



CHAPTER I

THE BOURBON RESTORATION

[1815-1824 A.D.]

France had now struggled, suffered, and bled for five-and-twenty years, through a fearful revolution and ruinous wars; and what were the results? Her enemies were in possession of her capital: all her conquests were surrendered; and the Bourbons were restored to the throne of their ancestors. But these were not the only consequences of the late convulsions, to France or to Europe. France, indeed, was governed by another Bourbon king; but the *ancien régime* was no more: the oppressive privileges of feudalism had been abolished; and a constitutional charter was granted by Louis XVIII. But all these benefits had been secured in the first two years of the Revolution, before the monarchy had been destroyed, without a reign of terror, and without desolating wars. She had gained nothing by her crimes, her madness, her sacrifices, and her sufferings, since the constitution of the 14th September, 1791. Upon Europe, the effects of the Revolution were conspicuous. The old *régime* of France was subverted; and in most European states, where a similar system had been maintained, since the Middle Ages, its foundations were shaken. The principles of the Revolution awakened the minds of men to political thought; and the power of absolute governments was controlled by the force of public opinion. — SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MARSH

LAMARTINE'S VIEW OF THE RESTORATION

NATIONS are like men; they have the same passions, vicissitudes, exaggerations, indecisions, and uncertainties. That which is called public opinion in free governments is only the movable needle of the dial plate which marks by turns the variations in this atmosphere of human affairs. This instability is still more sudden and prodigious in France than in the other nations of the world, if we except the ancient Athenian race. It has become a proverb of Europe.

The French historian ought to acknowledge this vice of the nation, whose vicissitudes he recounts, as he ought to point out its virtues. Even this instability belongs to a quality of the great French race — imagination; it forms part of its destiny. In its wars it is called impulse; in its arts, genius; in its reverses, despondency; in its despondency, inconsistency; and

in its patriotism, enthusiasm. It is the modern nation which has the most fire in its soul; and this fire is fanned by the wind of its mobility. We cannot explain, except by this character of the French race, those frenzies — which simultaneously seem to seize upon the whole nation after the lapse of some months — for principles, for men, and for governments the most opposed to each other.

We are on the eve of one of those astonishing inconstancies of public opinion in France. Let us explain its causes: The gleam of those philosophical principles, the whole of which constitute what is called the Revolution, had nowhere, so much as in France, dazzled and warmed the souls of the people, at the end of the eighteenth century. At the voice of her writers, her orators, her tribunes, and her warriors, France took the initiative in the work of reformation, without considering what it would cost in fatigues, treasure, and blood, to renew her institutions, vitiated by the rust of ages, in religion, legislation, civilisation, and government. The throne had crumbled amidst the tumult, pulled down like a counter-revolutionary flag raised in the midst of the Revolution. The country, however, was beginning to know itself, to purify itself, to constitute itself into a tolerant democracy under the republican government of the Directory, when Bonaparte, personifying at once in himself the usurpation of the army over the laws and the counter-revolution, violently interrupted, on the 18th Brumaire (November 9th), the silent work of the new civilisation, which was elaborating and culling out the elements of the new order of things. To divert the nation's thoughts from its revolution he launched it and led it on to the conquest of Europe. He exhausted it of its blood and population, to prevent it from thinking and agitating under him. He had made it apostatise by his publicists, by his silent system, and by his police, from all the principles of its regeneration of 1789. While he was hurling kings from their thrones, he declared himself the avenger and restorer of priesthoods and royalties.

France had begun to breathe after his first fall in 1814. The charter had resumed the work of Louis XVI, and promulgated the principles of the constituent assembly. The Revolution had gone back to its first glorious days. It had no longer to apprehend either the intoxication of illusions, or the resistance of the church, of the court, of the nobility, or the crimes of the demagogues.

The return of Bonaparte, thanks to the complicity of the army,¹ had again interrupted this era of renovation, of peace, and of hope. This violence to the nation and to Europe had been punished by a second invasion, which humbled, ruined, and decimated France; and even threatened to partition it into fragments. Bonaparte, in quitting his army after his defeat at Waterloo, and in abdicating, had carried away with him the responsibility of this disaster; but he had left behind him the resentment of the nation against the army, against his party, his accomplices, and against his name. Everybody had a grievance, a resentment, a mourning, or a ruin to avenge upon this name of one man. The paroxysm of anger compressed by the presence of the army, by dread of the imperial police, and by the hope of a repetition of that glory with which he had for a moment fascinated France before Waterloo, burst forth from every heart, except those of his soldiers, immediately after his fall. Public opinion threw itself, without

[¹ Seignobos speaks of "the Episode of the Hundred Days" which compassed Napoleon's return from Elba and his fall at Waterloo, as "nothing but a military revolt, a *pronunciamento* of the army of Napoleon." It must be remembered, however, that a very large part of the army did not respond to this call or take part in the last disaster.]

