. do.; Quartermaster Dillon, of Clinton Horse Guards.

Escort of Cavalry.

Squadron of Clinton Horse Guards; two Trumpeters; Capt. Wm. P. Morris, Comd't.; Company of City Guard of Troop; Capt. Smith's Company of New-York State Lancers, under command of Lieut. Waddell; Company of Governor's Guards; Staff Officers, mounted.

Company of United States Marines, from Navy Yard at Brooklyn, commanded by Captain Nicholson, of the U. S. Marine Corps; Band of Martial Music.

Third Regiment N. Y. S. A.

Jackson Guards, performing duty as Infantry; Martial Band of Music, and Corps of Drums and Fifes; Colonel Charles W. Sandford, Comd't.; Lieut. Col. George P. Morris; Major Andrew H. Bennet; Adj. James M. Lownds; Staff Officers, mounted; Capt. Seely's Company of Tompkins Blues, performing duty as Light Infantry; right Companies of Jackson Guards; Infantry.

First Brigade New-York State Artillery, performing duty as Infantry and Riflemen.

Brig. Gen. Robert F. Manley, Com't.; Major John D. Everson, Brigade Inspector; Capt. Abraham Mason, Brigade Quartermaster; Capt. Samuel T. Ross, Brigade Paymaster; Major Peter Forrester, Hospital Surgeon.

Ninth Regiment N. Y. S. A.

Col. James Lefferts, Comd't.; Lt. Col. E. H. Warner; Major Abraham Cooper; Band of Music; Major Wm. J. Benjamin's Battalion of Light Infantry; Staff Officers, mounted.

Fourteenth Regiment N. Y. S. A.

Col. Jotham W. Post, Comd't.; Lt. Col. James Watson Webb; Major Joseph C. Hart; Band of Music; Capt. Benjamin W. Benson's Company of Light Infantry; Capt. Riley's Company of N. Y. Cadets, as Light Infantry; a Company of Infantry; five Companies of Riflemen; Staff Officers, mounted.

Second Regiment N. Y. S. A.

Col. Isaac Reed, Comd't.; Lt. Col. Wm. D. Craft; Major George W. Heelas; Band of Martial Music: the guide colours of this regiment were composed of tri-colour; Staff Officers, mounted.

Twenty-seventh Regiment N. Y. S. A.

National Guards; Col. L. W. Stevens, Comd't.; Lt. Col. Morgan L. Smith; Major John M. Catlin; Band of Music; Staff Officers, mounted.

Second Regiment N. Y. S. Light Infantry.

Washington Guards; Col. G. P. Hewitt, Comd't.; Lt. Col. Victor B. Waldron; Major Daniel Ward; Band of Music; Staff Officers, mounted.

The Company of *Williamson Guards*, Capt. Dusenbury, from Newark, N. J. and Capt. Seely's Company of *Tompkins Blues*, associated themselves with Gen. Manley's Brigade, and took the right of the *Washington Guards*.

Battalion of President's Guards.

Light Infantry ; Major Debaun, Comd't. ; Band of Music ; Staff Officers, mounted.

N. B. All the officers and privates wore upon the occasion, either a tri-coloured badge or breast-knot.

The citizens of France, escorted by the French gentlemen uniformed as the National Horse Guards of Paris, presented the tri-coloured banner to the Division of Artillery in the open field north of the parade ground, by Joseph Bouchaud, Esq. who made an appropriate address to Gen. Morton, who received it and replied. It was escorted to Gen. Morton's quarters by the hands of Col. Jackson, accompanied by the suite of the Major Gen. and the Company of Lancers under command of Capt. Beach.

It being ascertained, that in consequence of the delicate state of the health of Mr. *Monroe*, he could not occupy the conspicuous position designated for him in the procession, and a general desire prevailing that he should be present during the interesting ceremonies at *Washington-Square*, the Marshal-in-chief promptly acted upon the measure, and appointed Gouverneur S. Bibb, Esq., a special Aid, to wait upon this respected citizen, to express to him the feeling that existed, and to request that he would endeavour to meet the wishes of his fellow-citizens. Mr. *Monroe* acquiesced ; he entered a carriage in waiting, accompanied by Mr. Bibb, and proceeded from the house of his son-in-law, S. L. Gouverneur, Esq.—met the procession at the corner of Broadway and Prince-street, and much to the gratification of those who witnessed the scene, took a position in line immediately preceding the barouche occupied by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, Judge Herttell, S. L. Gouverneur, and Wm. M. Price, Esq's. The van of the procession having reached *Washington-Square*, the carriage of the Ex-President and the barouche left the line, and proceeded to the mansion of Col. J. B. Murray. Upon Mr. *Monroe* alighting from the carriage, he was received *à la militaire*, by a portion of the "*Scott's Guards*," and accompanied by the orator, and other gentlemen who had occupied the barouche, together with Mr. Bibb, were met by Col. Murray and conducted to his mansion, where that measure of courtesy and attention that so peculiarly attaches to this patriotic citizen, were extended towards his respectable guests. After the civil procession had entered *Washington-Square*, a deputation of the aids of the Marshal-in-Chief waited upon Col. *Monroe*, and announced to him that the Committee of

Arrangements were ready to receive him, the orator, and other gentlemen who accompanied him; and that they would feel honoured in conducting them to the seats appropriated for them. The Ex-President, with the Hon. Mr. Gallatin, and Judge Herttell, entered a barouche, and followed by the other gentlemen, proceeded to the spot designated. When the barouche arrived at the stage, Col. Monroe was received by the assembled multitude with the heart-felt cheering of welcome, thrice resounding, and thrice grateful to every patriot ear. As he ascended the platform, those who were near enough to witness it, participated in a most interesting scene. A deputation from the Chairmakers Society met Col. Monroe, and presented to him an elegant arm-chair, made during the procession, accompanied with the following Address:—

To the Honourable James Monroe, Ex-President of the United States.

The Chairmakers of New-York, sensible of the services which you have rendered your country, request you to accept, through their Committee, this chair, as a testimony of their gratitude. The Committee beg leave to remark, that while we are actuated with a due sense of what we owe to France for former services, we cannot neglect that remnant of Heroes with which you are associated: the achievements they performed during our revolution, shall always have a prior claim to our acknowledgments.

The noble sentiments which animated the French people during their conflict for liberty, was engendered by the precepts of you and your revolutionary brethren. The interest which you have taken in advancing the welfare of the American people is an ample proof to us that you view the present liberation of France as a benefit to mankind.

The Committee congratulate you on being permitted, by Divine Providence, to preside on this important occasion. The chair which we have the satisfaction of presenting you with, for your use on this day, was manufactured during the procession, and is not intended as a gift on account of its worth, but as a testimony of regard and esteem which we entertain as a portion of your fellow-citizens, for your invaluable services. We hope it may prove an easy support for your declining years.

New-York, Nov. 26, 1830.

Signed, J. K. COWPERTHWAIT, } Committee.
WM. OSBORN, }

To the above, Mr. Monroe made the following Reply:—

New-York, Nov. 26, 1830.

The chair with which you have presented me to-day on the part of the Chairmakers of this city, I accept with the most grateful emotion. The accommodation which it afforded me while I remained on the platform was sensibly felt; but the excitement produced by your attention, and the motives which led to it, roused feelings of a different character. That you should recollect the humble services which I rendered in early youth in our Revolutionary struggle, and have taken so kind and generous a view of my conduct in all the important trusts with which I have since been honoured by my country, has made a lasting impression.

The Revolution in France undoubtedly took its origin in that of the United States: her citizens fought and bled in our service, they caught the spirit of liberty here, and carried it home with them. I have no doubt that the late glorious triumph which has been achieved by that people will promote the general interest of the civilized world. We can never review their patriotic and gallant efforts, without fixing our eyes on an illustrious individual, who has been equally distinguished for his service in support of that great cause in both hemispheres.

That you should have manufactured this chair in so solemn a procession, is a proof of your talent in the art, which affords me great pleasure.

I beg you to assure the Chairmakers of the city that I shall preserve it, as a testimonial of their approbation, to which I shall always attach a high value.

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.

To J. K. COWPERTHWAIT, and WILLIAM OSBORN,
Committee on the part of the
Chairmakers of the city of New-York.

The extreme bleakness of the day would not permit our venerable fellow-citizen to remain but a few minutes to witness the grateful scene. The Marshal-in-Chief, with his aid, G. S. Bibb, Esq., conducted him from the stage to the barouche, which, as he entered, a fresh manifestation of the enthusiastic feeling of the thousands of freemen assembled, again in loud acclamation reverberated, afforded to the illustrious object, who, uncovered, bowed in thanks—the most conclusive evidence, that the people, at least, were sensible who were the men that in the dark and gloomy days of the Revolution ren-

dered to their beloved country the essential services that led to the securing their rights, their liberties, and their happiness.

The moment that silence was restored, it was announced, that progressive with the order of the day, the Rev. Richard Varick Dey would offer up a prayer. In a manner solemn, fervent, and emphatic, the Reverend gentleman pronounced the following eloquent prayer; which was listened to with that profound silence becoming an enlightened and moral people, whose feelings upon all occasions have been regulated by that measure of propriety and consistency corresponding with the immediate subject by which it is excited.

Prayer by the Rev. RICHARD VARICK DEY, Pastor of Paraclete Church, in the city of New-York.

Almighty and ever blessed GOD! Thou KING of kings and LORD of lords, who rulest in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth, bow thine Heavens and come down, and meet with us in this Temple not made with hands! Give us, on this signal celebration of the Liberty thou hast vouchsafed to the nations, an anthem voice to proclaim the profound gratitude of the heart. Replenish our cold bosoms with the incense of thy worship and the light of thy glory; and permit us, in utter lowliness and contrition of spirit, to invoke thy mercy for the numberless offences we have committed against thy righteous laws, when in the manifest possession and enjoyment of thy privileges: and while we offer at thy holy throne the repentant prayer—while we devoutly lament the allurements and assailments of passion, we render the most fervent acknowledgments to thy Almighty Name, that thy voice hath spoken liberty to the vassals of the despot, and that thy hand hath unchained from the Bastile and the galley the high-souled spirits of an age that is darkened by the bigotry, and hardened by the madness, of a royal race, whom prosperity never taught magnanimity, nor adversity the wisdom of the persecuted brute.

Father of our Mercies, may thy benediction rest on all the engagements of this interesting and joyous occasion! Bless, we beseech thee, the fair land whose glorious achievements we have assembled to commemorate. Bless all the valiant and the free who are connected with its destinies. Behold in thy benignant grace the Hero of three revolutions—the asserter of freedom—

the youthful adventurer in a doubtful cause—the uncompromising assailant of the tyrant's edict—the generous worshipper of constitutional liberty. Unite, O God, in perpetual harmony the names of Washington and Lafayette—unite the peril with the triumph—the early sacrifice with the final victory! And accept our heartfelt thanks that these time-honoured names have been united throughout our federal republic with every great and glorious deed—that, unlike the common day, the Sun of Liberty hath ascended from the western hemisphere—that the glory of the free hath mounted to heaven from a land unknown to feudal bondage and oppression—that right is no longer subject to mis-called “*Right Divine*”—and that the great and good who have toiled, and bled, and triumphed, in the cause of Freedom, are now receiving on earth, or in paradise, the reward of their long and patient labour.

Hear us, OMNIPOTENT! Behold us, GOD! We hail the day that made us free! We hail the day that rent the chain of tyrant kings, and gave equal rights to the powerful and the poor! Accept our offering. Bless, we beseech thee, our beloved country. May no unhallowed hand ever profane that Ark of our Constitution, which contains at once the altar of our faith, and the charter of our freedom. May peace be within our walls, and plenteousness within our palaces! From sire to son, in long succession, may the great inheritance of Liberty be transmitted; and may our Republic endure to the latest generations, as the highly favoured land, which alone, in the annals of recorded time, hath never practically acknowledged any master but the GREAT SPIRIT—the ALMIGHTY KING! Bless, we pray thee, the President of these United States, and all others in authority. May the Divine wisdom preside in our councils; the Divine protection preserve our institutions! And oh! THOU SOLE RULER OF THE UNIVERSE, to whom the shields of the earth belong, gird on thy sword, O MOST MIGHTY! Go forth conquering and to conquer; and hasten the glorious period when, throughout the world, the Temple of Civil and Religious Liberty shall be erected on the tomb of tyranny, superstition, and error.

And when we have served GOD and our COUNTRY with fidelity on earth, may we all participate in the enjoyment of that blood-bought FREEDOM “wherewith CHRIST makes us free,” and unite in that heaven-born song—“ALLELULIA! SALVATION! FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH!” which mercy we humbly ask in the name and for the sake of Him, in whose sublime and comprehensive language we would

ever sum up our petitions: “ *Our Father which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever. AMEN.*

Immediately after this eloquent appeal to the eternal Throne of Grace and Mercy, the Address to the *French People* was read by William M. Price, Esq. The long-established and progressive fame of this patriotic citizen—his popular character with his countrymen—his power of eloquence, and his manner, always peculiarly happy, aided by his early and zealous feeling in the cause, were all brought to act most effectually upon the interesting subject. We regret that the address can form no part of this volume; the reasons are obvious and proper why they should not. It is an address from the citizens to the King of the French and to the French people. It is to be presented to Louis Philippe the First, by a deputation specially appointed. It would lose of its interest, and lessen in its value, if it met the public eye before it had reached the exalted individual and his patriotic countrymen to whom it is addressed: however anxious, therefore, we may be that it should be embodied in this work, the propriety of withholding it must be most apparent and satisfactory.

Closing with the reading of the address, the Orator of the Day presented himself to his fellow-citizens. In this we are not restricted. We rejoice that we are permitted to identify with these pages a production, at once chaste and classic—patriotic and enlightened—nervous and elegant—the emanations of a liberal and rich-stored mind, scattering profusely its treasures, and extending in no limited measure the extreme of pleasure and satisfaction.

ORATION

ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

DELIVERED BY

SAMUEL L. GOUVERNEUR, ESQ.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—

The feeling which animates the mass of our people proclaims that this day is consecrated to the celebration of signal events. Forty-seven years since, it witnessed the retirement of the British troops from this city--among the last acts which announced that our title had been acknowledged, to take rank among the nations of the Earth. A population of less than thirty thousand souls were spectators of this imposing scene. The smoke which marked the dwellings of our fathers, ascended from a narrow circle of their social homes. Few were the houses dedicated to the service of Heaven. The spot from which I address you, far distant from the scene of city noise and strife, furnished a smiling subject for the skill of the husbandman, and a lonely range for his lowing herds.

We are assembled this day, under the broad canopy of Heaven, surrounded on all sides by a vigorous population, rising 200,000 souls, devoted to the diffusion of intelligence, and the great principles of rational liberty. The hundred spires which attract our notice mark the altars sacred to the pure purposes of Religion, and the various forms in which we enjoy the privilege, to worship the God of our choice. The dense column of smoke which hovers around our countless buildings announces that our people are in the full enjoyment of all the comforts of life—and all the endearing relations of “wife, children, and friends.” Happy are we to behold this day. The scenes it presents are not the fictions of fancy. They are the blessings of reality. It is the birthright of our liberties—it is the unquestioned title to our homes. We have reason to rejoice.

From “our own, our native land,” the happiest subjects of reflection press upon our minds;—they alone would inspire universal emotion. But, fellow-citizens, we have received this day in “double trust.” The revolution of years brings it

to us in no "questionable shape." It comes surrounded with all the engaging "airs from Heaven." It appeals to us, in the universal language of nature, strikes every chord of feeling, and addresses every patriotic emotion, when it is announced to celebrate the recent events which have occurred in France—France! our country's "friend and ally"—the blood of whose sons mingled with our own—fertilizes the scenes of our Revolutionary struggles—while their bones moulder together on the plains of York. They appeal to our sympathies, as brethren, and as men—deeply affecting the happiness of a great and gallant nation—deeply affecting the fate of the civilized world. A signal Revolution, accomplished in three short days, has terminated the growing spirit of oppression, which threatened to blast for ever the blossoms of hope, which have bloomed without despair, in the hearts of the distinguished friends of Liberty in France. The blow which has been struck, has vibrated throughout our land. Our cities, rising en masse, and assembling all ranks of our people, from the most distinguished functionaries of our land to the humblest individual who breathes our air, have given a united expression of their general joy. The silence of our valleys is broken by the plaintive strains of the enthusiastic song of liberty in France; and our hills echo back the shouts of triumph and applause. Hope and enjoyment come together. The intelligence that a Revolution has begun, brings the fact that it is ended. Like the sound which proclaims that the natural elements are in commotion, the report which announces the strife, proclaims that the danger is past. The atmosphere, purified by the conflict, assumes its usual aspect—order and silence reign over tumult and confusion. Peace spreads her downy wings over the great family of nations, and all is hushed and still.

Europe has felt the shock. Her nations, aroused from their growing lethargy, gaze with amazement at the stupendous result, and, catching the inspiration which lives in all France, begin to examine the weight of their own chains. Rulers are devising imaginary ramparts against the growing spirit of the age; while the united cheers of the friends of Liberty in both worlds proclaim the direful fact, that in each palace of Europe hangs a "sword suspended by a hair."

Let them learn from these events, that if they would govern with safety, they must rule with wisdom. Beholding the glimmerings of reason and intelligence, which steal through every portion of the civilized world, let them prepare their thrones for the approach of intelligent subjects, and their soil for that blaze of liberty and light, which is destined to illuminate all the re-

gions of the earth. They may raise ramparts of sand against the encroaching wave of reformation; but without an ark of safety, founded upon a just estimate of popular rights, and guided by submission to their influence, it will deluge their thrones, though it be tinged with their blood.

Fellow-Citizens:—Our sympathies are justly excited. The cause of France is that of America—the cause of America is the liberty of man. It brings into direct discussion the great principles of our own Revolution, and by their triumph or their fall, must stamp us as a nation “of right free and independent,” or a band of traitors to the British crown. It is in defence of these great and important principles, “that all men are born free and equal;” that the multitude are not “to be saddled for the few;” and that man is competent to govern himself, that the “King of the French” has terminated a long line of the “Kings of France.” It is in admiration of our free system of government, founded on rights in defence of which our fathers bled, that the streets of Paris have been stained with blood. The spirit of Washington is up, “and armed.” Rejoice, then, people of America! extend your united arms to the great body of the French nation—bid them welcome to the enjoyment of a portion of that happiness which flows from a free government wisely administered—invite them to join in the cheers with which you hail their Constitutional King, while they hear in return the concentrated applause of the only Republic on earth.

Among all the gifts of a merciful Providence, there is none so conspicuous in our nature, so consoling in its influence, so searching in its power,—as that great principle which, by a common sympathy of feeling, endears man to man throughout the world. It is that hallowed feeling of sympathetic emotion, which binds individuals together as families—families as societies—societies as nations—and nations as a world. It is the chain which connects earth and heaven—guiding the eye of man in grateful acknowledgments, when his fellow-creatures are prosperous; or in humble supplication to offended Deity, when they are cursed by affliction and want. It lives throughout all the scenes of varied animated nature. It beats in every pulse. It throbs in every heart. It has sustained the patriot on the field, the martyr at the stake. It is the language which enrols in its calendar the fields of Marathon and the straits of Thermopylæ; and uttering with deep emotion the names of Koskiusko and Montgomery, points to the fields of Warsaw and the walls of Quebec. It gave decision and firmness to Washington, in the retreat through the Jerseys—and at Newburgh,—it made him the envy of mankind on the banks of the

Potomac. It cherished the noble spirit of Lafayette in the dungeon of Olmutz, and provides him a monument of glory in the united affections of France and America. It bent with mournful foreboding over the spark which appeared in Greece, and hangs in tremulous emotion over the suffering population of the Emerald Isle. It yet lingers in the breast of the Grecian mother, who sees in the features of her son the sparkling of a soul, which she devotes to the future vengeance of her country's wrongs. It breathes in the dying accents of Emmett, and whispers hope to the great body of the Irish nation. It lives in the memory of Riego, and casts a beam on the fortunes of ill-fated Spain. It speaks in the violated constitution of England, and points to the execution of the first Charles, and the expulsion of the second James. It triumphs in the fire of enthusiasm which illumines the streets of Paris, and bursts upon our admiration and applause in a heroic revolution of three days. By this holy sympathy, France and America are united; and by cherishing fond sentiments of justice and regard, may they jointly contribute to the emancipation of mankind.

But, Fellow-Citizens, there are great points of reflection which distinguish the late events. They bespeak the march of intellect and liberty, distinguished from the prevalence of faction and licentiousness, which marked the revolutions of former years. They display a people moving *en masse* without riot, and claiming liberty without excess. They present the altars of religion unpolluted—rights of property respected—order obeyed—vices repressed—and reason triumphant in the full display of the virtues of a great nation unsullied by cruelties, moving in firm submission to the dictates of individual integrity and national honour. The Revolution of '89 was the vindictive movement of the great body of a people, burning with revenge and frantic with despair. That of 1830 is the effort of an enlightened nation, profiting by the errors of the past, and looking firmly but calmly to the prospects of the future. Reason and reflection had furnished the theory that free government can be sustained—and the example of America has established the fact. Profiting by the great lesson which she has afforded, the people of France have discovered that to be free they must be virtuous and intelligent—that Liberty is to be wooed by the practice of all the virtues—nor can she live in the family of all the vices.

It is the existence of these great features in the late Revolution, which stamps the era as decisive, and confounds by their presence the council of Kings. The approach of the friends of Liberty to their thrones, presents facts addressed to their

reason, without excesses of passion and feeling which appeal to their fears. It wears the aspect of man, under the influence of reflecting inquiry into his future destiny; comparing with calm, but determined composure, the various duties which he owes to himself, to his posterity, to his country—to his God. Faction is awed—while a nation speaks. This distinguished moderation has marked the Revolution of France. In addressing itself to the sympathies of man, it presents a well-grounded hope that its results will be permanent. Contrasting its influence at the present time with the wild excesses which deluged France with blood, and the prevalence of passions productive of effects at which Religion grew pale and Humanity shuddered,—we behold the influence of reason, attended by the train of all the virtues, and the light of intelligence beaming with a steady lustre upon the fate of nations. Humanity may now dispel her fears—displaying her attractive loveliness, where all her dictates are respected. Religion may hold her olive branch on her thousand altars, among a virtuous people, who presume not to question her blessings, or to violate her sanctuaries. In the tears which both may shed over the scene of carnage and of death, inseparable from human strife, we recognise the mysterious working of Providence; but firm in the persuasion that they will be succeeded by smiles of joy at the ameliorated condition of our nature, we mourn with them over the field of civil commotion, and exult in the return of order and peace.

But Fellow-Citizens, forgetting for a moment the excesses which distinguished the first Revolution in France, we owe a passing tribute to the gallantry of her people at that distinguished era. The unrestrained passions which rioted in excess at home, when directed against the enemies of her Republican Freedom, and called in defence of the inviolability of her soil, blazed forth in a series of military efforts, which astonished the world. Her armies traversed the fields of Europe, and flushed with successive conquests, seemed intrusted to make it, but the field of France. Animated by a wild enthusiasm, which disdained restraint, they attempted the visionary notion of propagating the principles of Liberty at the point of the sword. Like the mistaken zealots of former days, who represented themselves as the champions of Religion, in the armour of death—they dreamed that they were doing homage to the principles of Freedom, by subjugating the nations of the earth. It was this mixture of passions—mingled with contributions from the best of virtues and the worst of vices—which roused that spirit of desperate resistance to foreign dictation, which while its object was Liberty, its end was Despair.

The admiration of their military conquests gradually diminished the spirit with which the first efforts for Liberty were inspired—and each successive triumph of their arms made them the safer subjects for the approach of despotic sway. The Eagles of France soared over the fields of Holland, of Germany, and of Spain—looked with exultation at the tomb of the Cæsars—flapped their wings in triumph over the pyramids of Egypt, and perched in proud defiance on the palace of the Czars. But the page of history which glows with this record of her glory—faithful to her purpose—finds in it the death-blow to her freedom. In giving chains to other nations they learned to forge their own. In the blaze of triumph which had captivated their hearts and seduced their senses, they saw not the funeral pile of their Liberties—which they had bathed in blood. Too late awaking from their delusion, they found that the Revolution had ended in a change of masters, and that the spirit of Freedom had left France in despair.

The peace which succeeded the revolution of '89, and the few succeeding years, became necessary to recruit the exhausted efforts of nations. The intervals which had marked the progress of their wars, founded in the devices of their leaders, were used with spirit and effect for more gigantic efforts in the field. Exhausted nature demanded repose. The spear yields to the olive. The god of war, satiated with victims, and drenched in blood, retires from the scene of his triumph. Peace, with her attendant virtues, descends from the Heavens, and takes possession of the earth. The friends of Liberty in France, weeping over her prostrate altars, bathed in the blood of their countrymen, pause over the accumulated horrors, which had desolated their happy land. Despair, with her sable train, hovers over the region of their hopes. They had heard the mournful strains, and seen Liberty, like the fabled bird, consumed by the fire of her own emotions on the fields of her former flight. Patriotic ardour dared to hope, that fired by some spark from some more happy land, its ashes would yet blaze forth with regenerated light, and live in embodied form. That spark is the spirit of *our* government, and that country is *our* own. The present charter of France is the consummation of their prayers. The intelligence that it exists, is the herald of their triumph.

Space will not permit, nor will time allow, a critical examination of the great features of liberty, which that record of their power offers to the people of that now happy land. It

claims, however, all the respect of which the occasion admits. Emanating directly from the spirit of the nation, it points to a king reigning by the will of the people, and not by the grace of God. When the combined armies of Europe had terminated the imperial sway, and forced a monarch on the throne of France, he approached his subjects professing a spirit of feeling for their rights. In the charter of that day, specious devices were framed to captivate their hearts with a show of freedom, while the means were in preparation to enslave their minds by the gradual approaches of power. In the first violation of the rights of the press, guarantied on its face—in the diversion of property by newly devised doctrines of descent—in the great and sweeping effort to control the elective franchise of the people, aiming at the very soul of free government, France witnessed the symptoms of a tyranny as despotic as that which marked the reign of a king, who boldly proclaimed he “was the state.” These gradual efforts to undermine all the great pillars, upon which the fabric of human liberty rests, terminated in a series of measures, which, announcing that the cup of her sorrows was full, aroused all the latent energies of the people of France, which burst in indignation on the fortunes of their infatuated king. An odious ministry, rendered still more hateful, as the willing instruments of his power, becoming the captive subjects of vindictive resentment, gave a new incentive to the expulsion of arbitrary rule. You have lingered with admiration upon these spirited efforts for liberty in France, and marked with enthusiastic applause the moderation and firmness with which they are peculiarly distinguished. Let us then hope, that the farther effusion of blood may be stayed; and that the lives which may be the gift of popular mercy and forbearance, may yet be spared to repent of their follies, and wash out the stains of their guilt, at the only legitimate fountain of power.

Learn then, nations of the earth, that the charter of France is hereafter to be a sacred truth. It rests upon a firm demand of the people, and the willing submission of the present king. It has been consecrated to their purposes by the unanimous voice of the French people, and is recognised by the nations of Europe at large. It lays its broad foundation on the imperishable rights of man. In the right of extension of the elective franchise, at pleasure, by the people—in the security to personal liberty and property, by jury trial—in the protection of the press from the power of the crown—in its open and avowed declaration that resistance to oppression is the duty of man—it aspires, under the forms of a constitutional monarchy, to pre-

serve all the essence of republican liberty. The doctrines of religion are separated from the principles of instruction ; and the education of their rising youth is confided to the civil state. It has been sealed with the oath of the king, who is enrolled with his subjects to defend the throne. They have resumed the colours which were once the terror of Europe, and the admiration of the world ; and, fired with enthusiastic ardour, they now look to the prophetic vision, which signified that, as emblems of liberty and light, they would wave in triumph over all the kingdoms of the earth. They have the breath of the friends of liberty throughout the world ; they have the blessing of heaven, and the prayers of Lafayette.

Fellow-Citizens—If we have already too long delayed to recognise the debt of gratitude which we, in common with the people of France, owe to this distinguished veteran in the cause of liberty, it was only that, in the progress of human affairs, we might mark more distinctly the endearing periods of his most eventful life. The dignity and decision which have signalized the late scene of his labours—and the influence of his commanding name—have hushed into calm composure the elements of passion and feeling which threatened to burst in a storm of desolating vengeance, over the streets of his once devoted city. At his approach, the friends of good government rally round him, and the enemies to order and peace fly from his presence.

The principles of Washington have been illustrated with beautiful effect in the practice of his thrice happy pupil and friend. He who might have aspired to wear the crown, animates by choice the councils of a patriotic king. The throne is shorn of its rays of glory—and the crown of its honour—while the universal voice of the present age, proclaims Lafayette the benefactor of man. With that title, friend of our revolutionary efforts, we greet you this day.—You have mingled with our fathers in the bloody scenes of their day, and beheld the fruits of your youthful exertions, in your recent triumphantrye I to our shores.—May the choicest gifts of a merciful Providence bespeak its approving smiles.—May your days be crowned with peace, and your nights with sweet repose.—May you long live to behold France united and happy—and oh, when your spirit shall be summoned from the scenes of earth, may you be permitted to behold from the realms of hope, countless generations, breathing blessings on your memory, and pointing with exulting pride to that page of history which shall be the record of your life.

Here, Fellow-Citizens, we turn with fond admiration to the envied institutions of our own dear land. From the period of its existence, we have enjoyed, in an unbounded measure, the blessings of a merciful God. Our march to the point of honour and prosperity which we behold this day, has confounded the powers of numbers, and made prophecy dumb. But little more than 350 years, and the continent of which we form so important a part, existed only in the spirited imagination of the ill-fated Columbus. His inspired visions of the Western World, supposed the coinings of a "mind diseased," awaked no spirit of inquiry but his own—till, warmed by the glow of emotion with which he urged his theory—he was furnished by royal bounty with the means of testing its truth. Like the great Prophet of Israel, he had seen in imagination the promised land; but, more blessed by Heaven, after enduring all the trials of affliction, he was permitted to touch its happy shores. The glowing destinies of this continent are the records of his fame, and a world is the monument which covers his tomb! This event, which was destined to give a new turn to the great current of time, excited but little feeling in the eastern world. The gradual rise of our continent from the ocean of uncertainty and doubt, gave it a place on the chart of the Earth; but excited little other desire with the people of Europe, than to make it the instrument to contribute to their avarice, and swell the boundaries of their empires. But man soared not into the regions of Heaven, nor pierced into the inscrutable means by which the wise purposes of Providence are effected. The beams of the same great orb which in its daily revolutions gilded the kingdoms of Europe, pierced the dark forests of this land, and, inviting the industry of man, promised to bless the fruit of his labours. Imagination, lend me your wings! while I skim the surface of the great events which gave pre-
sage of the destinies of America, and proclaimed to the world that she would be great. Let your boldest flights animate our theme, and paint the approach of our fathers to the shores of this thrice happy land. Let us behold them, on the broad waves of ocean, flying from the persecution which dwelt in the hall of their fathers, and the thousand fires which the rage of phrensied zeal kindled in their land. Show them in search of the promised clime, where conscience might whisper safely with its God. Bring us back to the great temple of nature, where the untutored savage heard God in the wind and worshipped him in the sky; while the humble Christian at his side, lifting the eye of faith to the Throne of Mercy, recog-

nised the fertile source of all blessing to man. Point us to the cabin of the poor Indian—retreating before the dwellings of the white man; and well digested notions of government realized in the clusters of families, which sparkled on the shores of our rivers and our bays. Here let us realize attachments, engaging all the broader appeals to our nature, and rapidly rising to the highest sympathies of our hearts, which make country—home. Civilization penetrates the forests, and cultivation smiles upon the abundant produce of the field. Institutions reared on the broad basis of religious freedom, begin to live in the land, and scatter the fruits of knowledge and the seeds of happiness over the face of our chosen realm. Her history is attended with all the qualities of fiction; and her existence at the present hour, seems to be accompanied with all the doubts of a dream.

Fellow-Citizens :—Liberty is the inhabitant of no peculiar age or place. Its principles are coeval with the world, coextensive with its limits. Where intelligence meets them they speak—where ignorance sleeps they are silent—where order and system govern they live—where discord triumphs they die. When the floods of desolation and misery covered the face of the old world, like the faithful messenger of the Ark, they ranged the earth in search of the emblems of Peace. Here they arrested their flight, and here they established their home. They invigorated the air which our fathers breathed—and as distance broke the chords which had fastened their affections to their native soil—they cemented the bonds of attachment which bound them to this. Persecutions of all kind are nearly allied. They are members of the same great family of instruments, by which the rich oppress the poor—the guilty, the innocent—the powerful, the weak—and the tyrant, the slave. The boundaries of nature upon which they separately act being to us invisible—the sympathies which awaken, at one form of oppression, wait upon them all. Our fathers in the school of religious freedom, had tasted of the fruits of political equality. The cruelty of governments had convinced them that they were guided by man—all the moral attributes of whom they possessed in themselves. Here was the first dawn of that spirit of resistance to oppression, which finally severed their connexion with Europe, and dictated the noble array of “self-evident truths,” which gave spirit and life to the great principles of the American Revolution. A common origin, mutual wants, and common defence, had long been binding round the thirteen colonies of America, all the ties of national feel-

ing—and when the period of the Revolution approached, had taught them to wield their united energies with force and effect.

The Declaration of Independence was their appeal to mankind. When the assembled fathers of our liberties placed their seals upon its face, they pledged their “lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours,” to its immortal use. Its illustrious author, with its ablest advocate, have been gathered to their fathers; and of that circle, whose honoured names it bears to immortality, but one exists—Like the lonely pillar of some ancient temple, sketching to the passing eye the splendour of a structure which it once adorned, he stands the envied representative of all.

Fellow-Citizens :—We are allowed but little time to realize the interesting progress of that great era in our history, or the lasting results by which it has affected the family of nations. We are forbidden by time to invade the pages of history by any detail of the distinguished events which successively animated and depressed the spirit of our Fathers, in that memorable struggle for their liberties. They have been faithfully preserved, and are familiar to your ears. They are interwoven with the tales which enliven our childhood and form the text-book of our schools. We lisp them in our infancy, and linger over the page which records them, in the bloom of life. We see them in attractive perspective through all the courses of our ascent to the hills of knowledge—till they are disclosed to us by education in bold relief—arresting all the feelings of nature, and embracing all the avenues to the human heart. Animated by the theme of our joy this day—we are only permitted to touch, in the moment of enthusiasm, a portion of the sacred soil on which the battles of our freedom were “fought, and won.” We may pause for an instant—hear the cannon roar on Bunker’s Hill—and, with trembling fears for Liberty, see Warren die. We may accompany, with agitated hearts, our little band of patriots leaving the streets of this city—follow them to the Heights of Harlem—among the gallant sons of Jersey—till we “breathe again” with the immortal Washington, on the southern bank of the Delaware. We see the small detachment, with which he strikes at Trenton, and look with apprehension for the preservation of a spirit, which has since presided, with firm, but prudent council, over the interests of our happy land, and now appears among us the honoured object of our grateful hearts. We hover around the army of Washington, while ascending the fertile banks of the Delaware; and, hailing the presence of Lafayette on the field of Brandywine, we dedicate his youthful blood to the service of Liberty in France.

We follow, with hopes and fears, the receding ranks of our soldiers, as they are gradually pressed among the sons of the generous South ; till, joining in the shout of victory, we behold the star-spangled banner of our own Republic waving in triumph on the "outer walls" of York.

But the falling emblems of our country's foes fill not our hearts. Our institutions are the inestimable trophies of that war. The Constitution of our country is the monument around which they are planted—inscribed with the names of Patriot Soldiers and Statesmen, and dedicated to the memory of the immortal Father of his country. Its blessings speak over the surface of a boundless region, holding in its fond embrace twenty-four separate—but united—happy States ; and diffusing all the blessings of life, liberty, and hope, over 13,000,000 of souls, devoted to its principles. These are the great objects, which give real enjoyment to the present, and blaze with the hopes of the future. These proclaim us the guardians of Freedom, and the hope of nations. Animated by these to all the ecstasy of which nature can taste, we stand on the verge which separates time from eternity—implore the blessings of our fathers, and breathe them on our sons.

The great curtain of destiny is rapidly rising upon the fate of our land—Time, in its resistless current, has swept away almost every living spectator of the scenes of old. Their works of virtue have followed the flight of their sacred spirits to the bosom of their God—and the labours of well-spent lives are the lasting records of their deeds of fame. As each succeeding year summons a portion of these veterans in the service of Liberty from the scenes of life—like the books of inspiration, their number is diminished, but their value is the more enhanced. Posterity will envy us their possession—They will cling to their neglected ashes, and will build up the spots where they lay, to incite future generations to illustrious deeds. They will hear with amazement that neglect and indifference, were ever permitted to chill the hearts of our Revolutionary Fathers—or that want was permitted to approach their doors. They will blush for themselves and for us, when stern History tells that the very pay which the plighted faith of their country guaranteed is still withheld—and the petition which claims it lies on the table in our Legislative Hall. Will they not believe that the inspired visions of the world's Immortal Bard, gave a perspective reproach upon our land in that masterpiece of genius, which displays the children rioting on the inheritance of a living parent, and the rightful owner

of their possessions--exposed to the keen results of ingratitude--driven to despair.

Fellow-Citizens:--The tree of Liberty has taken a deep and lasting root in our soil, lifting its luxuriant branches to the sky. Its blossoms of hope, wafted by the pure winds of Heaven over the land of our Southern neighbours, warmed in her genial clime, ripened in her air, and scattered the seeds of liberty and light over the whole extent of their fertile plains. Infant States reared their heads, and exhibited their claims to be ranked among the nations of the earth. Their rights have been nurtured in the prudent councils of our country, and we gave them the history of our own revolutionary struggles, as the model on which they might found their own. We rejoiced in the victories of their arms, and mourned over the fields of their defeat. The tongues of our orators dwelt with rapture on the display of their virtues; and the excited feeling of our people would have made their cause our own. Watching with anxious solicitude their approach to the Temple of Freedom, the Genius of America met them at its gates, and firmly pointed to their seats among the people of the Earth. Yes, South Americans, we have been faithful to our trust, and true to your interests. The watchful eye of our Government has followed with sleepless vigilance the advance of your liberties, and defended you with its energetic efforts from the machinations of your foes. History will hereafter tell you, how her enlightened councils penetrated the cabinets of Europe, and pierced their deep designs. The records of Time will unfold to you, how she "clamoured" for you throughout the world, addressing argument to reason, and persuasion to interest. You will yet learn; that appealing to patriotic emotion, she had caused the spirit of Hamden and Sydney to stir in your behalf, and brought the shades of Burke and of Sheridan, of Chatham and of Fox, to unite with blessings on your rising fate. If we have not unsheathed the sword in your cause, we have laid deep the foundations of your freedom by our earnest appeals to Humanity, to Religion, to Reason, and to God; and when the voice of our country was heard in a tone which electrified the people of America, and confounded the councils of Europe, by the wise and prudent measures of a government always devoted to your liberties, she had laid the basis of a power to which they might have been safely confided against a world in arms.