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reflection, without foresight, and without discretion, into the opposite party in the elections. Public opinion in France, when irritated, listens neither to middle courses, nor to intrigues, nor to prudence; it goes direct from one side to the other, like the ocean in its ebb and flow. This is the whole explanation of the elections of 1815, which sent up to the crown a chamber more counter-revolutionary than all Europe, and more royalist than the king.^d

EXCESSES OF THE ROYALISTS AND THE INVADERS

Louis XVIII, being too indifferent and too fond of repose to be vindictive, had re-entered the city with the disposition to be moderate; that was also the attitude of the ministry which he had given himself. It was for the interest of Talleyrand and Fouché that there should be no reaction and the other ministers, Baron Louis, Pasquier, Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr who had been chosen by the king because he had not rallied to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, were by character and reason opposed to all excess. But it soon became evident that the king would be powerless to keep the royalists within bounds and that the ministers would be left behind and disregarded. The new emigration was returning from Ghent eager for vengeance, and its friends in the interior had awaited no signal to let loose their rage against everything which in any way held to the Revolution or the empire. The ultra made Paris resound with their outbursts of shameful joy and insulted those in the street who would not join them, while the capital was at the same time brutally trodden under foot by foreigners. The royalist journals heaped abuse on the French army and spoke only of punishment and proscription.

If the king and his ministers were unable to restrain the royalists, with still greater reason they were not in a condition to protect the city and country from the allied armies. The foreign occupation offered a sinister contrast to what it had been in 1814. It was Blücher, the fiercest enemy of France, who with his Prussians occupied the interior of Paris, while the English were encamped in the Bois de Boulogne. The very evening of his re-entry Louis XVIII was warned that the Prussians were preparing to blow up the bridge of Jena, the name of which recalled their great disaster in 1806. In vain did the king have recourse to Wellington. The fierce Blücher listened to no one. Fortunately the first explosion of the mines was not sufficient to overthrow the piles, and the arrival of the Russian and Austrian emperors with the king of Prussia on July 10th prevented Blücher from recommencing. Emperor Alexander intervened; the bridge was saved and the one hundred million francs which Blücher proposed to demand of Paris, regardless of the capitulation, were reduced to eight.

The presence of foreign rulers, while it encumbered Paris with new masses of troops, at least diminished somewhat the disorder caused by the occupation within the capital; but without, the invaded departments were everywhere exposed to pillage. Never had the abuse of victory, with which the French had been accused in Germany, approached what took place in France. In the war beyond the Rhine, Napoleon's severe character imposed a certain order even on the requisitions; here the military chiefs, great and small, acted, each on his own account, like leaders of the old bands of invading barbarians; they plundered their hosts, despoiled cities and villages, laid hands on the public treasuries, and when the officials of the royal government tried to hinder their pillaging, they arrested them and sent them as prisoners across the Rhine. The Prussians put a feeling of implacable

vengeance into their excesses. But the violence and depredations of the Prussians were at least equalled by those who had nothing to avenge, by those Germans of the south the Swabians (the inhabitants of Baden and Württemberg) and Bavarians, who were now pillaging France in the name of the coalition as they had shortly before, in the name of France, pillaged Russia, Austria, and Prussia, much more violently than the French. Popular Russian tales of 1812 show what a difference Russian peasants made between French soldiers and the German allies of France. French peasants in despair responded here and there, as those of Russia had done, by sanguinary acts of retaliation and resorted to the woods to carry on a guerilla warfare.

The numbers of the invaders increased daily. All the reserves of every country arrived on the scene. Germany especially passed over the Rhine as a whole to come and live at the expense of France. At one time there were as many as 1,240,000 soldiers on French territory.

Emperor Alexander and the duke of Wellington, the one out of humanity, the other out of a spirit of discipline and fear of provoking a general uprising of the French people, tried to put an end to this immense disorder and, acting on their proposition, the four great powers attempted to regulate the occupation by a convention agreed upon on the 24th of July. The danger of provoking France to desperation was very real. Besides the army of the Loire, the French had still several corps under arms, under Marshal Suchet and other generals. Free companies in the departments of the east were energetically harassing the enemy, and most of the strongholds were still intact and maintained a threatening attitude. The defence of Hüningen has become celebrated: General Barbanègre sustained a long siege in this little place with one hundred and thirty-five soldiers against twenty-five thousand Austrians.

The French army at that time had been disbanded for fifteen days. The troops separated in a spirit of sad resignation, without attempting a resistance which would only have aggravated the misfortunes of their country. Thus came to an end the most illustrious army the modern world has ever seen. The royal ordinance which had dissolved the army had fixed the basis upon which a new army was to be organised.

THE "WHITE TERROR" OF 1815

In the meantime two-thirds of France was occupied by strangers and the part which was exempt from invasion was afflicted by another scourge, by a violent reaction. The triumphal return of the "usurper," the enforced submission to the restored empire, which had undergone feeble attempts at resistance, had aroused an ill-contained rage in the heart of the royalists of the south; it broke out at the news of Waterloo. At Marseilles, beginning with the 25th of June, furious bands had pillaged several houses and massacred the owners who were partisans of the emperor. Others had thrown themselves on the poor quarter where lived a certain number of mamelukes, brought back from Egypt by Napoleon. These unfortunates were butchered together with their wives and children.

From Marseilles the murders and conflagrations spread to Avignon, Carpentras, Nîmes, and Uzès. The 17th of July at Nîmes a small garrison of 200 men, very much hated by the ultras because they had kept up the tricoloured flag until the 15th of July, capitulated before an urban and rural mob. Scarcely had the soldiers surrendered their arms, when the "royal volunteers" shot them down at the end of the muzzle. Crowds of fanatics and

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marauders overran the city during several days, plundering the houses of rich Protestants; several were assassinated.