People of South America:--By the blood which you have shed in defence of your freedom--by your soil still polluted

by the feet of your invaders—by the calamities of war—by the blessings of peace ; by the fears of your friends—by the hopes of your foes—by the duty you owe to yourselves—by the debt you owe to us—by the sympathy which your efforts have roused in the hearts of civilized man—we implore you, cease the internal commotion by which your prospects are blighted, and your liberties are endangered. Lay broad the foundations of intelligence and virtue on which your freedom must be erected. Rear up your statesmen upon the inimitable models of Washington and Lafayette—learning them to prefer honour to power—their country to themselves. Look to the late events which have occurred in France ; imitate the moderation by which they have triumphed. May the dawn of that day be not far distant, when the same feeling which gladdens the hearts of that gallant people shall be beautifully illustrated in the stability of your governments, devoted to the preservation of free principles and the happiness of man. We invite you this day to taste of the holy enthusiasm which pervades our land, and let your prayers mingle with our own for the prosperity and happiness of our common world.

To the cabinets of Europe the late events in France are the handwriting on the wall—the prophetic spirit of the age interprets the signs. It tells of revolutions and of strifes. The spirit of vengeance sleeps in every portion of the land. As knowledge becomes extended, improvement will follow. Where a true estimate of his rights is established, man will perceive in himself a spirit able to sustain them. We hail, then, the light which gleams on the future destinies of France, as a beam of that Sun which shall arise with “healing in its wings,” to dispel the clouds of superstition and ignorance which envelope a portion of mankind, and finally pierce with its penetrating rays all the regions of the earth.

People of France, here we give you our cheers. People of South America, here we extend to you our arms. Friends of liberty throughout the world, here we take you by the hand. Unite with us in the general joy which pervades our land. Shades of Washington and of Franklin, of Adams and of Jefferson, descend from your peaceful abodes, and smile upon this work. We follow not the shouts of victory.—We triumph in the march of mind. Bless Liberty wherever she dwells, and interposing your prayers between us and all the dangers which menace our fate, intercede with Heaven to make America prosperous and her people happy.

Immediately after the Oration, the following Ode, written by Samuel Woodworth, Esq.—a production of no ordinary merit—was sung by the entire band of choristers attached to the Park Theatre,—Mr. E. Richings, Leader.

ODE.

1.

O'er regal domes renown'd in story,
 The trinal banner proudly waves ;
 And France resumes the march of glory,
 Her gallant sons no longer slaves.
 With tyrants vainly had they pleaded—
 But when the PRESS in thunder spoke,
 It burst their chains with lightning-stroke,
 And peace and liberty succeeded.

CHORUS.

Then swell the choral strain,
 To hail the blest decree ;
 Rejoice! Rejoice! the PRESS shall reign,
 And all the world be free.

2.

All hail, renowned chivalric nation !
 Land of the olive and the vine ;
 Inspired with kindred emulation,
 Our bosoms glow with joy like thine.
 Columbia's grateful sons can never
 Forget that in her darkest hour
 She owed to Gallic arms the power
 To disenthral her PRESS for ever.

3.

The day which saw the sceptre shivered,
 And hailed Columbia truly free,
 From every hireling foe delivered,
 We consecrate to joy and thee.
 For tyrants tremble now before thee,
 And a *free* PRESS, the beacon-light
 That burst upon oppression's night,
 Has spread eternal glory o'er thee.

4.

Thy chartered rights, with lawless daring,
 Beneath oppressors' feet were trod,

Till startled despots heard, despairing,
 The people's voice, the voice of God!
 Their sovereign will was loudly spoken--
 The PRESS proclaimed it to the world,--
 Till Freedom's ensign waved unfurled,
 And Gallia's galling chains were broken.

5.

Thy gallant band of youthful heroes,
 Roused by their bleeding country's prayers,
 Undaunted hurled on ruthless Neroes
 The vengeance due to crimes like theirs.
 Too late they see their fatal error--
 Their hireling guards by thousands fall--
 The PRESS resigns its *types* for ball,
 And despots fly the scene in terror!

6.

Their deeds shall live in deathless story,
 And song preserve their chaplets green,
 Yet still the brightest rays of glory,
 Circle one godlike brow serene.
 'Tis his, whose youthful valour aided
 Columbia's cause, when hostile bands
 Were laying waste her fairest lands,
 And all her blooming hopes had faded.

7.

Immortal LA FAYETTE, we hail thee;
 The friend of equal rights on earth;
 Though servile tools of kings assail thee,
 Columbia knows and owns thy worth.
 Thou first of heroes, best of sages,
 The glorious chaplet thou hast won,
 Disciple of our WASHINGTON,
 Shall bloom like his for endless ages.

An interesting ceremony now took place, the presentation of the elegant tri-coloured flag borne in the procession by the brothers Peuguet, which was presented in behalf of the natives of France, resident in New-York, by Joseph Bouchaud, Esq., their Chairman, to the First Division of New-York State Artillery, commanded by Major General Morton, who received it at the head of the Division. The following is the *Address* of Mr. Bouchaud upon presenting the Standard.

ADDRESS.

GENERAL,

The French Residents in New-York have not seen, without a deep feeling of gratitude, the lively enthusiasm with which the American nation has hailed the glorious regeneration of France. This sympathy was natural, for our cause is yours, and in your annals of July 1776, we read our history of July 1830. France, like America, has roused herself against *Tyranny*, like her, too, she has fought and bled for *Liberty*, and both have, for the trophies of Victory, recovered by conquest, the sacred rights of millions. It is with this analogy in the destinies of the two people that we owe the peculiar aspect which distinguishes this great solemnity, that of a family festival, where united Americans and Frenchmen have determined to mingle their transports of joy. In testimony of this union, so precious to us, we come to deposit in your hands, the banner we have followed. To us, it is the emblem of Liberty and Honour, and as such we confide it to the free and the brave. Placed among your archives, by the side of your own colours, it will preserve the remembrance of this bright day, and will likewise recall an epoch that is not without glory, that which witnessed the triumph of the standards of *France and America*, united under *Washington and La Fayette*.

To which General Morton made the following

REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

The feelings which have actuated the citizens of New-York, in thus celebrating the late glorious events in France, have been justly viewed and are elegantly expressed in your address. The late struggle in France against despotism, could not but recall to our minds our own contest for freedom, and the success of the French was hailed with increased joy, when we reflected, that to the union of their arms with our own, we are indebted for the blessings we now enjoy.

We receive, with great pleasure, the Standard under which you have marched in this day's Celebration. It will, when displayed with our own colors, be an evidence of the friendly and respectful feelings of the French Residents of this city towards the Militia of our Country, and the union of the two standards, as you feelingly remark, will remind us of the united Flags of America and France, under which *Washington and La Fayette* led the way to *Victory and Independence*. In our celebration

this day, while the heart is rejoiced at the victory achieved in the cause of Freedom, it is cheered by the reflection, that, in the conflict, no act occurred to sully its holy and sacred cause. — And permit us, gentlemen, to express the hope, that a new day of glory and happiness is now opened to your beloved France, under the reign of the patriot, Louis Philip the First, King of the French. Called to the throne by the voice of the People, he may, we trust, rule for the People, for the People only, and with the People's love."

[The *Standard* borne by Colonel Jackson, was escorted to General Morton's quarters by the suite of the Major General, and the company of *Lancers* under command of Captain Beach.]

The Marseillois hymn was now sung by the whole Choir, the citizens joining in the chorus.

A *feu de joie* by the troops closed the all-enlivening and interesting scenes and events of Washington Square,—of things enacted in honour of "*the glorious Parisian population*" and all else of France, and that shall redound to the honour of the men who first conceived and acted upon the principle that *Freemen* should not be silent when a *great nation* was regenerated. To the immense population of our city, who at once coalesced in this liberal and patriotic feeling, an equal share of admiration will attach.—The day will long live in story, and fill up many a pleasant hour when the children of 1830, in the winter of *their* day, shall speak of the events in olden times, among the least interesting of which, shall not be numbered the Celebration of the *Revolution of France* in the *City of New-York*.

The following happy description of the scene at Washington Square, is taken from the Daily Advertiser.

"The whole scene, when viewed together at the Washington Parade Ground, was grand and imposing. The stage for the Orator of the day, &c. was erected near the centre of the enclosure, and this being the great point of attraction, the mass of societies and citizens, to the number of about fifty thousand persons, drew as near as circumstances would admit during the performance of the ceremonies. The stage itself was richly ornamented with the various standards, &c. To the south of this great enclosure, there is a row of beautiful marble buildings, from the windows of which, flags were arranged, and so festooned from the lower to the upper windows, as to present to the spectator at a distance, a magnificent Military Tent, 60 feet in height. On the north, upon the open fields, at several

hundred yards distance, the whole of the military were drawn up, while the streets and intermediate grounds around the whole square were lined with the various cars, which formed part of the procession, with whole lines of butchers and cartmen on horseback, and thousands viewing the various emblems and decorations. For nearly a quarter of a mile square, the scene exhibited a mass of people well dressed and decorated with tri-coloured sashes, badges, and cockades, while the great profusion of standards and decorations, formed of striking colours, added a richness and splendour, that can better be conceived than described. Among other scenes which attracted much curiosity, were the several presses at work upon their cars in the open field, while the ceremonies were performing, and thousands crowding around them eager to obtain an ode."

In addition to what has been borrowed from the "Daily," we would observe that the balconies adjacent to the square, were graced with our countrywomen uniformly dressed in white, wearing tri-coloured scarfs, and turbans, giving to the scene an enchanting effect, heightened by the gallantry of the numerous societies of artisans and mechanics, distributing among them the various products of their ingenuity and labour. In this, the *Printers* were peculiarly distinguished by throwing in *form* as they *pressed* forward, the *impressions* of the day, in the *cast* of odes, &c. which were worked off "*en passant*."

In front of Col. Murray's quarters (one of the block of marble buildings, and which was designated as such for the day), a marquee was pitched, and tents at each corner of the square, where the well-disciplined corps of "Scott's Cadets," commanded by Capt. *John D. Jackson*, mounted guard and discharged their duty in the most spirited and soldierlike manner.

THE REMAINDER OF THE DAY.

It was the *People's Jubilee*, and one in which they had enlisted with heart and soul. The ceremonies at *Washington Square* were closed at about three o'clock, and the immense body there assembled, branched off in a regular manner, but in great variety of direction. All the implements of the soldier, that in the piping times of peace are used but in the harmless way of parade and as a brilliant and winning pageant, were to be restored to their respective places of deposite: the banners, the insignias, the stages, the printing presses, the engines, the ladders, the steam-boat, the race-boat, and, last though

not least, the oxen, were at once seen upon the move under the direction of their various "attaches," and all were quickly deposited where they were wont to be. Then, lighted of their charges and responsibilities, a new scene presented itself. Dinner parties, balls, routes, and theatres—all these had their votaries, and all were liberally patronized. We give, as filling up the measure of the day and night, all that occurred connected with the celebration coming under our knowledge.

EIGHTH WARD CELEBRATION.

In commemoration of the 25th of November and of the late Revolution in France, a numerous company partook of an excellent repast prepared by Mr. Wm. Butler, at the Richmond Hill House. Seth Geer, Esq., presided, assisted by Messrs. Honay, Lawrence, and Ross. In the course of the evening a deputation was sent to the citizens dining in the 9th Ward, which courtesy was promptly returned. The company had also the pleasure of receiving a visit from the Hon. E. P. Livingston, the Mayor and Recorder of this city, and David Williams, the only surviving captor of Major Andre. After a very pertinent address from Dr. John F. Gray, the following regular toasts were drank.

REGULAR TOASTS.

1. The President of the United States. Hail Columbia.
2. Lafayette, the disciple of Washington, though misfortunes for awhile overclouded him, he at length emerged, and now shines a brilliant star in the horizon of political and religious freedom. Hail to the Chief.
3. Louis Philippe. The citizen king. A Bourbon in nothing but the name.
4. The Tri-coloured Flag. We hail its appearance as the harbinger of liberty throughout Europe. Marseillois Hymn.
5. This memorable day, on which the Lion and Unicorn crouched to the American Eagle, and the bands of the enemy evacuated this city, and left it as it now is, free and happy. Yankee Doodle.
6. The 27th, 28th, and 29th days of July, 1830, glorious in the annals of the French people. La Parisien.
7. Our native land. Star Spangled Banner.
8. Dupont D'Eure, Minister of Justice, the Aristides of France.
9. France, the ally of America in the war of Independence.

She aided in the cause of freedom, and has at length gained for herself the blessings of liberty. Rural Felicity.

10. The champions of freedom throughout the world.

Washington's March.

11. The memory of the Patriots who fell in the contest for liberty on the memorable 27th, 28th, and 29th days of July, 1830.

Pleyel's Hymn.

12. Prosperity to the Arts and Sciences in France and America—May their Agriculture flourish, and their Commerce bring wealth and abundance to both countries.

13. The Press—A powerful engine in freedom's cause, and the dread of tyrants.

14. The Students of the Polytechnic School—May those who succeed them emulate their principles.

Lafayette's March.

15. The conquest of Algiers—an event honourable to the French arms, and beneficial to the whole civilized world.

Battle of Marengo.

16. The National Guards, *Citizen Soldiers*—the only army a free people require.

Jackson's March.

17. The heroes and patriots of the Revolution—Let the grass be verdant on their graves, and the recollection of their virtues never perish.

Sicilian Hymn.

18. Spain and Portugal—May they arise in their strength, and say unto their tyrants, the "measure of your crimes is full."

Spanish Constitution March.

19. Let tyrants tremble—The period has arrived when kings must be taught that they are men.

Go to the Devil, &c.

20. Education—Let its blessings be diffused, and mankind must be free.

21. The memory of Washington.

Dirge.

22. The Constitution of the United States—The most perfect now presented to the view of the nations of the earth.

Jefferson and Liberty.

23. The State of New-York—Let her relative importance speak for itself and pronounce her encomium.

New-York State March.

24. The Fair.

Come haste to the Wedding.

VOLUNTEERS.

By the President—Lafayette at Yorktown.

By the Vice-President.—The Late French Revolution—

May it be as extensive as the universe in its effects, and its influence as lasting as time.

By the second Vice-President.—Jaques Lafitte, President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

By the third Vice-President.—Hon. Martin Van Buren Secretary of the United States—The state of New-York has reason to be proud of her son.

By the Deputation from the Ninth Ward.—The Eighth Ward, first in population, may it ever be the first in the cause of liberty.

By W. W. Cowan.—The inhabitants of Belgium—Freed from the yoke imposed on them by the Holy Alliance, may no despot again lord it over their ancient city.

By John S. Banta, Esq.—The 25th of November, 1783—the day we celebrate—may it ever be held in grateful remembrance.

By the Hon. E. P. Livingston.—The city of New-York.

By Walter Bowne, Esq.—The Eighth Ward.

By Samuel Y. Clark.—Education, the handmaid of liberty.

By Col. Harsen.—The liberty of the press, and the liberty of conscience (the fear of tyrants, and the enemy of bigots), their march, if governed by reason and prudence, will emancipate a world.

By E. S. Connor.—Napoleon Buonaparte—The victim of the Holy Alliance.

By Gen. Van Zandt.—The conflicting powers of Europe—Let the sword of America be drawn in defence of her people's rights, but not in the quarrels of foreign nations.

By Dr. H. Van Hoevenbergh.—The memory of De Witt Clinton.

By John Stebbins.—The Hero of Liberty—the veteran of three revolutions.

By J. Ruden.—Former days to good old Holland, when the Stadtholder was at the head of affairs, and the republican form of government existed and flourished.

By Dr. J. Harsen.—The progress of education—May it speedily abolish every species of dangerous distinction, and render every American a patriot from principle.

By G. S. Bogert.—The late Revolution in France—May it prove the happy precursor to the downfall of all tyrants and their satellites.

By Chs. Jones.—Maria Amelia, Queen of the French—An exalted example of female excellence and virtue.

NINTH WARD DINNER.

In commemoration of the Evacuation of New-York, on the 25th day of November, 1783, and of the recent triumph of liberty in France, a public dinner was given at Military Hall. Thomas Morris, Esq. presided, assisted by Messrs. Nathan Darling and Richard Cromwell, as Vice-Presidents.

Among the guests present on the occasion, were Mr. David Williams, the only surviving captor of Andre, Mr. Young, a compatriot in arms with Williams; the Lieutenant Governor of the State, elect; Hon. Isaac Hill, U. S. Senator from New-Hampshire; the Mayor and Recorder of the city, A. C. Flagg, Secretary of State, and E. Crosswell, of Albany, with many other distinguished individuals, members of assembly, &c. An Address was delivered by Richard Cromwell, Esq. the Orator of the day, which was listened to with great attention, and produced no small effect, particularly when the orator alluded to Williams, his services, and incorruptible integrity at that trying period. The venerable old gentleman involuntarily arose from his seat and burst into tears, which were mingled with those of many present. The orator also made a very happy allusion to the acquaintance of the venerable President of the feast with the Duke of Orleans, when travelling in the western wilds of our country, where he shared with him his roof and table, and that the lapse of time, the splendour of a court, and the cares of a kingdom, had not prevented him from conveying lately to our worthy fellow-citizen the testimony of his grateful remembrance and continued regard.

During the evening, deputations were received from the Association of the Friends of Ireland, dining at Tammany Hall, and from a dinner given in the 8th Ward.

After the cloth was removed, the following regular toasts were drank, accompanied with appropriate music.

1. The twenty-fifth day of November.
2. The 27th, 28th, and 29th days of July, 1830.
3. The President of the United States.
4. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State of New-York.
5. General Lafayette.
6. The Constitution of the United States.
7. France, the Ally of our infant Republic.
8. The Heroes of the Revolution.

9. The Students of the French Polytechnic School.
10. Fidelity and Integrity—David Williams and Enoch Crosby.
11. Liberty of the Press.
12. The Army and Navy of the United States.
13. The Women of France: like the American Amazons—On their Standard was written, "A soldier's widow, in preference to a coward's wife."

VOLUNTEERS.

By Thomas Morris, Esq. President.—The purity of Elections, the best safeguard of our Republic.

By E. P. Livingston (Lieut. Governor elect).—New-York city and county—May the civilities which unite us, ever be strengthened by those of friendship and patriotism.

By His Hon. the Mayor.—The empire of reason, controlling the destinies of the world.

By His Hon. the Recorder.—The People—The only legitimate source of political power.

By Mr. David Williams (surviving captor of Andre).—Our Constitution—May it ever remain what it now is. If ever altered, the whole fabric will be defaced.

By Mr. Young (one of the surviving officers of the American Revolution).—The People of France—May they, in their glorious struggle for liberty, be governed by moderation and wisdom.

By the Hon. Isaac Hill (U. S. Senator from New-Hampshire).—The great state of New-York—Her democratic Working Men always united, will for ever prevent the nation from falling within the grasp of an unrelenting, unwearied aristocracy.

By E. Croswell, of Albany.—The Popular Sentiment—Always honest, and under a free government, omnipotent.

By A. C. Flagg, Esq. (Secretary of State).—The Republicans of the Ninth Ward—An important branch of that great democratic party, which has always contended for an extension of the privileges of the people, and whose energy in the last war was our country's shield.

By N. Darling (first Vice-President).—Col. R. M. Johnson—The hero in combat, and distinguished in Congress by his report on the Sunday Mail question.

By R. Cromwell, Esq. (second Vice-President).—The

French People—May their wisdom keep pace with their patriotism.

By E. R. Billings.—Martin Van Buren—The enlightened statesman, the consistent advocate of those three living interests, on which is founded the wealth of the world—agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

By Wm. K. Strong.—The American Revolution—There never was a nobler spirit manifested in the deliverance of a country.

By Warren Curtis.—The people of France and America—May they ever have in remembrance the example of one revolution, to prevent the necessity of another.

By S. M. Stilwell.—Moral and political honesty—"One and indivisible."

By L. Kidder.—The daughters of France—Gay as the balmy breezes that play among their native groves, and fair as the skies that arch their lovely plains, their intelligence has taught their sons to love liberty.

By Col. N. T. Arnold.—Ex-President Monroe—The early companion of Washington and Lafayette, the untiring friend of liberty.

By John Harris.—The memory of the immortal trio—Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin—drunk standing—Dirge.

By Wm. Allen.—*Our own Lafayette*, the farmer of La Grange—from what in the spring of life he planted, and in summer tilled, he has in autumn gathered a rich and glorious harvest.

By Richard B. Fosdick.—The tri-coloured flag, emblematical of the three glorious days in Paris—

1st. *The Red*—of their blood so freely shed.

2d. *The White*—the purity of their principles.

3d. *The Blue*—the colour of their discomfited runaway Princes.

By Garrit Gilbert.—The two Hemispheres, America and France—The parents of liberty—their sons born in the glorious month of July—the first in '76, the last in 1830.

By L. Cruttenden, of Albany.—The voice of the people of the continent of Europe—May its effects on their tyrants be like that of the rams' horns of old on the walls of Jericho.

By Col. J. B. Murray.—The Press—Public opinion its only legitimate censor.

By Isaac Amerman.—Light, Life, and Liberty, one and indissoluble—right of opinion, freedom of speech, and the

liberty of the press—consecrated privileges, purchased by the blood of our fathers.

By Aaron O. Dayton.—The independence of the Press—the hope of liberty in the old world, the safeguard in the new.

By Alderman Wells.—Absent Friends.

By Assistant Alderman Rogers.—The people's rights—May their echoes resound from the remotest corners of the Republic.

By Dr. Charles A. Lee.—The nations of Europe having long studied the *theory* of free institutions on our own Charter of Rights, they have at length taken *license to practise*—their *Patients* are *Royal subjects*—the disease—*the King's Evil, or the evil of Kings*.

By Hamilton Wilson.—Daniel O'Connell, the uncompromising advocate—May the voice of the Polytechnic School thunder at the gates of St. James', and echo at the Castle of Dublin, until Ireland is free.

By Wm. A. Thompson.—The memory of the Parisian patriots, who on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830, gloriously sacrificed their lives at the altar of freedom—"may the earth rest light upon their bosoms."

By Charles M. Hay.—Mr. David Williams, the surviving captor of Andre—his hoary locks, a sight more beautiful to the eyes of freemen than the richest crown that ever decked a monarch's brow, and the brightest ornament that adorns this day's festival.

By John F. Adriance.—Our fathers of yore reared their standard for the rights of man, and were triumphant; their sons appreciate their virtues, and will maintain the same even unto death.

By J. S. Bogart.—The press, its fulcrum reason, its power the lever that moves the world.

By Nathaniel Jarvis—Liberty, the true patriot's gratulation.

By H. H. Walker—Gen. Lafayette, who, having passed through three fiery furnaces, has, like Shadrach, Meschec, and Abednego, come forth without scorch or blemish.

By John Flint.—The Revolution of the three days—If men have French souls, how short the road to freedom.

By Alexander Knox, jr.—The French, brave, generous, and patriotic, surely they deserve freedom who can so gloriously achieve it, and so temperately enjoy it.

By W. D. N. Cook.—[Accompanied with a *mammoth* loaf of bread, since presented to persons confined in the Debtors' Jail]—May we never be backward in coming forward.

By M. Anderson.—The three Working Men who saved our northern army from capture—Williams, Paulding, and Van Wart.

By G. W. Stoutenburgh. France and America—Jackson and Lafayette—“the men who have filled the measure of their Country’s Glory.”

By Walter Morton. The Hon. Wm. C. Rives, our Minister to France—His talents have secured to him the respect of strangers abroad, and the confidence of his countrymen at home.

By F. Lane.—Our Country—may it grow stronger and stronger, no link of its union be broken, and should its Liberties be hereafter assailed, may we every man defend it.

By C. M. Day.—The author of the “rights of man.”

By W. M. Haxtun.—Liberty—may its temple be enlarged until all the nations of the earth are gathered together under its mighty dome.

By R. R. Lorton.—The youth of the United States, may they emulate the virtues of their sires.

By Charles W. Teller.—The sons of America, may they possess the spirit of Generals Washington and La Fayette.

By Israel Ketchum.—The Gallic Cock—a few more spurs in the sides of despotism, and he will place himself on a par with the American Eagle.

By Cornelius Van Cleef.—L’Ecole Polytechnique—When boys act as men, they must rule.

By James Smith.—The Heroes of the Revolution—They kindled their torch on the altar of reason, and saw themselves free—its benign radiance still cheers their children, and animates the people of France to noble deeds—its fainter lights glimmer on the outposts of Europe; but ere long will flash despotism in the face.

By Mr. Davis.—Edward P. Livingston, our truly republican Lieut. Gov. elect.

By Thomas Parker, of New Jersey (accompanied with a \$3 note, as a donation to our imprisoned debtors).—As this day is set apart to celebrate the Liberty of France, let us not forget our imprisoned debtors.

By Daniel French.—The Grand Nation, its armies humbled kings to the dust, its Patriots will exalt slaves to the dignity of freemen.

In the course of the evening the following Ode, written for the occasion by a gentleman of the 9th ward, was sung by another gentleman :

France, oppress'd by tyrant's claims,
 Wash away a nation's stains,
 Rise and break the pond'rous chains,
 By a mighty stroke !
 Charles, the hour of wrath is nigh ;
 Despots only live to fly,
 Gallia's sons will freely die—
 But, they spurn the yoke !

Now's the hour of conflict dire,
 Raise the banner—raise it higher ;
 Let it wave from every spire,
 Mocking tyranny :
 On for Freedom, meet the foe !
 Heaven above, and earth below,
 Witness this decisive blow ;
 'Tis for *Liberty*.

Now the arm of vengeance stay :
 Mercy's purest, brightest ray,
 Let the victor's heart display,
 To a prostrate foe.
 Foreign Courts imposed the king—
 Take again the fallen *thing* ;
 We inflict no fatal sting,
 But, we bid him go !

France no more shall bow the knee—
 Peace restor'd and country free—
 Sing a nation's Jubilee !
 Nations, proud and great ;
 Home of him, who, great and good,
 Freely shed the purple flood,
 Gave for freemen youthful blood ;
 · Noble Lafayette !—

The toasts were interspersed with songs and recitations, giving animation and zest to the entertainment. The room was very tastefully decorated. The fare was excellent, and served up in a manner reflecting great credit on the proprietors of Military Hall, Messrs. Campbell and Baldwin.

WORKING MEN'S DINNER.

In honour of the FRENCH REVOLUTION of July, 1830, and in Commemoration of the EVACUATION OF NEW-YORK by the British Troops, on the 25th of November.

On the 26th day of November, 1830, in the city of New York, after the splendid procession to celebrate the glorious events above mentioned, a number of Working Men repaired to the Masonic Hall, Broadway, according to previous arrangement, to partake of the festivities of a Public Dinner in honour thereof.

There were present on the occasion a Delegation from the Working Men of Brooklyn, and during a part of the evening, a Delegation from the citizens dining in the Ninth Ward. Mr. MORRISON officiated as President, supported by Mr. RAYMOND of Brooklyn; Mr. JOHN FRAZEE, and Mr. JOHN DITCHETT, as Vice Presidents.

The company were seated at table about half past 5 o'clock, P. M., and were soon prepared, by partaking of a well provided entertainment, for the enjoyment of the mental repast.

As soon as the cloth was removed, the following Toast was given from the chair:

1. The day we commemorate.—Its annual observance repays but a moiety of that gratitude for which every American stands indebted to those heroic Patriots who so nobly fought and bled in Freedom's cause.

The Address which follows was then delivered by Mr. WALKER:

Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Citizens—Unaccustomed as I am to public speaking, I throw myself upon your liberality. The habits of my life, which has been that of a mechanic from my youth, and the consequent want of that education necessary to form a public speaker, will, I trust, induce you to bear with my inability, while I offer a few remarks on the important event which we have this evening met to celebrate.

Fellow Citizens—We live in an age pregnant with important consequences to the whole human family. The improvements which have been effected in the arts and sciences, have spread abroad among the producing classes of society an intelligence, which has elevated this too long oppressed class to a power and influence in the governments of civilized man, which enlivens and animates the philanthropist and the patriot

with the brilliant hope that the day is at hand when *education*, the regenerator of man, will be universally diffused—when the foul and hideous monster *ignorance*, the greatest curse of our species, will have no resting place, at least among those nations who claim the pré-eminence of being civilized; and in the place of degrading ignorance and consequent vice, healthful and invigorating knowledge and consequent virtue shall reign triumphant.

To accomplish and hasten on this glorious work, government must be changed or renovated. Too long has *might* usurped the place of right. Too long have the *rights* and the *interests* of the *many*, been sacrificed at the shrine of the *usurped* interests of the few: Too long have mankind been deceived by the cant of the interested, that they are unqualified to govern themselves. But little more than half a century ago, the idea of man's capability of self-government was considered Eutopian and visionary—as principles suited only for the minds and the pens of Historians, Poets and Philosophers: but to reduce them to practice, by putting them in active operation, was considered as “the wildest dream that ever entered the brain of a *visionary fanatic*,” who was considered better fitted for the inmate of some madhouse, than to be allowed to roam at large in society, propagating his “disorganizing and dangerous principles!”

But thanks! immortal thanks! to the bold, daring and devoted spirits of a Jefferson, a Washington, a Franklin, an Adams, and a Paine, with the whole host of noble worthies, who placed in bold relief, and in practical operation, the “Equal Rights of man, and his capability for self-government.” Yes, fellow citizens, the American Revolution was one of the greatest and most glorious events which the annals of the world can boast of. Its consummation marks a new and important era in the history of man. Till that period, mankind were but the dupes and the playthings of the triple unholy alliance of kings, nobles, and priests; who, in whatever else they might disagree, agreed in ruling and fleecing the people for their own selfish purposes. Yes, they displayed great unanimity in considering the producing and useful classes of society, but as “hewers of wood and drawers of water;” or, as Jefferson has it, as “born with saddles on their backs, for them to ride booted and spurred;” as merely brought into being for their special use, and to be their humble dependents and slaves!

Fellow Citizens—Your Fathers' Declaration of 4th July,

1776, burst these despotic chains asunder, and boldly proclaimed to an astonished world, "the unalienable and equal rights of man to self-government." Yes, and your patriot fathers boldly drew the sword to seal with their blood the rights they had dared to proclaim and to establish.

The lesson which the heroes of your revolution practically taught the haughty aristocracy of Britain, stood, in the political wilderness, as a pillar of fire to light the way of the oppressed of every clime to the hallowed temple of liberty. Your fathers' noble daring stood as a bright beacon to degraded man, and successfully established the maxim, "That a nation to be free need but will it."

The successful issue of your fathers' resistance to tyranny was soon wafted across the Atlantic's wave. The noble and gallant French, who assisted in the struggle, carried with them, individually, on their return to their native country, a spark of that liberty they had imbibed; and it was not long till it burst into a flame. But a few years after your independence was established, the oppressed population of France rose in their might, and burst asunder the chains which for ages had been riveted around their necks. Yes, they nobly rose, and hurled the manacles which had too long enslaved them, at the heads of their oppressors, and boldly proclaimed their determination to be a free people, exercising the rights of freemen. These noble resolves were more than the despots of Europe were prepared to stand. They determined not only to crush the spirit of liberty which the French exhibited, but to extinguish the holy flame in every country of Europe—by extirpating those from the face of the earth, who had dared to burst the chains of slavery, and assert their dignity as freemen. To accomplish their accursed and hellish purposes, they marched their armed slaves to overwhelm the gallant French; but never was more completely verified the profound maxim of the poet, that

"Thrice is he armed, that hath his quarrel just."

It is not necessary to occupy your time by detailing any of the horrid scenes, which this unjust aggression of the kings of Europe upon the rights of France produced. The appalling and horrifying butcheries which for near a quarter of a century drenched the soil of Europe with human blood, must be fresh in all your recollections. Suffice it to say, that the combined despots of Europe succeeded to a certain extent, in the object they had unsheathed the sword to accomplish.

The "right divine of kings to govern wrong," was established. The Bourbons were restored: or, to use the language of Gouverneur Morris, at a meeting held in this city, in Murray-street church, to celebrate the restoration of the Bourbons, "The long agony is over, (he exultingly exclaimed), Europe once more reposes in the arms of her legitimate princes."

Need I advert to the impious and detestable conspiracy of the despots of Europe, against the rights and liberties of man, which they had the insolence and hardihood to stamp as a *holy alliance*. Its *holy*, I should say its *unholy* proscriptions, which but too justly entitle it to the latter epithet, was an explicit understanding, that if the subjects of any of these tyrants should *dare* to demand their *right* to self-government, one and all of them should hold themselves in readiness to march their armed mercenaries, to crush the bold spirits who would *dare* to assert their dignity as men.

Under the protecting influence of this despotic league, the kings of France pursued one steady, one undeviating course, and with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause, they endeavoured to replace the French people in the same degraded situation as they were prior to the revolution of 1789. But the French had become too enlightened; they had acquired too much real knowledge at the school of dear-bought experience to be duped by such clumsy craftsmen as wielded the energies of despotism in France. Often, often were the minions of tyranny frustrated in their accursed projects; but as often did they return to their unholy work, till tired out by the firmness, the moderation, but determined perseverance of the Liberals of France, the aristocrats, as a last grand effort, boldly determined to trust all to one sweeping proclamation, which at one fell swoop would engulf in its vortex the rights and liberties of France, guaranteed by the Charter, and thereby place the King absolute, and the rights of the people would be prostrated and trampled under foot.

To succeed in their infamous purposes, it is evident they disregarded every thing that stood in the way of accomplishing their despotic acts. Even if obedience was not rendered, or resistance offered, French blood must be shed. The prime mover in the scheme, Polignac, when remonstrated with on the impropriety of taking such steps, scornfully replied, "'Tis done, the soldiers must do the rest!" thus plainly intimating that physical force would be employed to bear down all opposition to their despotic decrees.

Blind and infatuated men ! They fancied themselves armed with omnipotence. But the "glorious population of Paris," the brave and daring mechanics and working men, taught them practically, with a vengeance, that it is much easier to issue decrees than to put them in operation.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830, are already immortalized in the annals of history. No where in its pages can we find days to compete with these. In the short space of three days, upwards of thirty millions of Frenchmen stand "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled." And by whom, fellow-citizens, has this mighty change been accomplished. By the noble and the rich of France ? no ! no ! but by men like yourselves—mechanics and working men : or, to use the *chaste* and *elegant* language of the *tory*, editor of the Commercial, as applied to ourselves a little more than a year ago, the revolution in France was effected by "*the slime of the community, more beastly and terrible than the Egyptian typhon.*" Let the aristocrats of every land now talk of "the rabble," "the swinish multitude," "the lower orders," "the *sans culottes* ;" point them to France, and *dare* them to bring their "*upper classes*"—their boasted "*good society*," in any one instance, in the history of man, as having exhibited such devoted bravery in the conflict—such generosity to the conquered, and such magnanimous disinterestedness as the working men of Paris displayed when every thing was in their power ; and yet nothing was wantonly destroyed—no, not even so much as pilfered.

Away then with the foul calumnies which the tories of every age and country have attempted to fasten upon the producing classes of society, as being degraded in every qualification that constitutes the true dignity of man.

Fellow citizens : have you forgotten, or can you ever forget the privation and suffering which the gallant Lafayette and his brave associates in arms endured, to assist your fathers to burst and overthrow their galling yoke. Without their aid, the issue of your fathers' struggle would have been protracted and doubtful ; with their assistance, your liberties were secured, your national independence effectually accomplished, and your country enabled to take her place and her rank among the nations of the earth.

Twofold then is your obligation to the gallant French : you owe them the debt of gratitude for their past services, and shall you hesitate now to award to the gallant, brave working men of Paris the wreath of glory they have so nobly won, not only

for themselves but for the producing classes of the world? Yes, their noble efforts in freedom's cause have done more to elevate and ennoble the working classes, than ages of despotism will obliterate. Does not the uplifted voice of their brethren in every land where they dare express it, re-echo their praise? Have not our brother Working Men of Philadelphia already sent off their congratulations? And shall we, the Working Men of New-York allow our remissness to place us in the back ground?

Your actions this day will, I trust, show that you fully appreciate the noble devotion of the Working Men of Paris, and that you will instruct your Chairman and Secretaries to transmit to the hands of the brave, the honest, and the devoted friend of the rights of man, the "Hero of three Revolutions," the Father of the French, the glorious Lafayette, your congratulatory address, to be by him presented to the glorious Parisian population.

Fellow-citizens; the spirit of liberty which the Working Men of Paris displayed, is already yielding an abundant harvest. The blaze which traversed France with the rapidity of the lightning's flash, already kindles beyond her frontiers.

The noble Belgians are up demanding with a *voice of thunder* redress and reform. And the high-minded but long oppressed and degraded Spaniards exhibit unequivocal symptoms of speedily checking if not overthrowing the cowardly and ferocious monster, Ferdinand. Even in Germany, the spirit of liberty is up and doing, and threatens ere long to regenerate that mighty Empire. Throughout Europe I trust the impetus given to the friends of liberty by the Working Men of Paris, will induce degraded man to assert his dignity and evince his capability for self-government, by the firmness and moderation he displays. And while Europe is thus convulsed to its centre by the struggles of the oppressed against their oppressors, shall we the favoured sons of this western hemisphere allow ourselves to be despoiled of those rights which the Constitution of our Country guarantees us? while the Working Men of Paris have hurled their oppressors to the dust, shall we the Mechanics and Working Men of America, stand idly by, and allow a moneyed aristocracy to usurp our rights by having all the laws made by them with an eye to their special benefit, when they should be enacted for the interest of the whole and not of a part?

Is it, fellow-citizens, in accordance with either the letter or the spirit of our constitution, for our Legislature to endow Col-

leges for the children of the rich, and only establish paltry common schools for the children of the poor ?

Is it in keeping with the Declaration of Independence, to proclaim "equal rights" the birthright of every American citizen, and yet charter monopolies for the benefit of the few, at the expense of the rights and the interests of the many ?

Is it consistent with republicanism to keep up an antiquated, complicated, and expensive system of civil law, which emanated from aristocratic Britain, but which is at war with the rights and the interests of republican America ?

Is it in unison with our constitution, with the improvements of man, or the intelligence of the age, to punish poverty as a crime, and brand with a stigma the unfortunate but honest debtor ?

Think not, fellow-citizens, I wish to overthrow our constitution, as based on the declaration of independence ; far from it : those evils I have hinted at are but excrescences fastened by the interested on our glorious constitution, and which require but the caustic of reform, efficiently applied, to remove them from the glorious edifice they contaminate and deface.

Move on, then, mechanics and working men, in your glorious career of mental independence, with republican education for your polar star, union and firmness your sheet-anchor, and the day is not far distant which shall crown your noble efforts with victory ; and your country shall stand redeemed from the poison of fashion, and the canker-worm of party ; and in their place shall spring up the tree of genuine republicanism, yielding the choice fruits of real equality of rights. Then man shall be judged by his actions, and not by his professions ; by his usefulness to society, as an industrious citizen, and not by the texture of the garb which covers him.

2. The glorious event we have this day celebrated.—It stands as a pillar of fire, to light the oppressed of every clime to the hallowed temple of liberty.

Song—Freemen ! rise in proud array—by Mr. Morrison.

3. The noble heroes of July, 1776.—The first to lead the way of the oppressed, by bursting asunder the magic sway of the triple and unholy alliance of kings, nobles, and priests. May their descendants ever appreciate their sacrifices, and never forget the same principles which animated their noble exertions.

Song—Star Spangled Banner—by Mr. Graham.

4. Our brethren, the Working Men of Paris.—They have

successfully demonstrated, that they can evince a courage, a moderation, and a magnanimity, which the boasted "upper classes" have never equalled, far less surpassed.

Song—Marsellois Hymn—by Mr. Durando.

5. The students of the Polytechnic Schools.—Their noble devotion and heroism during the three days, prove to a demonstration, that National Schools promote national feelings, and engender principles of equality, and an excited devotion to their country's cause, and the rights and interests of their fellow citizens.