Murder, devastation, and conflagration overflowed into the country; houses were burned, the olive trees and grape-vines of the "wrong thinkers" were cut down. The royal authorities were powerless or else in league with the movement. Hundreds of persons were arrested on all sides arbitrarily by the marauding bands. The military commander and the under-prefect at Uzès disgraced themselves by delivering up eight of their prisoners to the chief of the assassins at Uzès, called Graffan, who had them shot without the form of a trial, after having massacred a certain number of the inhabitants in their homes.

The reaction reunited all kinds of infamy; obscenity was joined to rapacity and ferocity. On the 15th of August, the day of the fête of the Virgin, at Nîmes the wives of the brigands who ruled in the department of the Gard dragged in the streets the Protestant women they could get hold of, subjecting them to the most dishonourable insults.

The "White Terror" of 1815 exceeded in ignominy the reaction in Thermidor of the year III. It was not, as in the latter, crime against crime, terror after terror. The Hundred Days had seen neither bloodshed nor proscriptions, and the reactionary party of 1815 had nothing to avenge. The worst days of the League were recalled by the alliance of the ultra-aristocracy with the deprived, lazy, and sanguinary populace, which ferments under the feet of the real people, and which statisticians speak of as "the dangerous classes."

Judiciary persecution was soon added to the massacres. The victims who had escaped the knife of the assassin were now to be confronted with the judges of the reaction. The king and the ministers were innocent of the riots and brigandage of the south, which they had not been able to prevent and which they had not the strength to chastise. They seem on the other hand to be responsible before history for the terrible succession of political trials which they ordained. There again, however, they endured rather than inspired to action; not only the whole court, the whole royalist party, but even the foreign powers demanded imperiously that those who were called the "conspirators of March 20th" should be pursued to the utmost. An erroneous appreciation of the facts connected with the "return from the island of Elba" contributed much to incite the second restoration to those deeds of implacable vengeance which gave it such a sanguinary character. The foreigners, like the royalists, imagined that the 20th of March had been the result of an immense conspiracy embracing the whole army and most of the officials. That was the reason of the redoubling of envenomed hatred which the leaders of the coalition felt for the French army. What had been pure impulse was taken to be the result of a plot, and it was not known that the only conspiracy which took place before the 20th of March had a wholly different aim than the re-establishment of the emperor. The foreigners had now but one idea, and that was to do away with Napoleon and the French army and to inspire the French military spirit with a terror, which as they said would insure the repose of Europe.

While the prisons were filling up, while political trials were beginning on all sides, the constitutional government was being reorganised under bad auspices. The peerage was reconstituted by the nomination of ninety-four new peers and declared hereditary. The electoral colleges had been convoked on August 14th. The ordinance of convocation established new rules provisionally. The colleges of the arrondissement were to present

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candidates and the colleges of the department were to name the deputies, half from among the candidates, half from their own free choosing. This was putting the election in the hands of the aristocracy. The age of eligibility was lowered to twenty-five years, that of the electorate to twenty-one, and the number of deputies increased from 253 to 402. All that concerned electoral conditions was to be submitted to revision by the legislative power. The elections were carried out everywhere under the influence of authorities dominated by the ultras and in the south at the point of the dagger. Massacre had begun again at Nimes on the eve of the elections. It was found necessary to occupy four departments of the south with Austrian troops, at the moment when the Protestants were organising to resist the butchery and when civil war was on the point of succeeding assassination.

The elections gave the majority to the ultras. The royal government was placed between the fury of its partisans, whom it could not control, and the menacing demands of the allies who humiliated and oppressed it. Louis XVIII had hoped that after the overthrow of the "usurper" Europe would maintain the treaty of May 30th, 1814, which was already so hard for France. He was very much mistaken. The foreigners, making light of their declarations and their promises, dreamed only of a new dismemberment and of the ruin of France.¹

The ministry was at that moment very near its fall. Fouché was the first to be attacked. The ultras of the provinces had never accepted him, and those of the court, having no more need of him, abandoned him. Wellington's protection sustained him for some time; but he soon felt the impossibility of maintaining himself before the chambers. He resigned and accepted the insignificant post of minister of France at the court of the king of Saxony.²

The whole ministry soon followed him. Furious counter-revolutionary addresses came from a large number of electoral colleges and from general and municipal councils which heralded the storm which would burst at the opening of the chambers. The king gave way to the current which was setting in against the ministry, without difficulty; Talleyrand displeased him as much as Fouché, and, knowing him to be at variance with the emperor Alexander, he saw no reason for keeping him. Talleyrand, having offered his resignation and that of his colleagues more or less sincerely, the king took him at his word. This man, whose egoism had contributed to aggravate the ills of France, was to have nothing more to do with its affairs as long as the restoration lasted.

RICHELIEU THE NEW MINISTER

Along with Talleyrand there retired from the ministry Louis, Pasquin, Jaucourt, and Gouvion-Saint-Cyr. The ministry required to be entirely remodelled; and the king, who had long foreseen the necessity of this step, and who was not sorry for an opportunity of breaking with his revolutionary mentors, immediately authorised Decazes, who had insinuated himself into his entire confidence, to offer the place of president of the council, corresponding to the English premier, to the duke de Richelieu.

[¹ We have already seen in the preceding chapter the results of the treaties of 1815.]

[² Having accepted the trifling and distant embassy to Dresden, Fouché hastened to depart, and left Paris under a disguise which he only changed when he reached the frontier, fearful of being seen in his native land, which he was fated never again to behold. — Guizot.]