Song—Hail Columbia—by Mr. Graham.

6. The glorious French population.—In their devotion and noble daring in defence of their own rights, they have vindicated the right of all mankind to self-government, and completely established the maxim, that "a nation to be free, need but will it."

Song—A man's a man for a' that—by Mr. Walker.

7. The producing classes of Society over the globe.—Their interest and their cause are one—may they appreciate and understand their rights, and have firmness to demand and exercise them.

Original Ode—by Mr. Webb.

8. The three days.—Unequaled in the annals of the world, they stand as a bright beacon to animate the oppressed of every country, and as a buoy to tyrants, to warn them of the danger of trampling on public opinion.

Song—Quevedo's Vision—by Mr. Pares.

9. M. Hubert, and the Society of the Friends of the People.—May they continue their labours till France be in fact, what we fear she is now only in name, a free and a happy people.

10. The noble Belgians.—Though second in the start, they may be first at the goal, by discarding all Kingcraft, and basing their constitution on the unalienable and equal rights of man to self-government.

11. Mina and the noble patriots of Spain.—May success attend their glorious enterprise; may they drive from their soil the *beau ideal* of tyranny, the ferocious Ferdinand, and erect in his place a government of equal rights.

12. The memory of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration which stamped our national existence.—The bold and intrepid advocate of the principles which animate the mechanics and working men of the present day;—may they, like him, follow a just cause, regardless of the calumny and the sneers of an interested aristocracy, which now assails them as it assailed him.

13. Lafayette.—The pupil of the first patriot sages of American liberty—the patriot soldier, statesman and philanthropist, who, like the surviving relics of our own revolution, views the revolution in France, not as having restored liberty and equality to a just extent, but as an advancing step towards a complete restoration.

14. Universal Education, the regeneration of the moral world.—Without its genial influence, man is a slave, even though nominally free.—May its refreshing and invigorating influence be universally diffused.

VOLUNTEERS.

By John Morrison.—The Working Men of Paris—May their noble example spread, until every nation is emancipated from tyranny and bigotry of every description.

By Charles Crocker.—Paris in 1830—The lighthouse of the world.

By Mr. Raymond.—The working men of the city of New-York.

By Mr. Frazee.—The working men of Brooklyn.—With their aid, we cannot doubt of success.

By George H. Evans.—The working men of Paris—The *job* commenced by them, on the 27th July, has so far been executed in a workmanlike manner ; may the *finishing stroke* be applied with equal skill.

By Saml. Robinson.—The original working men—May they not oblique to the right or left.

By John B. White.—Prayer—Like a *bolus*, very good on certain occasions ; both, however, rather unsuitable at a tea party.

By John Ditchett.—Free Inquiry—The only sure guide to truth : opposed by imposture, hypocrisy, and ignorance alone. May it rapidly spread its genial rays, with benign influence, over the benighted mental faculties of man throughout a priest-craft and kingcraft ridden world.

By S. Back, of Brooklyn.—The working men of New York and Kings—Although defeated in 1830, may they again enter the field for 1831.

By W. H. Ball.—The provision made by the French government for the maintenance and education of the orphans, whose parents fell in the recent glorious struggle for liberty—An act worthy of the magnanimous people of France. May it be imitated by all civilized nations.

By Simon Clannon.—The memory of the 48 Painters who

fell in July last, in giving freedom to France. The Painters of New York have shown by their patriotic conduct on this, and on former occasions, that they duly appreciate the blessings of liberty, and that on its altar they are, at any time, ready to offer their lives a willing sacrifice.

By Mr. Walker.—The “faithful and fearless” Daily Sentinel—May public opinion support it, so that instead of shrinking to a pigmy, it may, under the revivifying influence of increased patronage, be expanded to a mammoth.

By Paul Grout.—The man whose heaven-born heart caused the national banner of France to be adorned with the sacred motto of “Liberty, Equality, Public Order,” and who said, “To it will I be ever faithful.” Who shall doubt his sincerity? None but the recreant.

By Robert Walker.—The memory of Franklin and Sherman—Mechanics who understood the rights of man, and who ably assisted to assert, and successfully establish them.

By Paul Grout.—The Polytechnic Youths of Paris—Who, like our beloved Lafayette, were first at the post of danger on the memorable three days of July; and who were the first gratuitously to step forward and open the book of scientific instruction to the industrious poor of Paris. With hearts of gratitude should every patriot Frenchman shower down blessings on their heads.

By Thomas Cooper.—The Rights of Man—To which, while France is advancing, let not the United States halt.

By Robert Walker.—The memory of the brave who fell in Paris—May their blood electrify the *old* world, as that shed at Lexington did the *new*.

By Wm. Leavens.—Lafayette, Jefferson, and Franklin.—The political trinity of our salvation.

By the delegation from the Ninth Ward.—The 25th of November, and the last of July—The first saw tyranny shrink from our borders; the latter witnessed its funeral pile in the streets of Paris.

By R. Walker.—Albert Gallatin—Who left his native country to enjoy liberty in this. His speech at the recent Literary Convention, evinces him the ardent advocate of universal scientific education, as a necessary qualification to constitute freemen.

By one of the Delegates of the Ninth Ward.—The day we celebrate—May we have many more such, until every crowned head is no more.

By Wm. Froment.—The working women of Paris—Who,

by their example, encouraged their husbands, sons, and brothers, to deeds of patriotic valour. May the poet mention them in song—may the historian transmit to posterity a faithful account of their actions.

By Robert Walker.—True Democrats of every name, who advocate measures in preference to men—May they all unite in propagating and establishing the principles of Thomas Jefferson.

By Charles Crocker.—The modern Balaam, Talleyrand—Now that honest Philip has transported him to his brother William, he will not know on what mountain to prophesy.

By Henry Walton.—The Working Men—May their hands never be idle, nor their heads dull, while they have rights to be secured.

By John Deen.—Gen. Lafayette—Great in the field, wise in council.

By a Working Man.—The right of Nomination—A right too precious to be delegated.

By Paul Grout.—Lafayette—The brother in arms of our patriot fathers; the great Washington of France, and paragon of American freemen. America anxiously awaits the time when the Council Chambers of France shall be filled with such men as Lafayette. Frenchmen! verify this our wish, and your liberties are safe.

By Simon Clannon.—Thomas Herttell—The powerful advocate for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt, and of all the measures of the working men.

By Thomas G. Spear.—Bolivar—Once more reinstated in the affections of his countrymen. May he wear his laurels untarnished, and come forth redeemed as a true patriot, and the saviour of his country.

By James R. Paige.—The Simon Pures—May they not be frightened by the cries of Fanny Wrightism, Agrarianism, or any other *ism*, but stick to true republicanism.

The volunteer toasts were interspersed with a number of appropriate songs, odes, and recitations, several of which were original. We are furnished with the following,

SONG.

THE TRI-COLOURED BANNER IS WAVING AGAIN.

AIR—Kenmore's on an' awa'.

Written for the Celebration of the French Revolution, by John Graham.

Behold ! where the tyrant was forging new chains,
 And wrenching new pleasures from slavery's plains,
 Now freedom commands *her* glorious bands,
 And the tri-coloured banner is waving again :

CHORUS.

O ! see the banner of liberty fly,
 O ! see the banner of liberty fly ;
 Now sunk in disdain is oppression's proud reign,
 And the tri-coloured banner is waving again.

The tyrant still thought at his mandate would stream
 The blood of the slave, where the dastard might swim
 In his crime-cover'd shrine, since the right was divine ;
 But see, the proud thought was a maniac's dream.

He thought that fair liberty's light in the west,
 Was a phantom of fools in a meteor drest ;
 But all his proud might could not dim the pure light,
 For its glory had shone in a Washington's breast.

That light, said the tyrant, by bayonets met,
 Though liberty's day, on her points it will set ;
 No ! spurning the night, in its pure native light,
 Behold ! how it beams o'er the brave La Fayette.

And vainly shall might the effulgence control,
 'Twill blaze o'er the world, from pole unto pole ;
 For brightly from heaven to man it was given,
 To show him that freedom's the right of the soul

Oppression, with gold and gay purple from yore,
 Long aped at the god, and made slaves to adore ;
 Now garments may flow, and bright gold gild the brow,
 But, idols of falsehood, their worship is o'er.

DINNER OF THE LITERARY ASSOCIATION OF THE
FRIENDS OF IRELAND.

The Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland dined at Tammany Hall on Thursday last. About seventy persons were present. Dr. Macneven officiating as President, and Messrs. W. Sampson, D. McCarthy, and E. Wheaton, as Vice-Presidents. Dr. Macneven, on proposing the first regular toast, delivered the following speech.

Gentlemen,—The great event which we celebrate this day with so much joy, while it has a natural and especial claim on the feelings of Americans, is also of a nature to interest all mankind. Here it can never be forgotten by a happy people in the plenitude of freedom and all its attendant power and prosperity, that the gallant soldiers of France, in concert with our fathers, fought and bled, side by side, to vindicate the rights of man, and the independence of these United States, and to lay the foundation of our well poised system of liberty, the fairest and most felicitous the world ever saw. It does not, and should not, diminish our gratitude to the great nation of France that the succours forwarded from thence to assist the war of our independence to a happy issue, were sent by an enlightened minister and a beneficent monarch through motives of state policy. We should remember that in those days the people of France had no voice in the public councils, and could not directly participate in the acts of its government; but that it applauded universally and enthusiastically all that was done in behalf of America. The devoted, the magnanimous Lafayette was the true interpreter and the living type of the sentiments of all France on that occasion. With our habitual and affectionate recollection of those events, how great must be our exultation at seeing her redeemed once more from despotism and misrule; at seeing her throw off the vile encumbrance of those bad men whose presence alone at the Tuileries was a mark of her subjugation and dishonour. Men desecrated by the very fact that they were forced upon her by foreign bayonets, and whose imposed dominion was equally incompatible with her dignity and her rights. The hostilities of the Court were long threatened, long foreseen; and here the glory of the Parisians shines conspicuous, that having been placed by circumstances in the van of danger, they espoused their part with cool and intrepid determination. The first attempt on the liberty of the Press and on

the paramount sovereignty of the people, in the person of its representatives, was the point of resistance or of slavery. They did not hesitate.—From the highest to the lowest, from Lafayette to the labourer who toiled along the quays, every man took his station in the fight. No one, whether young or old, would wait till he felt the grinding tread of tyranny on his neck, when even the worm will turn, but all, high minded and resolute, took their stand upon a principle, and, in the alternative before them, embraced the nobler choice of liberty or death. This magnanimous daring, no less heroic than wise, finds its counterpart in what I always thought the finest trait in the history of this Union, showing the highest intelligence with the greatest fortitude. When our Revolution began, the aggressions of England on the rights of the colonies were almost theoretical; she had not inflicted on them those acts of practical severity which are habitual to her nearer home, but she opened upon them a fertile source of robbery and oppression,—and they saw it; seeing, they were informed enough to discern the whole scheme of evil, present and future; and understanding the nefarious plan, they had the generous courage to resist it in their own persons. Than this first act of the American nation there is none more admirable. It has done nothing to surpass the throwing of the tea overboard at Boston. That was a defiance to arbitrary power at the threshold. The high-minded men who counselled and who executed this declaration of war saw all the consequences and courted all the cost; nor did they shrink in their generation from a conflict that would come inevitable after long-suffering. Their spirit and their intelligence were equal: they displayed the one at the Long wharf, and the other at Lexington. So the people of Paris, with one fixed accord, beheld the coming conflict. Without debate or public meeting, so universal was the same feeling, the same resolution, the same courage, that the signal of attack which served the enemy served them. It is not their obstinate, untiring valour in a battle of three days that excites surprise—from Frenchmen we could expect no less; but it is their use of victory that is wonderful, and this flowing from a cause of deepest concernment to the happiness of mankind.—They made the wisest use of power, and showed that if knowledge had not reached the pinnacles of society, it pervaded all the mass below. Forty years since they first emancipated themselves, but they misused the great opportunity. From that time bitter experience, every sort of vicissitude, humiliation, and tyrannical government have come upon them with their wholesome instructions, and we

now see, that if they learned their rights they also learned their duties ; and that if knowledge be wisdom, in like manner it is virtue. The principles of the first revolution, purified by long-suffering, have sprung up in the vigour of their former youth and in the sobriety of accumulated knowledge. Most fortunately, this has occurred in a nation enlightened and powerful, and best fitted by its past fortunes to guide in the perilous transition from servitude to freedom throughout Europe. With its conciliating manners, its universal language, its encouraging protection, its science, and its moral empire, it is able to diffuse the blessings of the revolution far and wide, and forbid the hostile interruption of the league of kings. It has dethroned arbitrary power—it has dissipated the insane prejudice that monarchs reign of right divine. The free and the enslaved turn their eyes towards France with exultation and hope. We glory that she has caught the sacred flame of liberty from the altar of those States where liberty has ever had her worship. The despoiled of their rights in climes less favoured already feel their bonds slacken ; the insolence of power no longer riots in security ; the conspiracy of thrones is dissolved, and the uplifted sword is stayed through fear of retributive justice. We will drink—

La Belle France—beautiful France—regenerated and redeemed. Humanity approves and freedom rejoices in your triumph.

2. The heroic youth and brave populace of Paris—In every street you reared a trophy, and the stones rose up in judgment against your oppressors.

3. The Rights of Man—Universal, inalienable, imprescriptible.

4. The Soldier's new road to Glory—Loyalty to his country. *Vive La Ligne!*

5. Printing—An art prohibited by the Turks.

6. Andrew Jackson, President of the United States—Terrible to the foe, obedient to the law, and worthy of trust ; he will ask for nothing more than justice, and accept of nothing less.

7. Louis Philippe, the Republican King of the French—We hail the People's King ; not the King " my people."

8. Ex-President Monroe—Consistent and virtuous throughout his long and arduous life.

9. The Belgians—Wisdom to their councils, strength to their arms, prosperity to their cause.

10. The Tri-colour of both Revolutions—Emblem of personal safety, security of property, liberty of conscience.

11. Daniel O'Connell—May he crown his patriotic services by dissolving the *united* bonds of perfidy, cruelty, and corruption.

12. Lafayette, the Republican Sage, who dropped the name to secure the reality.

13. Reform by the ballot box—The preventive of revolution by the sword.

14. The American Fair.

On the health of LAFAYETTE being toasted, Mr. Sampson was called upon by the Chair, and spoke as follows:—

I rise, Mr. President, in obedience to your call, fully sensible the honour intended me, and yet, were I an ambitious orator, aiming to catch applause, I should not have made choice of a topic upon which every power of eloquence has been exhausted.

To speak of Lafayette is to praise him; and what is that but as if one should go about “to gild refined gold, to paint the rose, or to add a perfume to the violet.”

Still, as the mightiest floods are but the aggregate of small and tributary streams, we must not withhold our contribution to the general cheer of all the friends of virtue and of freedom towards him on whom all eyes are now intent, who forms a great connecting link between nations and people, various and remote. Whose wisdom and integrity is as a guarantee of liberty, and of social order, without which liberty cannot long subsist. It is because his principles have been true and unchangeable that we find him now, at the end of forty years and more of stormy revolution, again at the same post of command and confidence as when the French people demolished the Bastille, and rose up in mass against the feudal institutions, the usurped privileges, and oppressive abuses which policy, and reason, and philosophy had long denounced as grievous and iniquitous, inasmuch as they gave to the drones the honey of the hive. And though the words that are here spoken may be trivial and insignificant, yet under propitious circumstances they may not prove altogether worthless. For words are as winged seeds, light and impalpable; they mount the air, and ride upon the winds, bearing along with them their quickening powers, and when they settle on some friendly and congenial soil may fructify again a thousand fold. We must all then do our best to make it felt by him whose name we honour, and by all whom it concerns to know it, that wherever humanity is cherished, or

liberty is prized, there vows are made and wishes breathed for his success and happiness, whose life has been devoted to the welfare of his species. And what to ourselves more profitable in this festive hour, when our hearts are most warm and susceptible, than to impress upon them the image and example of such worth. The example of a good man's life is a light that shines in upon the soul, and charms to virtue. Its rebukes are gentle, its admonitions never out of season ; it acts upon the moral being like to the noiseless, viewless process by which kind nature works her most beneficent ends.

But how to speak worthily of one whose every step throughout a long and trying career has been marked by some peculiar grace or excellence. The painter, the sculptor, or the poet, whose muse may hereafter be the ornament and admiration of his country, may select abundant passages to suit the inspiration of his genius, or treat with epic dignity the one great continued labour of his hero for the deliverance of humanity from the triple-headed monster, despotism, bigotry, and corruption. What scenes, what animating subjects. Figure first of all the bright and sparkling youth, idol of the gay and fair, favourite of a brilliant and luxurious court, enjoying wealth and rank and station, united in wedded love to a woman young and fair and chaste and amiable, escaping from the entreaties of friends, and stealing from the embraces of that wife, that he might return again more worthy of them. And why ? Because a generous instinct made him feel that there were worthier honours than those that lay in fortune's gift, and that he had other destinies to accomplish than to waste his manhood in the effeminating pleasures of a court. And what was this field that fixed his young ambition—an infant nation struggling against power and terror, and almost against hope, for its dear and new-born liberty. What a subject for delineation when he presents himself to Franklin and his colleagues to be recommended to Congress for liberty to serve their drooping cause ; and when that sage and sagacious statesman read his heart and sounded his intelligence, and discovered with admiration and delight that his was not the giddy project of buoyant youth, but the result of deep reflection and deep-rooted principle. Again, when with a ship and military stores, purchased with his own private means, he landed in the new world, and stood reverently and modestly before that Congress over whom the name of rebels and the threatened pains of treason still impended, and prayed for no greater favour than to serve as a private volunteer,

and to receive no pay—this too is a subject worthy to be treated of.

More characteristic still was the reply that laid the foundation of that affection which the great patriot chief and father of his country ever after bore to him, when urged to take the high rank which Congress had conferred upon him—"Let me first learn to obey before I venture to command." From that time forth he became the adoptive son of Washington; and never did the mutual ties of filial and parental love attach two purer and two nobler spirits. But I feel how exhaustless the subject would be if I should attempt to follow its details, how it would lengthen out discourse to tediousness. How faithfully he served, how freely he shed his blood and bestowed his treasure, a grateful country has acknowledged in a manner most worthy of itself.

We have witnessed and happily partaken in the triumph of that memorable year which was marked by his progress through our states and territories, of which no history affords a parallel. We may indeed read of the superb and splendid triumphs decreed in the temple of Bellona, in the very magnificence of which we learn the only moral worth our knowing,—to how low a pitch of degradation man's nature sinks where virtue is fled and liberty surrendered. When we see corrupted senators conferring impious honours on a usurper's head, whom, had they dared, they would have doomed to ignominy; matrons of consular dignity rejoicing in the cruel spectacles of gladiators purchased to slay each other, or be torn by wild beasts, or of noble captives, whose crime was to have fought for their country, with their wives and children dragging their chains after the conqueror's car, amid shouts and songs of mockery, till the vile and venal populace were satiated with their tears of anguish, and then led back to merciless execution.

Turn from this to the triumph decreed by the voice of a free people to their early and beloved benefactor: where every word, and thought, and act bespoke the noblest and the kindest feelings that can animate the heart of man, and all the virtues that can adorn his nature, shed their happiest influence. Old men shed tears of ecstasy, to see again the companion of their youthful arms and toils, and of the well-fought field: the young looked on with reverence, and beauty lighted up by delighted emotion, beamed more lovely; and the entire population of great cities, poured out spontaneously, gave proof that the most refined and delicate observances of taste and

courtesy, are consistent and compatible with the most perfect freedom : and that in the school of equality, men learn to respect the laws which they themselves ordain. Would that Lafayette had never witnessed less joyous scenes : but in his own France that seat of knowledge, intelligence, and social polish, he was doomed to suffer much calamity. There inveterate abuses, conflicting orders, and jarring interests had engendered passions and jealousies that bid defiance to the voice of wisdom and moderation, and foreign interference, which freemen ought not, and Frenchmen will not, brook, added to the terrible and volcanic explosion. Had the voice and counsel of Lafayette been then listened to, such heavy afflictions would not have lighted on the royal house, nor would that fair land have been the scene of such prolonged and cruel horrors. He who was too good to imbrue his hands in crime, and too faithful to join with the enemies of his country, suffered what virtue must expect in such an exigence. He was at the same time denounced by a Jacobin aristocracy, and made the victim of the brutal vengeance of despots, by whom the friend of Washington, and the soldier of free America, was never to be forgiven. After every principle of human justice or international law was violated towards him, dragged from prison to prison, handed over from despot to despot, loaded with chains and exposed to every insult, five years of his precious existence spent in dismal and solitary dungeons —but I will not touch on that wound which he suffered through the tenderest point of human sensibility. It is too sad. Let the minions of despotism then cease their pharisaical cant, on the crimes and disorders incident to revolutions, which are but the natural offspring of corruption and abuses. As it was in France, so it will be every where : for, when the measure is full it will run over, and when “the fathers have eaten sour grapes, the children’s teeth will be set on edge.”

But, sir, I must check my tongue, lest in the greatness of my subject I should forget the limits of discretion. A few words more, and I have done.

From the evils that grow out of long misrule, from the hard sufferings that await the devoted patriot, from the cruelty of despotic power, from the horrors of provoked rebellion, from the snares which crafty policy lays for the feet of freedom’s honest champions, from dissensions artfully fomented to divide brother from brother, and which rend the very heart-strings of the best and bravest, the transition is too natural to that unhappy

country which gave birth to most of us, and in whose fate all present deeply sympathize, and which has been like France for more than forty years in a state of revolution, whereof the issue yet rests in the womb of time. Brave men have fallen, and brave men have filled the ranks. May their hearts be as true, and their fortunes better. If from human frailty any errors have been committed by those who have gone before, let them wisely profit by them, while they generously honour their virtues and imitate their devotion; and if victory should crown their efforts, as they enter the breach let them tread lightly on the necks of those who fell on the first onset. So shall they add strength to their strength and glory to their glory, by marshalling together the virtues of the living and the dead; the voice of the martyred hero then shall rise from out the tomb, and his spirit be with them in the battle hour, if battle there must be. Thus shall they destroy the tares which the enemy has sown, and gather the wheat into the barn. So shall they draw closer and closer the bond of union, the only rallying word of victory; thus only shall true and happy union be cemented, and that (so called) union be dissolved which like an ill-assorted, ill-omened match of force was achieved through the instrumentality of perverted religion, of inflamed bigotry, of whips and tortures, and conflagrations, bribes, and blood knee-deep. Enough of this. We have poured out our first grateful libations to the shades of those to whom we owe the happy and peaceful security, under the shade whereof we are assembled, and free to interchange our sentiments of brotherly affection; and to speak without molestation the sacred words of truth. We have offered our homage to the most perfect of all living heroes. We have pledged with fervour the health of one in whom the great mass of his countrymen have placed their unbounded confidence, and whose great energies we cannot but admire. Let us now remember him who first inculcated the saving principle of union among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, with all the force of a transcendent intellect, and died the faithful champion of the cause. I conclude, sir, by proposing

☞ The memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone—than whom no man better understood the interests of his country, or pursued them more devotedly.

This toast was drank standing, and in silence.

By M. O'Shannessy, Esq. The Royal Function *Charles X.*—in which X is equal to zero.

PRINTERS' REPAST AT SHAKSPEARE HOUSE.

In the evening the Printers partook of a social repast at the Shakspeare House, prepared at very short notice by Mr. Stoneall, in his usual style of profusion and elegance. The Grand Marshal of the day, Mr. Lang, presided, assisted by George F. Hopkins, Esq. as Vice-President. The President was supported on his right and left by gentlemen of the Albany Delegation, the Committee of Arrangements, Poet-Laureate, &c. After doing full justice to the more savoury and solid department of the banquet, "the sparkling glasses" were put in motion, and the following sentiments elicited from the company and their guests.

By Mr. Webster, Chairman of the Delegates from Albany. The press—its liberty the pride of our citizens and the palladium of our rights—may it speedily be equally the pride and boast of every civilized country.

After Mr. Webster retired, his health was drunk.

By G. F. Hopkins, Vice-President. May those nations who adopt revolutionary movements follow the example of France, and stop at the point of temperate liberty.

By Mr. Walker. Benjamin Franklin's motto—"Where liberty dwells, there is my country."

By Mr. A. Chandler. The Press—free as air, but not licentious. When it becomes so, its atmosphere will be dangerous to human happiness: but, virtuous, it casts a halo round all the enjoyments of life, flourishing, and destined to flourish, long after kings and tyrants shall have been forgotten.

By Mr. Lang, the President. Worn out *types*, that have never been used for licentious purposes.

By a Member. The Printers of Albany, and their honourable Delegation.

By Mr. John Hancock, Editor Rockland Gazette, Tappan, N. Y. Our Fathers—who are now reposing their wearied limbs in the shades of solitude and peace, by whose toil and blood we now enjoy the rights and privileges of Freedom and Independence—may their spirit of patriotism never depart from the hearts of their children.

"Would ye sacrifice Liberty? No!

Our blood hath come down from the line of the brave,
Let us die like the Free, and not live like the slave.

By Judge Buel. The Press—the lever of Faust, which is moving the political world.

By Mr. Flagg, Secretary of State. The Typographical Society of New-York.

By Mr. Crosswell. Our Art—the pioneer of revolutions, for the elevation of the moral and political condition of the people.

By S. Southwick, Jun. Washington, Lafayette, and Jackson—the tri-coloured flags of former days—may our future *impressions* never want for the *same colours*.

By a Guest. The three States of the Union, whose Governors, during the seven years' war of the Revolution, stood shoulder to shoulder with General Washington—New-York, Connecticut, and New-Jersey; Clinton, Trumbull, and Livingston, their revered names.

By Mr. Hoffman, from Albany. The French Revolution—a *new edition* of an old primer, lately *revised* and *corrected*, in which the people are made to understand the difference between a King of the People, and a People's King.

By the Hon. Isaac Hill. The progress of liberal principles—the speedy abolishment of incarceration for debt, followed by the abrogation of punishment of death, will afford ample demonstration that individual honour is the best sponsor for property, and that crime is more effectually restrained by the certainty than by the severity of punishment.

By Mr. Flanagan. General Lafayette, the Father of the French Revolution of 1830—freemen honour him—*types* speak gloriously of him—tyrants hate him.

By Mr. Trumbull, of Albany. Lafayette. May he never have fewer hearts to respond to his sentiments than there were patriotic ones in the procession to-day.

By Mr. Hinkley, of Albany. The State of New-York. May her favourite Son be *set up* in the next Presidential Chair.

By Mr. Ford, of Albany. Col. Richard M. Johnson. A good Printer, and an enemy of Priestcraft.

By Mr. S. Woodworth. The Civic Procession of Nov. 26, 1830.—Forty thousand Freemen rejoicing at the downfall of tyranny—its moral influence will be felt for ages. Let the Despots of Europe take the hint.

By Mr. Hutton. Lafayette, the son of Washington—the second in America, and the first in France.

By Mr. Grattan. Our Typographical Brethren of Paris, who dropped their *shooting-sticks* for muskets, their *bodkins* for bayonets, their *mallets* for battering-rams, and their *presses* for pressing of a different nature.

By Mr. Marshall. Lafayette and Clinton—names never to be forgotten.

By Mr. Southwick. The Printers of New-York—May they never want for *matter* to fill the *cases* of our Delegation.

By Mr. Van Norden. The friends of Liberty in every land—Let them “calculate the value of UNION.”

By Mr. William Cully. The Press—When shackled and subverted, the tyrant’s minion, the demagogue’s pander, and the people’s curse—when untrammelled and free, the recent mighty Revolution in France has emphatically demonstrated “The tyrant’s foe and the people’s friend.”

By Mr. Rice. The March of Reform throughout the World—may it march over the bodies of those who will not march with it.

By Mr. Childs. Liberty of Opinion, the basis of every free government.

By Mr. Watson. The Press—By its *expression*, has made an *impression* which we all know is the cause of *depression* to despots.

By Mr. M’Kee. The Press—May its eternal purpose be the dissemination of virtuous and honourable principles, and all who labour in its vocation, take data from their handiwork.

By Mr. Wendell. *Printers*—May they always forget the old motto, “Charity begins at home,” when they see a brother in distress.

By Mr. Flanagan. Gen. Marion, a second Washington—the same in a mud cabin as he would have been in a palace—one of America’s precious heroes—May his memory never be forgotten.

By Mr. Frazee. Freedom and Equal Rights, the foundation of national happiness and prosperity—May France, like America, enjoy them under a Republican Government.

By Mr. Mercein. May the stain of tyranny be obliterated by the indelible *impressions* of the Press.

By Mr. Ramsay. The Proprietors of the Daily Press—Liberal in their expenditures, may they be liberally supported by an enlightened and equally liberal public.

The utmost harmony and hilarity prevailed during the entertainment, and the company separated at a seasonable hour, pleased with themselves and each other—grateful to their professional brethren in Albany—delighted with their guests, and duly impressed with the taste, skill, and accommodating spirit of their provider, Mr. Stoneall.

PLACES OF PUBLIC AMUSEMENT.

The Park and Bowery Theatres were brilliantly illuminated, and the representations were of a character corresponding with the joyful occasion.

PARK THEATRE.

A "petite" Drama, written by J. B. Phillips, Esq., entitled "*Three Days in Paris, or the Triumph of Liberty*," was presented. The title was sufficient, exclusive of the merit that attached to the piece, to secure for it a hearty reception. The national Ode—"Hymn to Liberty," written by Samuel Woodworth, Esq., and sung at Washington Square, as forming a part of the celebration of the day, was repeated by the entire operatique strength of the Company, with great effect. The patriotic sentiments so happily interwoven by this pleasing poet, together with the music, being adapted to the Marseillois Hymn, won for the Ode the most unbounded applause.

The following was sung by Mr. Richings in the Drama of "*Three Days in Paris*."—Air—"Le petit Tambour."

Sound, sound the martial strain,
Hail the joyous day again,
 When the Sons of France
 Made bold advance,
And broke the despot's chain;
When their heroes of noble name,
Their freedom did proclaim,
 And to the world
 The flag unfurled,
Of glory and of fame;
Our watch-word ever be,
All hail to the great and free,
 Oh long may wave
 The flag of the brave,
The banner of liberty.

The interior of the Theatre abounded with appropriate banners and transparencies, evincive both of the taste and of the unceasing efforts of the indefatigable manager, E. Simpson, Esq., to please the public. On this night the "quid pro quo" was amply afforded. Never had the Theatre been so crowded;

hundreds were sent away for want of room, and a part of the audience intruded upon the boundary line of those whose vocation it was to "speak the speech."

BOWERY THEATRE:

This Theatre was brilliantly illuminated. The interior was rendered peculiarly interesting by the display of a grand transparency painted by that gifted artist, Mr. Reinagle, in commemoration of the triumph of liberty in France.—The foreground of the picture presented full length likenesses of *Lafayette and Louis Philippe the First*, standing at the foot of the statue of *Washington*—Lafayette directing the attention of the king to the inscription on the pedestal of the immortal patriot—the father of his country—of the man, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—of him whose transcendent virtues were worthy the imitation of the *King of the French*. In the upper part of the picture were the geniuses of Liberty and Immortality entwining the tri-colored flag with the star-spangled banner, and holding two wreaths of laurel over the dates of "1776" and "1830"—the remainder of the picture was occupied with a view of the harbour of New-York, and the British fleet sailing out, in allusion to the 25th November, 1783.

The selections were judiciously made, and well adapted to the feelings of the people; embracing, in a great measure, representations of the events that had called for the celebration of the day.

A translation of the grand national ode "*La Parisienne*," by Casimir Delavigne, was sung by the corps operatique with fine effect.

A melo-dramatic spectacle, written for the occasion, entitled "France Triumphant, or the Downfall of Tyranny" was produced, and received rounds of applause.

Mrs. Hamblin, in the character of the *Goddess of Liberty*, spoke, in a style pre-eminently happy, the following Ode to "*France*," written by J. B. Phillips, Esq.

Hark! 't was a battle shout, stern war's alarms
 Rend the still air, the cry is on "to arms!"
 'Tis heard, and 'tis obey'd; the sons of France,
 From vale and mount, with hearts resolved, advance,
 To strike for freedom, and their native land,
 And snatch the sceptre from a despot's hand,

Bravely they battle for their charter'd rights,
 And freedom's banner, raise again on high ;
 While smiling vale and lofty mountain height
 Ring loudly, with the soul-inspiring cry.

“ To arms! to arms!” the signal word is given ;
 High floats their banner,—smile upon them Heaven!

Lo! 't is an Eagle soars o'er yonder dome,
 The bird of Freedom seeks her early home.

Now on the air a shout of triumph swells,
 A tale of wonder, that proud Pæan tells,

“ Free! we are free!” the words of joy are spoken,
 The tyrant flies, the despot's chains are broken.

Land of the vine-clad hills and fertile vale!

Thy songs of triumph rise upon the gale ;

The flag of freedom is again unfurl'd—

And hail'd with plaudits by th' admiring world.

Now o'er the sea

To the land of the free,

Thy triumphant shouts are brought,

And the tale is told

How thy children bold,

For the rights of their fathers fought.

And millions of freemen fair France arise,

And echo back thy rejoicing cries ;

And glad is the greeting, fair France, they send

To their ancient ally, and their early friend ;

Nation of gallant hearts! when tyrant power

Spread desolation through our native land,

Thy hero came to aid us in that hour,

With noble heart and ever ready hand.

He fought and bled in our country's cause,

Gain'd our love, and won the world's applause—

'T was Lafayette, last of the gallant band

That crush'd oppression in this western world,

Who wrench'd the sceptre from his iron hand

And the bright flag of liberty unfurl'd ;

He led thy champions to the gallant fight

Which burst thy chains, proclaim'd the people's right ;

Who sees again, as in his life's young dream

The star of freedom on his country beam.

Long may the banner of both nations wave

In proud alliance over land and sea ;

And teach the world, the virtuous and brave

Alike are mighty, and alike are free.

The manager of this Theatre, *Thomās Hamblin, Esq.*, was assiduous in his efforts to cater richly for his patrons; their applause was the evidence of his success, and he had afforded another *solid proof*,—a house crowded to excess. Here also were seen hundreds on the stage, not hitherto known as “*knights of the Sock and Buskin*;” they were however only recognised by the *Veterans* of the *Corps* as *Supernumeraries*, and consequently attracted but little attention.

The following patriotic *Ode* is from the inimitable pen of *Prosper M. Wetmore, Esq.*, and is well worthy its author: it was written for the occasion of the celebration, and was intended to have been read at one of the public dinners, by a gentleman, who was unavoidably prevented joining the party.

ODE.

FOR THE CELEBRATION IN HONOUR OF THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION.

A voice on every wave,
A sound o'er every sea!
The war-note of the brave,
The anthem of the free!
From steep to steep it rings,
Through Europe's many climes—
A knell to despot kings,
A sentence on their crimes;
From every giant hill companion of the cloud,
The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud!

Where'er a wind is rushing—
Where'er a stream is gushing—
The swelling sounds are heard,
Of man to freeman calling—
Of broken fetters falling—
And, like the carol of an uncaged bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom's battle-word:

Spirit of Freedom! from thy home,
Beneath our western skies,
We gave thee forth the shackled earth to roam—
That red oppression's heart might quail,
And shuddering tyranny grow pale,
Before the lightning of thine eyes!
Thy course hath been a glorious one—
For nations now are basking in thy light,
That ere the trial-deed was done,
Were grovellers in being's night;

Upstarting from their sleep,
 They grasp the dooming brand,
 And, vengeance-nerved, the spoilers sweep
 From off the trampled land ;

They give them not to death—contempt can punish more—
 But frowningly and stern they wave them from the shore !

From the North's frozen regions,
 Ice-fetter'd in gloom—
 Where slavery's legions,
 Are wailing their doom ;
 From Italy's clime,
 The brightest of earth—
 Where man lives in crime,
 Polluted from birth ;
 From Spain's death-like trance,
 And from Portugal's blight,
 We turn to thee, France !

And we turn with delight,
 Where the eyes of our fathers were turned—
 To the land of the warm-hearted Gaul !
 When dimly the flame on their altar-stones burned,
 And their hopes were as dark as the pall ;
 To the land of the noble in soul,
 The mighty in spirit and name,
 Where vengeance hath listened to reason's control,
 And the doom of the tyrant was—shame !
 Oh ! deeper and darker that doom, than if blood
 Had been poured o'er regenerate France like a flood !

Joy to thee, France ! in thy pride,
 The world shall rejoice at thy deed ;
 Long may the hearts that the despot defied,
 Ennoble the land they have freed !
 Away with the flag of the Bourbon—away !
 Oh ! never again let it wave,
 Where glory hath marshall'd her chosen array—
 To earth with the flag of the slave !
 Down, down with the banner of shame,
 And trample its folds in the dust ;
 Away with the race that have blighted its fame,
 Where the fetters of tyranny rust :
 Come from the gloom of thy cloud,
 Come with thy splendour of yore,
 Thou pennant of glory ! each Gaul shall be proud,
 As he welcomes his own *tri-color* !

And thou! the ruler of the storm,
 Whose hand put back the wave,
 When anarchy-upreared his awful form—
 Whose voice went forth to save;
 Thou! whom we proudly call our own—
 The warrior of the free!
 Among earth's mighty ones thou stand'st alone—
 The delegate of liberty!
 Kingdoms nor crowns—the patriot warriors name;
 Thy nobler recompense shall be—
 No brighter record gilds the page of fame!

Spirit of Freedom! on—
 Oh, pause not in thy fight,
 Till every clime is won
 To worship in thy light;
 Speed on thy glorious way,
 And wake the sleeping lands—
 Millions are watching for thy ray,
 And lift to thee their hands;
 Still, onward! be thy cry—
 Thy banner on the blast—
 And like a tempest as thou rushest by,
 Despots shall shrink aghast!
 On! till thy name is known,
 Throughout the peopled earth—
 On! till thou reign'st alone,
 Man's heritage by birth;
 On! till from every vale, and where the mountains rise,
 The beacon-light of liberty, shall kindle to the skies!

DINNER TO SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, Esq.

The citizens, aids to the Marshal-in-Chief, together with the gentlemen, natives of France, who formed a part of his suite on the day of the celebration, addressed the following letter to that gentleman, which is accompanied with the reply.

The sentiments of feeling and approbation which it expresses towards *Mr. Swartwout*, are such as prevail generally throughout this great community. We also give below an account of the dinner, taken from the *Evening Post* of the 6th December.

To SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, Esq.

Sir,—The undersigned, members of the suite attached to your person, as Marshal-in-Chief, on the recent celebration of the triumph of civil liberty in France, beg leave respectfully to express their gratification at having been associated with you in the discharge of a duty so perfectly in consonance with their feelings as individuals, and so creditable to the liberal opinions which pervade the community in which they reside.

For any merit which may belong to the undersigned for the successful termination of their pleasing duties, they are perfectly conscious that it has been won for them by the correctness of judgment, decision, and energy which have been apparent throughout the whole progress and completion of your arrangements; but they feel not the less flattered at having assisted to carry those arrangements into execution.