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Armand, duc de Richelieu, grand-nephew by his sister of the cardinal of the same name, was grandson of the marshal de Richelieu, so celebrated in the reign of Louis XV as the Alcibiades of France. When called to the ministry, in 1815, he was forty-nine years of age. Consumed from his earliest years, like so many other great men, by an ardent thirst for glory, he had joined the Russian army in 1785, and shared in the dangers of the assault of Ismail under Suvaroff. When the French Revolution rent the nobles and the people of France asunder, he had hastened from the Crimea to join the army of the emigrant noblesse under the prince of Condé, and remained with it till the corps was finally dissolved in 1794. He had then returned to Russia. On the accession of Alexander, Richelieu was selected to carry into execution the philanthropic views which he had formed for the improvement of the southern provinces of his vast dominions.

The progress of the province intrusted to his care was unparalleled, its prosperity unbroken during his administration. To his sagacious foresight and prophetic wisdom Russia owes the seaport of Odessa, the great export town of its southern provinces, which opened to their boundless agricultural plains the commerce of the world. The French invasion of 1812 recalled him from his pacific labours to the defence of the country, and he shared the intimacy and counsels of Alexander during the eventful years which succeeded, till the taking of Paris in 1814. Alternately at Paris, at Vienna, or at Ghent, he had represented his sovereign, and served as a link between the court of Russia and the newly established throne of Louis XVIII.

His character qualified him in a peculiar manner for this delicate task, and now for the still more perilous duty to which he was called—that of standing, like the Jewish lawgiver, between the people and the plague. He was the model of the ancient French nobility, for he united in his person all their virtues, and he was free from their weaknesses. He was considered, alike in the army and in diplomatic circles at home and abroad, as the most pure and estimable character that had arisen during the storms of the Revolution. His fortunate distance from France during so long a period at once preserved him from its dangers, and caused him to be exempt from its delusions. His talents were not of the first order, but his moral qualities were of the purest kind.^g

Treaty of 1815

The first duty of the new minister was to negotiate the treaty with the enemy which was signed on November 20th, 1815. The conditions of the treaty, unfortunately agreed to beyond the necessity of the case, by the pliancy of Talleyrand, and the impatience of the court for the throne at any price, were, however, modified within limits which a statesman might, without being satisfied, submit to. Richelieu, in despair at not being able to obtain more advantageous conditions, still considered them too unfavourable, and obstinately refused to sign them. The king, who saw the chambers, then about to open, disposed to call him to account for his sterile intervention for the pacification of the country, and who saw on the other side Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the powers of the Rhine crushing his people under the devastations of 800,000 men, sent for the Duke de Richelieu, one night, by Decazes, and, bedewing the hand of his prime minister with tears, implored him for the sacrifice which is dearest to a man of honour—that of his name. The duke de Richelieu went away, moved and vanquished by this conference with his unhappy master, and signed the treaty.

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This treaty left France in possession of its frontiers of 1790, as we have seen, with the exception of some unimportant portions of territory enclosed within other states, and of Savoy, a conquest of the Revolution which had been respected by the treaty of 1814. It imposed an indemnity to Europe of 700,000,000 francs for the last war commenced by Napoleon, an armed occupation for five years of 150,000 men, the generalissimo of which was to be nominated by the allied powers, and the fortress to be delivered up to this garrison of security. This occupation might terminate in three years, if Europe considered France sufficiently pacified to offer it moral guarantees of tranquillity. The prisoners of war were to be given up, and the liquidation of the 700,000,000 indemnity was to be effected day by day. Besides this war indemnity, France recognised the principle of the indemnities to be assigned after its liquidation to each power for the ravages, the requisitions, or the confiscations that each of these states had sustained, during the last wars, by the occupation of the French armies. France was further burdened with the pay and the subsistence of the 150,000 men of the army of occupation, left by the allied powers upon its territory. The national penalty incurred by France for Napoleon's return from Elba was, in money, about 1,500,000,000 francs; in national strength, its fortresses; in bloodshed in the field, 60,000 men; and in honour, the disbanding of its army, and a foreign garrison to keep a close watch over an empire in chains. This is what the last aspiration of Bonaparte to the throne and to glory cost his country. Eleven hundred and forty thousand foreign soldiers were at that moment crampling under foot the soil of France.^d

EXECUTION OF MARSHAL NEY AND OTHERS

Among the distinguished victims of royalist fury were Marshal Brune, who was assassinated while on his way to Paris to swear allegiance, and Colonel Labédoyère, whose defection at Grenoble had admitted Napoleon to France from Elba, and who, refusing the opportunities proffered him for escape, was tried and condemned by judges who wept while they condemned him. His last words were, "Fire, my friends," to the soldiers who shot him. The next victim of high distinction was Ney, who had also gone over to Napoleon after joining Louis XVIII. Immediately after the capitulation of Paris he had made his escape with a false name and false passport, but returned and was arrested at the château of Bossonis, among the mountains of Cantal. Curiously enough, he was discovered by means of a Turkish sabre of peculiar form and exquisite workmanship, a present from Napoleon, which he had carelessly left on a table in the salon of the château. General Moncey refused to preside at the military trial, and was imprisoned for three months. Richelieu then accused Ney of treason before the chamber of Peers, in spite of the capitulation of Paris which promised an amnesty for all who took part in the Hundred Days. Ney himself declared: "The article was so entirely protective that I relied on it; but for it, can anyone believe that I would not have died, sword in hand!" The peers disclaimed the capitulation concluded between foreign generals and a provisional government to which the king was a stranger. As a last resort, Ney's counsel pleaded that he was no longer a Frenchman, his birthplace having been detached from France by a recent treaty, but Ney checked him exclaiming: "I am a Frenchman and will die a Frenchman. I am accused in breach of the faith of treaties, and I imitate Moreau. I appeal from Europe to posterity."