As an evidence of their respect for your public character, and in testimony of their individual esteem, the undersigned respectfully request your presence at an entertainment to be given at the City Hotel, on Saturday next, the 4th inst., at five o'clock. With sentiments of the highest respect, we are, your obedient servants,

Signed—Daniel Jackson, Prosper M. Wetmore, William Dumont, Robert Lawrence, Silas E. Burrows, Edw. M. Greenway, Amos Palmer, George D. Strong, Charles McEvers, Jr., John R. Livingston, Jr., Chas. A. Clinton, George Davis, H. Chevrolat, J. F. N. Vouthier, H. G. Duvivier, M. Panon, A. Le Moyne, C. Calemare, A. S. Perrot, Richard Pennell, M. M. Quackenboss, Frederick Groshon, John L. Graham, John T. Ferguson, M. M. Noah, L. Depeyre, B. De La Pierre, David C. Colden, Joel Curtis, Henry Ogden, Gouver. S. Bibb.

New-York, 29th Nov. 1830.

The following is the reply of Mr. Swartwout:—

New-York, 2d December, 1830.

Gentlemen,—I have received from your Chairman, Silas E. Burrows, Esq., your very kind letter of the 29th ult., expressing your approval of the manner in which the arrangements made for the celebration of the late Revolution in France had been conducted on the 26th ultimo; accompanied by an invitation to partake of an entertainment to be given by you on Saturday next, at the City Hotel.

While I feel gratified at your partial notice of my conduct on that occasion, I am persuaded, gentlemen, that to the intel-

ligence, activity, promptitude, and courteous deportment of those who were associated with me as Aids, I owe entirely the accurate and timely movements of the procession ; and I hope I may be permitted to avail myself of this opportunity to state, that to the cordial support, and friendly and accommodating spirit of the officers of the different societies, of the military, and of the splendid escort of French gentlemen, were we indebted for the beautiful and gratifying display made by our fellow-citizens on that proud day.

Permit me, gentlemen, in conclusion, to say, that I am sensibly affected by this marked token of your personal regard, and that I accept your friendly invitation with sentiments of pride and pleasure.

Allow me to tender you my thanks for the kind manner in which you have been pleased to communicate your invitation ; and believe me, gentlemen, most sincerely and respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.

Among the guests were many of the oldest and most respectable of our citizens, including the Orator, and Reader of the Address to the French people, on the late celebration. Mr. Monroe, late President of the United States, and Mr. Albert Gallatin, were invited, but were prevented from attending, the former by indisposition, the latter by a prior engagement. The following is the reply received by the committee of invitation from Mr. Monroe.

New-York, Dec. 4, 1830.

Gentlemen,—I regret that the infirm and weak state of my health deprives me of the pleasure of accepting your invitation to a dinner given to-day, by the suite of Mr. Swartwout, as Marshal-in-Chief in the late celebration of the French Revolution, as a testimony of their regard for him, and of their approbation of his conduct on that interesting occasion.

It was my intention to have called at the hour appointed, at the City Hotel, to make my acknowledgment to you for your kind invitation, and to meet the respectable party assembled there ; and to express my high approbation of his conduct in the management of the procession, and performance of all the duties of the day ; but I find it impossible, without the most serious exposure of my health.

I cannot withhold the expression of my grateful acknow-

ledgment, for the many acts of kindness which I have received from my fellow-citizens here, since my arrival among them.

With great respect, I am your very ob't servant,

JAMES MONROE.

To Charles A. Clinton, Prosper M. Wetmore, Amos Palmer, Charles McEvers, junr., E. M. Greenway, Esquires.

Upon the removal of the cloth, the following *regular toasts* were given :

1. *Our Country.* Sovereign and independent, uniting liberty and law, energy and moderation, justice and generosity.—May we ever be enabled to appreciate and enjoy the blessings we possess. 3 cheers.

2. General ANDREW JACKSON, President of the United States. 9 cheers.

In introducing the next toast, the following remarks were made by the PRESIDENT.

I rise, gentlemen, to announce a toast, that I presume you all anticipate, and which will be received with all the warmth of friendly feeling. When the name of a distinguished individual is introduced, and that individual a guest of this company, I am justified in believing it will be received with no ordinary applause ; but, gentlemen, when with that name the honourable person is introduced with whom our daily business brings us in connexion, and from whom we receive every aid and attention, to divest business of its natural perplexities ; who, instead of adding to our labours by inattention or disregard, is assiduous to *know*, to *learn*, and to remove all the difficulties that his legal powers can counteract ; I cannot be mistaken in anticipating a prodigal effusion of the heart. I therefore give you, gentlemen,

3. OUR GUEST, the Marshal-in-Chief of the late celebration in honour of the French Revolution.—In the discharge of his duty on that day, or in discharge of any duty confided to him, we find him ever-prompt and decisive—blending industry with integrity, intelligence, and courtesy. .

This toast was received with all the enthusiasm anticipated by the President. After nine hearty cheers, Mr. Swartwout rose amid the warmest greetings of the company, and replied in the following terms.

Mr. President.—I beg you, and this most respectable company, to accept my warmest thanks for the very flattering and gratifying notice you have been pleased to take of my conduct on the occasion of the late celebration.

That celebration, sir, was a splendid and most honourable

display of the public sentiment in our city. The people of New-York, who have so long enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious liberty, could not but feel their sympathies excited in the cause of France, our friend and ancient ally; they rejoiced in her freedom, and gloried in her triumphs. They beheld with amazement a mighty empire revolutionized, regenerated, and disenthralled, in **THREE** days; and thirty millions of people receiving their impulse, their liberty, and their laws from a single city. They could not but be proud of the influence of their own example, and they were grateful to Heaven for it.

In order to give to France the most public and heartfelt testimony of our admiration of her conduct, the people of New-York poured out, in a blaze of civic glory, the warmest emotions of their hearts. They devoted days and nights to the celebration of her principles and her triumphs. They decorated themselves with the emblems of her national faith, and re-echoed her national hymns. Our whole population united in one voice, and were marshalled under one banner. It was the most impressive scene ever before witnessed among us, and the mode adopted the only one, perhaps, that could have been selected to give full effect to the scene, in a community composed of so many different interests, associations, and occupations.

So cordial was the feeling, so unanimous the sentiment, and so splendid the pageant, that it may be fairly questioned whether Paris herself, the mistress of the continent, and the seat of the wonders which we have just been celebrating, with all her wealth and numbers, could have produced a more imposing spectacle, or one surpassing in splendour and effect, that beautiful offering on the **ALTAR OF LIBERTY**. It was worthy of our fellow-citizens and of the cause they celebrated.

Mr. President, the station assigned to us on that day, and the share we were permitted to take in the exhibition, were, in the highest degree, honourable and gratifying, and should be long held in remembrance by us.—We will send back to the land of Lafayette the sympathy so nobly and so generously extended to us in the day of our own trials; and the people of France will soon learn, that we have honoured their cause and venerate their principles.

Frenchmen, receive from us this tribute to your patriotism, your valour, and your moderation. Carry with you while you live, and wherever you go, the remembrance of that day; may it have a place in your recollections and affections, next only to that which marked the political regeneration of your own native land!

Before I sit down, Mr. President, permit me to give you as a sentiment—

Patriotism, friendship, and gratitude, the triune banner of the heart.

4. France—our ancient Ally—our early and tried friend: “We, the People of the United States,” rejoice in every triumph which secures Freedom to her Government and happiness to her people. Nine cheers. Song—Marseilles Hymn.

5. Our fellow-citizen, Gen. Lafayette—the friend of Liberty and personal rights—the friend of justice and moderation.—May the setting sun of his life be as glorious as its dawn was brilliant and its meridian splendid. Nine cheers.

6. The memory of Washington, and of his fellow-soldiers of the Revolutionary War.—Their example continuing to live wherever freedom is triumphant. Drank standing, and in silence.

7. Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures.—The three great Pillars of the Republic, whose united force even Samson himself could not shake.

8. The various Mechanic and other Societies which cordially united in celebrating the recent Revolution in France—Their splendid appearance and good conduct render them the pride, as they are the bulwark, of our yeomanry.

9. Education.—The main-spring of the whole system of government, moral and political.—May it bestride the universe, the real Colossus of light and liberty.

10. The Militia of the United States—the National Guards of our country—The best protectors of laws which they themselves assist in creating. Three cheers.

In reply to this toast, Major-General Morton, the senior officer of the Militia in the United States, made a few pertinent remarks, and proposed the following :

The Militia of France, the National Guards—In conduct brave, in victory humane.

11. The State of New-York, and its favourite daughter, our fair city—May she ever bestow her smiles on the enterprising, her hospitality to the deserving, and her hand to the brave and patriotic.

12. Paris—the emporium of taste and talent, of beauty and bravery.—The mistress of Europe in all that embrace the circle of arts, science, and fashion. Six cheers.

13. The Fair—The pure *red* and *white*, which he, who made the rainbow mingle on their cheeks, and the ethereal *blue* of their mild and radiant eyes, exhibit charms only ex-

celled by their virtue, and the constancy of their affection. Nine cheers.

VOLUNTEER TOASTS.

By Silas E. Burrows, Esq. President.—The memory of De Witt Clinton. (Drank standing, in silence.)

By Daniel Jackson, First Vice-President.—Our associate Aids, natives of France, who participated in the late celebration. Their gallant appearance on the 26th called to mind the days of chivalry, in which their countrymen were as distinguished in feats of arms, as were their glorious contemporary patriots of the 27th, 28th, and 29th July last.

In reply to the preceding toast, Mr. Marius Panon arose, and spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I rise to return, in the name of my comrades, their heartfelt thanks for the flattering compliment just paid them by our courteous First Vice President; and on their behalf I propose—Our associate Aids, natives of that happy land where liberty first breathed, liberty dwells, and, I most sincerely hope, liberty shall never die.

By Charles A. Clinton, Esq., Second Vice-President.—The Merchants of the city of New-York; distinguished for their enterprise, intelligence, and public spirit.

This toast was replied to by Alderman Strong, who proposed the following:—The Members of the Bar of the city of New-York.

The toast which follows was intended to be given by the Chair, but out of respect to a sister State—that State which had the honour of giving birth to the distinguished individual who is the subject of the sentiment—the pleasing task of proposing it was allotted to a gentleman who is also a native of Virginia.

By E. M. Greenway.—Our invited, but absent guest, James Monroe, Ex-President of the United States. His devotion to his country—his honesty, integrity, and patriotism, can never be forgotten by his grateful countrymen.

After the acclamations with which the preceding toast was received had subsided, Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur, the son-in-law of Mr. Monroe, arose to reply in his behalf, and to convey to the assemblage the sentiments of that venerable citizen, and his acknowledgments for the many tokens of respect he had received from this community, during his brief residence. The remarks of Mr. Gouverneur were exceedingly happy, and afforded a beautiful specimen of the highest order

of eloquence. They were the ardent outpourings of a warm and generous mind, and conveyed the sentiments of a feeling heart, with a felicity of language, and a force of expression, that such an occasion only could inspire. In conclusion, Mr. Gouverneur, with peculiar delicacy, transferred the honour which the company had rendered to Mr. Monroe, from that gentleman to the State of Virginia; expressing it as his opinion, that the many gratifying tokens of their respect which this community had conferred upon one of her favourite sons, were intended as compliments to a sister State. Mr. Gouverneur also alluded very happily to the fact, that the toast had been offered by a native Virginian, and closed his remarks by offering the following:

The State of Virginia—In doing honour to one of her distinguished sons, we do honour to her.

The warmth of expression, and the enthusiastic applause with which the succeeding toast was received, was a sufficient evidence of the correct estimation it gives of the feelings entertained by this community for an illustrious individual, who was among the earliest supporters of his country's rights, in the dark period of the Revolution; and who, under the happy Government which he assisted in creating, has been called upon to fill successively the highest offices in the gift of the people of the Republic.

By Prosper M. Wetmore.—*James Monroe*—A living evidence of the injustice of a government, and of the gratitude of a people.

In reply to the preceding toasts in honour of the Ex-President, speeches, characterized by great warmth of feeling, devoted attachment, and the true spirit of eloquence, were elicited from Mr. Burrows, the President of the day, Mr. Swartwout, the principal guest, and Mr. John I. Mumford. The following toast was introduced with appropriate remarks by its author.

By Philip Hone.—The school of patriotism, in which Washington was the preceptor, and Lafayette the pupil—well have the precepts of the one been obeyed, and nobly has his example been followed by the other.

By Wm. M. Price.—The French people—The first and best friends of our Republic.

By C. D. Colden.—The March of Intellect, guided by the press—May it lead to national liberty and the happiness of all nations.

By Colonel Murray.—Our adopted French brethren—Their exemplary conduct as American citizens, the highest eulogium on the land of their nativity.

By Gen. Cooper.—The people of Paris—An example to the world, and to all revolutionists, of courage and moderation.

By Mons. St. Andre, Consul General of France—Aux habitants de New-York qui viennent de donner un temoignage si touchant d'interet pour le peuple Français—Les liens d'ancienne amitie unissent les Etats Unis a La France ne peuvent que se fortifier sous les auspices d'un gouvernement ami de toute la liberte.

By Joseph Bouchaud.—The American nation, free, powerful, and happy. She has proved to the world that liberty, when supported by wisdom, is imperishable.

By C. Calemard.—The recognition by France of the young Republics of South America and Mexico—May they imitate the noble example of their elder Sister, the Republic of the United States.

By Col. T. Morris.—General Bernard, formerly a scientific and distinguished Officer in the Republican and Imperial armies of France, and now devoting his unrivalled talents as a General of Engineers in the fortification of our coast.

By M. M. Noah.—The Press of France—Not to be prostrated by Ministerial Decrees, nor intimidated by the cannon of hired soldiery.

By Marius Panon.—The Union of our Banners ; it secured the freedom of America, and now affords the world an exemplary lesson of reciprocal gratitude—May it teach all nations how to win and appreciate Liberty.

By F. G. Halleck.—A nation's love of National Glory—It has made France what she is—a glorious land.

By James Lawson.—T. Rouget de Lisle, author of *Le Marseillois*—The Poet's pen has been as instrumental in awakening a nation to a consciousness of its wrongs, as the Patriot's sword has been keen to avenge them.

By Girault Du Vivier.—The Citizen Soldiers—The Militia of the United States ; the National Guards of France—Real bulwarks of the country, in arms without danger to its independence.

By Dr. J. Dekay.—France—May her National Bird always be Cock of the Walk among the nations of Europe.

By John I. Mumford.—Public Sentiment—The parent of a free Press, which like the fabled Antoesus in his combat with Hercules, received new strength at every fall in the contest for Liberty.

By George D. Strong.—The Students of the Polytechnic School—Their *subtraction* from the forces of the foes of Free-

dom; their *addition* to the killed, wounded, and missing of a venal soldiery; and their *multiplication* of adherents to the cause of civil and religious Liberty; have evinced that their education in the arithmetic of Liberty is complete.

By Mr. Gravillon. July, 1776, and July, 1830—Two great epochs, which, like beacons, will indicate to the nations of the new and of the old world the way to the port of Liberty.

By D. C. Colden. The Press—May it never be oppressed or depressed.

By Henry Ogden. The Song of Freedom—Awakened July 4th, 1776—Its Carrol yet exists.

By M. M. Quackenboss. Samuel Swartwout, Esq.—The efficient soldier and patriotic citizen.

By Mr. Magennis, of Missouri. The Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union.

By Robert Lawrence. Our Country—Courteous in peace, undaunted in war.

By a Guest. The Hon. Cadwallader D. Colden—Like his great compeer, our late lamented Chief and Governor, De Witt Clinton, by untiring assiduity, the first to introduce the inclined plane to successful operation.

By Amos Palmer. The Olive of France, the Oak of England, and the Hickory of America—united, they defy enemies abroad, and despots at home.

By J. F. N. Vouthier. The young Citizens of France—strong in hand and firm in heart: if ever the American cause should require foreign assistance, she will find that the present youth of France will rouse in its behalf, with that valour and energy which characterized their forefathers.

By B. J. Messerole. The Lamp of Liberty, that first shone in the United States of America, and now shines in France—may it be a light to all nations that are in darkness.

By J. L. Joseph. The bright rainbow of Freedom, spreading its broad arch from America to the French hemisphere, will illuminate the world with the light of liberty, intelligence, and happiness.

By L. Dupeyre. Our fellow-aids of the late celebration—we have shared with them the honours of the parade, we should be proud to share with them the perils of the battle-field.

By P. Thomas. Charles Carrol, of Carrolton—the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence.

By Major Rossel, of New-Jersey. New-York—the enterprise of her citizens equalled only by their hospitality.

By L. Peugnet. The United States—the cradle of liberty—the asylum of the unfortunate.

By Robert Emmet. The Castle of Olmutz—The crucible in which a patriot's constancy was tried, and out of which it came like thrice-refined gold.

By a French Guest. The Gallic Cock, and the American Eagle—Two birds of the same feather.

By A. Le Moyne. The Pupils of West Point—who, in the hour of danger, would, like the immortal Pupils of the Polytechnic School, fight and conquer, or die for their country.

By W. Seaman. The Marshal-in-Chief—"In peace, the gentle gale of spring; in war, the mountain storm."

By Mr. Harvey. The race of Freedom in Europe—"The Devil take the hindmost."

By S. M. Stilwell. The Constitution of the United States—The pearl of great price.

By B. De la Pierre. In manners, in sentiments, in love of liberty, in all that is noble and generous, may Frenchmen and Americans be ever united.

By John Ditchett. The Tree of Liberty, a native American—May its roots spread to all nations, and its fruit be wisdom, peace, and love.

By Isaac S. Hone (after the President had retired). The President of the day, Silas E. Burrows—a generous and ardent man, whom we all respect and esteem.

Toasts complimentary to each of the Vice-Presidents were drunk on those gentlemen leaving their seats.

The hilarity of the evening was increased by numerous songs and recitations, and the company retired at a seasonable hour, delighted with the conviviality they had enjoyed, and with sentiments of increased attachment for the individual out of respect to whom they had assembled.

The five *Veteran Soldiers* of "1776," invited by the Committee of Arrangements to participate in the celebration of the day, and who were conspicuous in the procession.

ENOCH CROSBY is the original *Harvey Birch*, of *Cooper's* excellent novel of the "Spy," and the individual whose memoirs have been so faithfully written by *H. L. Barnum*, in a work entitled the "*Spy Unmasked*." The celebrity of these works, the one of truth, and the other of fiction, will supersede the necessity of a detailed account of this fearless and patriotic

man, whose services during the war of the Revolution give him a claim of gratitude upon his country, and of unbounded admiration and respect upon his fellow-citizens. Mr. Crosby was born in Harwich, Massachusetts, on the 4th of January, 1750 ; but removed with his parents to Dutchess County in this State, when he was but three years of age. He received a plain education, and from reverses in the affairs of his parents, he left their roof when sixteen years of age, the director of his own fortunes. He apprenticed himself to a shoemaker, and served his time until he reached his twenty-first year ; and if *Roger Sherman*, the shoemaker, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, the enlightened statesman, and *honest man*, could, in his elevated sphere of action, say, "I have done the State some service, and they know it ;" so, without arrogating to himself, may the humble subject of our remarks have also exclaimed ; and should any skeptic doubt and be slow to believe, he could tell o'er his tale again, speak of "hair-breadth 'scapes," and appeal to the shade of the immaculate John Jay, to sustain him in his assertion.