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He was nevertheless condemned to die. When his death-warrant was read with its long preamble and his many titles, as duke of Elchingen and prince of the Moskova he broke forth: "Come to the point! say simply Michel Ney soon a little dust." Importunate appeals were made to the king and even to the duke of Wellington, for a commutation of the capital penalty, but in vain.^a

He was not taken to the usual place for military executions (the plain of Grenelle) because a popular rising was feared. They took him from the Luxembourg, where he had been imprisoned, to the avenue de l'Observatoire. A platoon of veterans awaited him there, on the spot where his statue stands to-day. The marshal cried, "I protest before my country against the judgment which condemns me, I appeal to posterity and God. *Vive la France!*" Then, putting his hand on his breast, he called in as firm a voice as though commanding a charge, "Soldiers, straight to the heart."

The commanding officer, awestruck, horrified, had not courage to give the word. A courtier, a colonel on the staff, took his place. The marshal fell riddled with balls (December 7th, 1815). Ney's appeal to posterity has been heard. France has never pardoned the murder of this hero.^f

The death of Ney was one of the greatest faults that the Bourbons ever committed. His guilt was self-evident; never did criminal more richly deserve the penalties of treason. Like Marlborough, he had not only betrayed his sovereign, but he had done so when in high command, and when, like him, he had recently before been prodigal of protestations of fidelity to the cause he undertook. His treachery had brought on his country unheard-of calamities—defeat in battle, conquest by Europe, the dethronement and captivity of its sovereign, occupation of its capital and provinces by 1,100,000 armed men, contributions to an unparalleled amount from its suffering people. Double treachery had marked his career; he had first abandoned in adversity his fellow-soldier, benefactor, and emperor, to take service with his enemy, and, having done so, he next betrayed his trust to that enemy, and converted the power given him into the means of destroying his sovereign. If ever a man deserved death, according to the laws of all civilised countries—if ever there was one to whom continued life would have been an opprobrium—it was Ney. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation. He was in Paris at the time it was concluded—he remained in it on its faith—he fell directly under its word as well as its spirit. To say that it was a military convention, which could not tie up the hands of the king of France, who was no party to it, is a sophism alike contrary to the principles of law and the feelings of honour. If Louis XVIII was not a party to it, he became such by entering Paris, and resuming his throne, the very day after it was concluded, without firing a shot. The throne of the Bourbons would have been better inaugurated by a deed of generosity which would have spoken to the heart of man through every succeeding age, than by the sacrifice of the greatest, though also the most guilty, hero of the empire.^g

Two other generals, Mouton-Duvernet and Chartrand, who had aided Napoleon's re-entrance to Italy, were executed, and Lavalette, who in Alison's phrase "was in civil administration what Marshal Ney had been in military—the great criminal of the Hundred Days," and whose seizure of the post-office had been of greatest assistance to Napoleon, was also condemned, but escaped from prison in his wife's clothes and made his way out of the country with the aid of three Englishmen who underwent three months' imprisonment for their chivalry.^a

DEATH OF MURAT (1815 A.D.)

It is fitting to speak here of the catastrophe which terminated the days of another of the most illustrious companions of Bonaparte's exploits. King Joachim Murat had taken refuge in France, during the Hundred Days, and after the failure of his expedition against Austria. He had not advanced nearer than Provence, when the battle of Waterloo condemned him to a life of exile. After having been twenty times on the point of being arrested, he managed to embark for Corsica. The welcome he received in that island raised his confidence to too high a degree. He dared to entertain the idea of once more ascending the throne of Naples. He set out on this expedition with two hundred and fifty men and six ships. On his way to Naples he met with much disloyalty and received sinister warnings. His resolution wavered; he would have liked to disembark at Trieste and place himself under the protection of Austria, who had offered him hospitality, but contrary winds and also perhaps treacherous advice prevented him from doing this. On October 8th, 1815, he landed at Pizzo, in Calabria, with forty followers. He was the first to leap ashore, was recognised by some peasants, and at first was received with interest. He asked for a guide to conduct him to Monteleone, and a soldier offered his services; but the so-called guide was none other than the colonel of the armed police, who intended to deliver him up to the king. At a certain spot the colonel made a sign to a band of peasants, who fell on Murat and his companions. Murat, after some resistance, sacrificed himself in order to save his friends from the fury of the crowd. Soon a military commission condemned this marvellously intrepid captain to be shot, and he underwent the penalty in that same country where he had so long exercised royal authority.

LA CHAMBRE INTROUVABLE (1815-1816 A.D.)

The chambers, which had been convoked in August, met at Paris, October 16th, 1815. The chamber of deputies, which included an immense majority of royalists, decided on making no compact, and having no transactions with either Bonapartists or Revolutionists. Lainé was elected president. Louis XVIII, seeing it more royalist than he had imagined, christened it by a name it retained — *La Chambre Introuvable*.¹

It began by making exceptional or emergency laws. It forbade seditious cries; suspended, in certain cases, individual liberty. It instituted, on the 5th of December, courts of provosts, composed of a military provost assisted by five civil judges, who went wherever troubles arose, to judge the authors of them summarily. Liberal writers, in protesting against these severities, are wrong in trying to make the chamber of 1815 responsible for the sad conditions which it had not caused. It had, moreover, merits with which it should be credited, combining a fierce independence with pitiless honesty. It abolished divorce, which was struck out of the civil code. It opposed excess of centralisation and all that was contrary to true liberty.

[¹ The chambers opened on October 7th. Louis XVIII, on learning that the elections had been entirely "royalist," had at first appeared very well content thereat, and had let fall a remark which became celebrated: "We have found a *chambre introuvable*." He very soon had cause to regret having "found" it, and the name has had a very different meaning in history than the one he gave it. — MARTIN. The play on words is hard to transfer to English. In effect Louis XVIII said: "We have found (*trouvé*) the thing unfindable (*introuvable*)," that is, a completely royalist chamber in Revolutionary France.]

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The chamber of 1815 did not limit itself to reclaiming for the clergy necessary guarantees and influence. It showed an intemperance in religious zeal that alarmed many. Not content with taking the part, to a legitimate extent, of the men set aside by the Revolution, it appeared animated by a desire of assuring domination to one class to the prejudice of all others. It did not haggler, however, concerning the increased taxes that the cost of the war and the treaty had rendered inevitable, and it created a sinking fund that would some day render these taxes unnecessary. It recognised all public debts without regard to their origin, in spite of opposition from an obstinate faction. The session ended April 25th, 1816, the ministry feeling itself incompetent to act with a chamber it could not control. In this chamber was a group of not inconsiderable men, strangers at first to one another, but tending to unite in forming a constitutional party. The principal were Pasquier, Serre, Barante, Beugnot, Siméon, Saint-Aulaire, Royer-Collard, and Camille Jordan. Although reduced to lie low and adapt themselves to circumstances, reckoning on the passions of those among whom they were thrown, they sought nevertheless to establish the doctrines of parliamentary government conforming to the charter — efforts which gained them the title of *docteurs inaires*.¹

THE DIVISION OF PARTIES

From this moment were formulated the two opposing doctrines which will reappear in the time of Louis Philippe under the name of "constitutional monarchy" and "parliamentary government." The "constitutional" doctrine recognises in the king the right to choose his ministers according to his pleasure, even against the will of the chamber, provided that they do not govern contrary to the constitution; it leaves him master of the executive power, the only real force, and by consequence master of the country; the chambers have no other hold over him than the illusory right to bring the ministers to trial for violation of the constitution. The "parliamentary" doctrine declares the king obliged to take his ministers from the majority; it places the executive power under the domination of the parliament, who may compel its withdrawal by a vote of confidence; it indirectly transfers the sovereignty to the chamber. In 1816 the ultra-royalists were supporting the doctrine of the rights of the parliament against the king, and the liberals were defending the king's prerogatives against the royalists.

On the electoral question the ultras demanded election by two stages, in the canton and the department, and for the electors of the canton the lowering of the qualification to fifty francs; that is to say the extension of the suffrage to nearly two millions of electors; they demanded a numerous chamber, and the complete renewal of the chamber at the end of five years. The king and the liberal minority wished to preserve direct election by a very restricted electoral body (less than 100,000 electors), while exacting a qualification of three hundred francs in taxes; they demanded partial renewal and a reduction of the number of deputies. The electoral law proposed by the ultras was voted by the chamber and rejected by the chamber of peers (March-April, 1816). The ultras also wished to diminish the power of the prefects and to give the local administration to the landowners. The liberals defended the centralisation created by the empire.

Thus the rôles seemed reversed; it was the party of the old régime which wished to weaken the king to the profit of the parliament, to enlarge the electoral body and to increase local self-government; it was the liberal party which was supporting the king's supremacy, the power of the prefects,

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and the limitation of the suffrage. The fact was the parties regarded the political mechanism solely as an instrument for securing power for themselves and were less anxious about the form of government than the direction given to politics: the ultras wished to restore the power to the rural nobility, who, through the fifty-franc electors, would have been masters of the

chamber, in order to re-establish an aristocratic régime; the liberals were anxious to preserve the supremacy to the king, the prefects, and the three-hundred-franc electors, because they were known to be favourable to the maintenance of the social order to which the Revolution had given birth.

Louis XVIII, supported by the foreign governments, retained his ministers and resisted the chamber; he began by closing the session (April, 1816) and, without again convoking it, dissolved it in September. For the future chamber the ordinance of dissolution re-established the number of 258 deputies as in 1814. The king, by a simple ordinance, changed the composition of the chamber; it was a *coup d'état*, analogous to that of 1830. To make sure of the chamber of peers he created new peers, ex-generals and officials of the empire. During this struggle between the king and the chamber, the party of the tricolour flag, reduced to nine deputies, had taken no direct action. The plots



LOUIS XVIII
(1755-1824)

to overturn the monarchy (Didier's at Grenoble, the "patriots" at Paris) were merely isolated attempts unknown to the party or disavowed by it.^c