On the 19th April, 1775, immediately after the massacre at Lexington, he joined the company of Capt. Benedict, in Danbury, Connecticut, where he then resided. After a service of six months he left the army, and rejoined it in 1776 ; and in the month of September in the same year, he became the "SPY" on the "*neutral ground* ;" an office which he undertook at the earnest of the Committee of Safety assembled at "*White Plains*," and for which his address, coolness, and sagacity admirably qualified him. He resumed his trade, as a cover to the perilous and by no means honourable character in which he was to appear : having furnished himself with a pedler's pack, which he filled with the implements of his trade, Mr. Crosby set out on his hazardous adventures. With promptitude he entered upon the duties that devolved upon him, and with an adroitness that belongs to but few, he quickly became possessed of the secrets of the enemy—communicated the most correct, satisfactory, and *valuable* information, at the imminent risk of life, and endured sufferings, privations, and temporary ignominy that few would be able to bear, and none would be willing to undergo. After a series of adventures almost bordering on romance, Mr. Crosby was, as a measure of personal safety, induced to abandon the pursuit of a *Spy*, and he was appointed to a subordinate command in the troops under the command of General Lafayette, where he distinguished himself in several engagements. He continued in the army until 1783, and

served wherever duty called him. He retired to Southeast, where he still lives, cultivating a small farm, and enjoying the society of his affectionate children. For twenty-eight years he has been a Justice of the Peace, and for the last twenty years a Deacon of the Presbyterian Church. His form is still erect and athletic ; evincing a green old age, and a constitution unimpaired by the hardships he has encountered.

ANTHONY GLEEN.—The tide of feeling is so strong in favour of the French, that a double relish is given to all incidents of our Revolution, particularly when related by the active survivors of those “ days which tried men’s souls ;” and having enjoyed the pleasing sensations which the recital of the events of those days afford, in the company of the venerable Anthony Gleen, Esq., of Saratoga county, whose recollection and mental faculties are still remarkably clear, I now present you with a brief account of this old gentleman’s revolutionary career, which I have drawn from conversations with him ; but it can give you only an idea of the services of this respectable and good man, who is an old resident farmer near Saratoga Springs, and who has never received but \$60 old continental money for seven years’ service in the Navy of the United States.

Previous to the Revolution, he had made several voyages to Europe and the West Indies, and had accumulated a handsome property, and was a thorough seaman. In 1775, he was in this city with his vessel, when he volunteered in a company of masters of vessels and seamen, under Captain Malcolm. On the approach of the English fleet to this city, after the landing of Lord Howe on Long Island, he fired the first gun from the Battery, which took effect in the hull of the British 20 gun sloop of war Rose. On the American army leaving this city, and while the enemy’s fleet lay at anchor off the Battery, he succeeded in getting his vessel, called the Fortune, at dead of night, loaded with provisions and military stores for the American army, from the East river, around the Battery, into the North river, and landed them at Fort Washington. General Washington then furnished him with a serjeant’s guard of twelve men, with which he returned to this city and took 57 disabled and wounded men from the Hospital, with some military stores, and landed them safe at Dobb’s Ferry, and the stores at Fort Constitution ; after which, his vessel was taken into the U. S. service, as a transport, and in 1776 he was ordered to take charge of the United States’ frigate Montgomery, as sailing-master, under Captain John Hodge—the launching of

which frigate, at Poughkeepsie, he superintended. He remained on board this frigate about eight months, when he was transferred to the *Lady Washington*, Captain Lewis.

He was in the bloody battle at Fort Montgomery, when it was taken by Sir Henry Clinton. After which, he was promoted to the office of First Lieutenant, and was in the battle of Esopus. In this battle he elevated and fired a 32 pounder twenty-eight times himself at the enemy, and had the mortification of seeing his own vessel, the *Fortune*, burnt by the British; for which loss he never received a farthing from his country.

He was in the battle at Stony Point, and held his commission, both as Sailing-master and First Lieutenant of the *Lady Washington*, till 1779.

In the spring of 1780, he was ordered with Captain Lewis to take command at Verplanck Point, and there he witnessed and encountered many and various important scenes, of which that vicinity was the theatre. He remained at this post till the end of the war; and in 1783 was invited by General Washington, with other of the heroic officers who had served their country during the Revolution, to march with him into this city, on the 25th of November of that year. Accordingly, Lieut. Anthony Gleen, with about thirty others, joined him on that day near Fort Washington, and marched with the main army into the city, filling and occupying the different posts that the British evacuated. Gen. Washington halted the army near the old tea-water pump, when the officers of the Revolution formed into a line, and marched through the British army, then in the fields (now the Park), which was on the eve of embarking—while the American army proceeded down Pearl-street and up Wall-street to Trinity Church (then burnt), and there again met those officers, and fired a salute of 13 guns.

Gen. Washington then ordered Com. Thomas Grinnell, with Gen. Hull's regiment and one company of artillery, to take possession of the Battery, hoist the American standard, and fire a salute. The Commodore deputed the gallant Lieut. Gleen to raise the standard—but the British had unreaved the halliards, broke off the stepping cleats, and slushed the flagstaff. This, however, was no impediment to him, he soon procured a ready and willing sailor, who, by the aid of a ladder, ascended the pole and reaved the halliards; when, by the hands of Lieutenant Anthony Gleen, the American standard was first raised, while the British were still getting into their boats and evacuating this city.

The standard waving in the air, the artillery again fired a

salute of 13 guns, which was politely answered from the Admiral's ship, with 21 guns.

Com. Grinnell, Lieut. Gleen, and the revolutionary officers who had been disbanded, and who had accompanied General Washington on this day, then marched to his head-quarters, and there remained with him for three days, and then took their final leave of each other.—*N. Y. Gaz.*

JOHN VAN NORSDALE.—This venerable citizen is prominently identified with an event peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of New-York. On the 25th November, 1783, to Mr. Van Nordsdale attaches the act of pulling down the last British flag that waved in the United States during the Revolutionary War, and to him also did the pleasing task devolve of running the halliards with which *Anthony Gleen* hoisted the American flag.

DAVID WILLIAMS.—The name of this soldier of the Revolution is familiar to almost every child, who in the history of our country recognised in this individual one of the three captors of the unfortunate *Andre*; one of three soldiers who afforded an evidence that their love of country was above all price.

ALEXANDER WHALEY.—One of the earliest in the cause of the Revolution, beginning his career with the destroying of the 'Tea at Boston,' subsequently serving in the armies of his country, and particularly at the capture of Cornwallis.

THE BROTHERS PEUGNET.—It will be recollected that those gentlemen were selected by the Committee of Arrangements of the resident French in the city of New-York, as Standard Bearers in the procession; the motives that induced the Committee to appoint them will be properly appreciated by the following sketch, taken from the "New-York Evening Journal."

Mr. L. Peugnet was an officer of the old Imperial army, and was severely wounded at the battle of Waterloo. The plan that was arranged to overthrow the "*Bourbon*" dynasty in 1822, was warmly espoused by him; and when betrayed by some of his companions, he escaped by fighting single-handed a detachment of troops, headed by the Governor of Belfort, whom he shot in the encounter. The account of his escape from the gens-d'armes when they entered the farm house where he was secreted, and

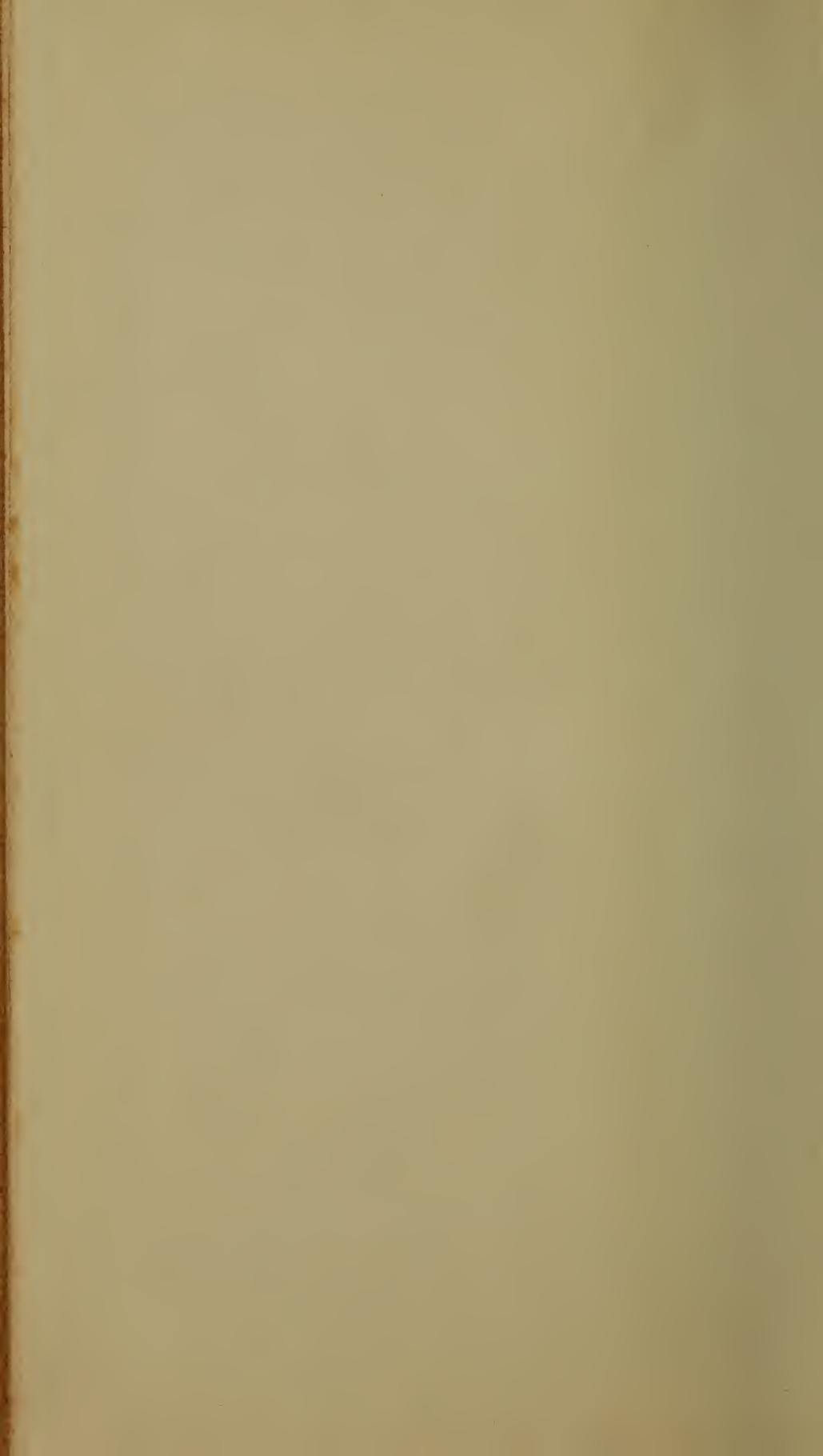
when his safety depended upon the fidelity of two children, is thrilling ; and the subsequent history of his journeys through France to his father's house, and his privations and sufferings after his arrival in this country, is a narrative of a most singular and interesting character. While on his way to America he was tried and condemned to death—he was executed in *effigy*.

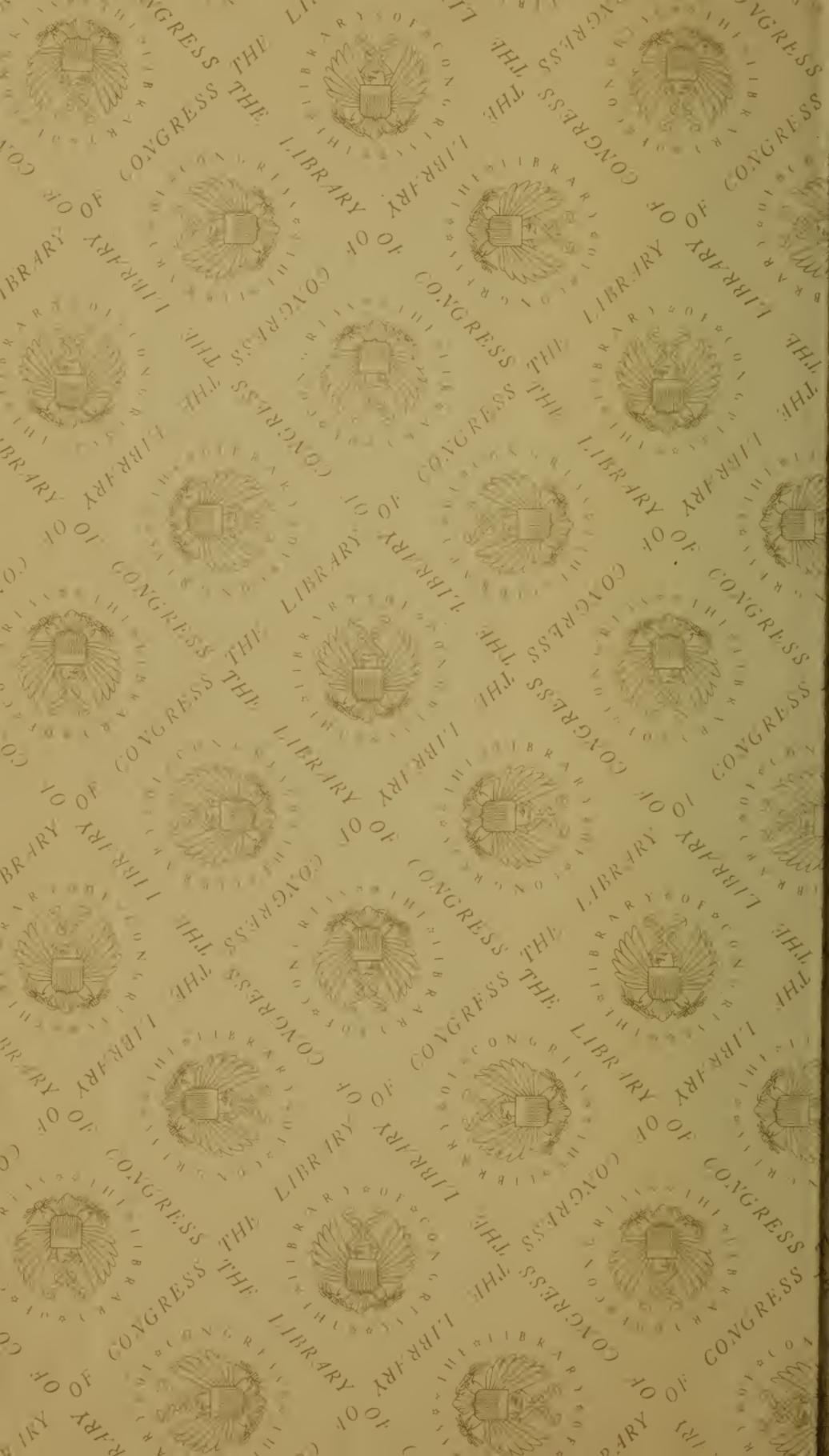
Mr. H. Peugnet, his brother, also an officer of the old Imperial army, was arrested at Strasburg, as connected in the revolution there ; having been tried by a military tribunal, and after suffering long and severe confinement in several dungeons, he was acquitted for want of proof. Being discharged, he followed his brother Louis into the woods of Canada, where for some time they worked and fared hard, but to little profit. They arrived in New-York in 1825, with impaired health and limited means, and by their abilities and industry secured friends and a competence. Being known by *Lafayette*, on his arrival in this country, he introduced them to the acquaintance of his friends ; since which they have been engaged in conducting one of the best schools in the vicinity of this city. Such is a brief sketch of the history of the Brothers *Peugnet*, who were appointed by the French citizens of this city to bear the Tri-coloured Flag on the 25th.

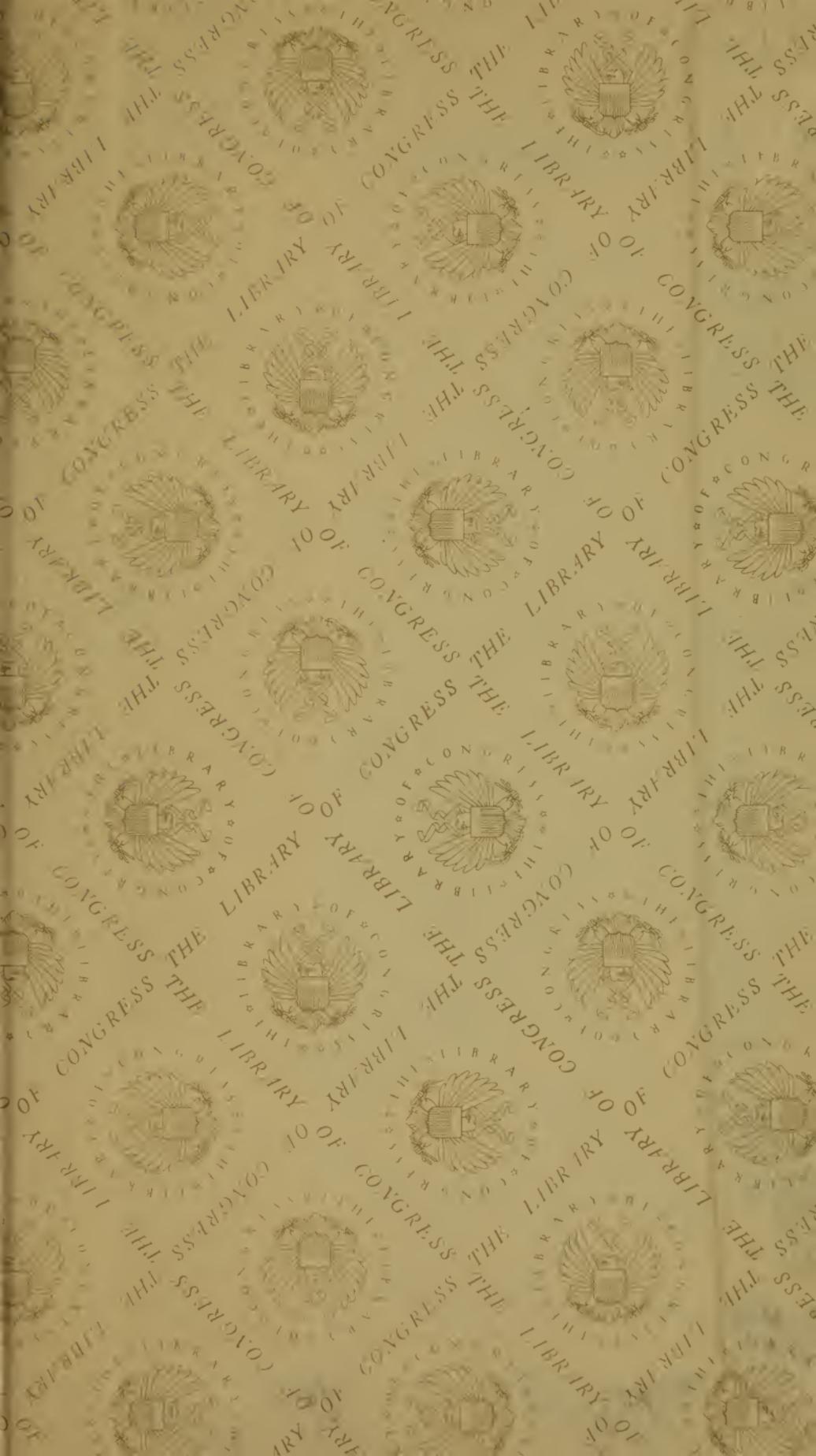
J. F. N. VOUTHIER.—This gentleman was attached to the *suite* of the Marshal-in-Chief—the following sketch will show how worthy he was of the distinction extended to him on this *particular occasion*.

Mr. Vouthier is a merchant of this city, and was at Paris during the “*trois jours*,”—he was on the Exchange on the 27th July, when the people, led by the *Printers*, surrounded the *Bourse*; a gun was put into his hands, amid the cries of “*Vive la liberté!*” “*à bas les Bourbons.*” He instantly embraced the cause—was elected by a band of volunteers their leader or captain—fought during the three days as should become a man, and was the fifth citizen who entered the *Tuileries*, when it was carried by the brave Parisians under the tri-coloured flag. When the drums beat a second time a call on the Parisians, to march on Rambouillet, where 15,000 soldiers still upheld Charles the Tenth ; he was among the first at the rendezvous of Gen. Pajol and George Lafayette. The gun used by *Mr. Vouthier* during the combats, he brought with him to New-York, to use his own words—not as a *trophy* but as a *memento*.

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