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF SEPTEMBER 5th, 1816

The king had finally made up his mind. The secret was well guarded. A royal ordinance published September 5th, 1816, surprised the ultras like a thunderbolt. It declared that none of the articles of the charter under discussion should be revised and that the chamber was dissolved. To the cries of fury that rose from the aristocratic Faubourg Saint-Germain, responded an explosion of public joy that recalled the 9th Thermidor; people kissed each other in the streets. In the ensuing elections a majority of the upper middle class and of the officials replaced the majority of *grands seigneurs* of the old régime and the provincial nobles who had dominated the *chambre introuvable*. The attempt at restoring the old régime had miscarried; what followed was a first attempt at a bourgeois monarchy by an understanding between the bourgeoisie and the legitimatists.^f

It is worthy of observation how early the French nation, after they had attained the blessing, had shown themselves unfitted, either from character

[1815-1816 A.D.]

or circumstances, for the enjoyment of constitutional government. After the overthrow of Napoleon, scarcely a year had passed which was not marked by some *coup d'état*, or violent infringement by the sovereign, of the constitution. The restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 was immediately attended by the creation of sixty peers on the royalist side, and the exclusion of as many from the democratic; this was followed, within four years, by the creation of as many on the liberal. The whole history of England prior to 1832 could only present one instance of a similar creation, and that was of twelve peers only, in 1713, to carry through the infamous project of impeaching the duke of Marlborough. It was threatened to be repeated, indeed, during the heat of the reform contest; but the wise advice of the duke of Wellington prevented such an irretrievable wound being inflicted on the constitution. The French chamber of deputies was first entirely remodelled, and 133 new members added to its numbers, by a simple royal ordinance in 1815; and again changed — the added members being taken away, and the suffrage established on a uniform and highly democratic basis — by another royal ordinance, issued, by the sole authority of the king, the following year. Changes, on alternately the one side or the other, greater than were accomplished in England by the whole legislature in two centuries, were carried into execution in France in the very outset of its constitutional career, by the sole authority of the king, in two years.

What is still more remarkable, and at first sight seems almost unaccountable, every one of those violent stretches of regal power was done in the interest, and to gratify the passions, of the majority at the moment. The royalist creation of peers in 1815, the democratic addition of sixty to their numbers in 1819, the addition of 133 members to the chamber of deputies in the first of these years, their withdrawal, and the change of the electoral law by the *coup d'état* on September 5th, 1816, were all done to conciliate the feelings, and in obedience to the fierce demand, of the majority. That these repeated infringements of the constitution in so short a time, and in obedience to whatever was the prevailing cry of the moment, would prove utterly fatal to the stability of the new institutions, and subversive of the growth of anything like real freedom in the land, was indeed certain, and has been abundantly proved by the event.

But the remarkable thing is that, such as they were, and fraught with these consequences, they were all loudly demanded by the majority; and the power of the crown was exerted only to pacify the demands which in truth it had not the means of resisting.

The royal ordinance of September 5th dissolving the *chambre introuvable* also announced that another chamber, less numerous, composed of only 250 deputies, would be immediately elected by the electoral corporations. A provisionary electoral law, the work of Lainé, who had replaced Vaublanc as minister of the interior, fixed the bounds of the departments, of which the numbers were diminished. Deputies were required to be at least forty years of age, and their taxes must amount to 1,000 francs. The measure was a bold one. It caused great excitement among the ultras, and was the subject of violent recriminations, above all from Châteaubriand,^m who had constituted himself the mouthpiece of the Bourbons in his work "*La Monarchie selon la Charte*," but who mingled with very exalted ideas concerning constitutional government equally absurd ones born of an ill-regulated imagination. However, his exaggerations often missed their aim. The royalist party remonstrated and submitted.

THE NEW CHAMBER (1816-1818)

The new chamber opened its session on the 4th of November, 1816. Many members of the preceding one were there, but the general feeling was no longer the same. The doctrinaires, on whom Decazes relied, returned stronger and better grouped.

The first law to be made was an electoral one. Lainé presented a project which would abolish the two degrees of election; establish direct election by all tax-payers paying three hundred francs taxes, and substitute for a general election renewal by one-fifth. The charter declared, without directly specifying anything, that all tax-payers paying three hundred francs might be electors. The object of the law was to create an important electoral body to the number of about 100,000 members possessing guarantee of fortune, conservative interest and intelligence generally, of what was called the middle class, in contradistinction to the aristocracy. By this partial renewal they hoped, by keeping the chamber *au courant* with the changes of public opinion, to avoid those brusque changes which might agitate the country and transform legislative spirit too suddenly.

After a discussion, the details of which furnish curious reading to-day, showing how very different ideas on this subject were in those days, the law was passed in both chambers, but by a very feeble majority (January 30th, 1817).

The financial scheme of Corvetto was voted. Opponents were quieted by the grant of 4,000,000 francs to the clergy as compensation for the forest land which it was wished to give as pledge for a loan. The budget, compiled with great care and resting on a large sinking fund, assured the financial future of the country. Credit, until that time paralysed, again revived. The dividends rose from fifty-four to sixty francs, and a loan, the most considerable ever raised, was obtained to hasten the liberation of state lands. The foreign houses of Baring and Hope undertook it, at the rate of fifty-five francs. No banks in France were at that time sufficiently powerful to do this alone.

Order and calm seemed to be re-established. But the inclemency of the weather and a very bad harvest caused profound misery. There were disturbances in several market towns, but no serious trouble occurred except at Lyons, where three assassinations took place on the same day, June 8th, and there, coinciding with risings in several neighbouring villages, were taken as a signal for revolt. The authorities, however, who were quite ready, had foreseen the disorders and took vigorous measures. The national guard was disarmed. The court of provosts pronounced many condemnations. The elections of 1817 brought to the chamber a group of liberals, such as Laffitte, Voyer d'Argenson, Dupont de l'Eure, and Casimir Périer. They were dubbed "the independents." The important question of this session was the re-organisation of the army. Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, having replaced the duke de Feltre as minister of war (because the latter was lacking in initiative) made an excellent law which became the base of the French military system. This law consisted of three parts: (1) forced recruitment; (2) a reserve made up of former sub-officers; (3) fixed rules for promotion. Gouvion-Saint-Cyr defended his law with vigour and obtained a complete success. The chambers joined with him in the homage he rendered the French troops — homage which the marshals supported with their authority and Châteaubriand with his eloquence. It was really a reconciliation of the Restoration and the army. It was also a decisive step towards

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removing foreign troops which were no longer necessary to defend France against herself.

The chambers approved, moreover, the figure at which foreign credit had been regulated by diplomacy. Richelieu had long had a fixed idea — that of obtaining the evacuation before the five years which had been stipulated for in the treaty of 1815. Thanks to his activity, the sovereigns, united in conference at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), signed, on the 9th of October, a declaration announcing the departure of their troops for the 30th of November. A loan of 141,000,000 francs, issued at sixty-seven per cent. and raised by public subscription, allowed the indemnities to be paid.

Richelieu now considered his task ended, and thought only of retiring. When the elections of November, 1818, returned La Fayette, Manuel, and other liberals of the Hundred Days, he was alarmed at the results of the electoral law, and resolved to change it. But after vain efforts to find colleagues and draw up a common programme, he retired on the 2nd of December. He was succeeded by Decazes who composed a ministry of constitutionalists. A remarkable journalistic war ensued.

THE MINISTRY OF DECAZES

Decazes, so hostile to the ultras, was not a liberal. He was the man of that system of balance (*balance*) or the “see-saw,” as it has been called, which consists in keeping the balance between parties and in giving the government the greatest possible authority but using it with caution.

Decazes saw himself more involved with the liberals than he wished to be, and these became exacting. The royalists, even such moderates as Lainé and Roy, gave him little sympathy. They were alarmed at seeing successive elections introduce into parliament men who, while professing attachment to the Bourbons, put certain absolute principles above fidelity to their king.

The chamber of peers pronounced in favour of the re-establishment of the electoral law of two degrees. Decazes, still using his ministerial prerogative, on the 6th of March formed a batch of sixty-one new peers, of whom half were chosen from among the peers unseated in 1815, or from the marshals, generals, and ministers of the empire. Thus he re-opened the doors of government to the most noted men who had been excluded, and so tried to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. The ministry passed several laws that were liberal enough, among others three laws regarding the press, which are still the basis of actual French laws, although experience has since shed light on many points. The Restoration arrived at the happy result of doing away with exceptional laws — a result which no government had before obtained. While giving proof of liberalism the ministry, nevertheless, on certain points made a firm stand against revolutionary exactions, stoutly rejecting an organised petition for the recall of regicides and exile.

Thus in spite of apparent agitations — the necessary consequence of a free government — in spite of frequent struggles between the tribune and the press, in spite of a certain re-awakening of parties and a spirit of fermentation reigning in the schools, France had a renaissance to prosperity. One could look forward with more confidence to the future. The budget was found. With the abandonment of exceptional laws revolutionary traces began to disappear. The new laws seemed to echo public wishes; minds gradually became habituated to a free government. The certitude of order, the freeing of lands, the re-opening of foreign markets, all tended to prosperity. Work abounded. Agriculture and industry took a new flight, putting to

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full use scientific discoveries and particularly that of steam. The movement which was taking place was analogous to that of the first days of the consulate. Decazes reinstated on a wider basis councils to discuss agriculture, manufactures, and commerce generally. He opened an industrial exhibition, and at the same time an exhibition of painting. Strangers flocked to Paris, especially the English.

The elections of 1819 were, like the preceding ones, favourable to the liberals. The return of the regicide abbé Grégoire for Grenoble by a manoeuvre hostile to the ministry caused a scandal. The deputies, however, took advantage of the irregularity of the election to refuse admission to the candidate.

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE DE BERRI AND ITS RESULTS (1820 A.D.)

Matters stood thus, when, on the 13th of February, 1820, the duke de Berri [the second in succession to the crown] was assassinated by a fanatic named Louvel as he was coming from the opera. This frightful crime surprised people generally, and produced an outburst of royalist fury.

In the midst of the general confusion, those even who must have been the most deeply affected by it, sought to find the triumph of their party in this outrage. From early the following morning, Decazes, the principal author of the unpopular decree of September 5th, was spoken of in most severe terms. He was blamed, as minister of the interior, and therefore responsible for the safety of the state, for not having kept watch over the dangers which surrounded the prince. One of the daily newspapers, *Le Drapeau blanc*, hurled the most abominable accusations against the minister. The assassination of the prince was represented as the result of a vast conspiracy covering the whole of Europe, which was in favour of a policy beneficial to the enemies of royalty. They pretended that his royal highness, the duke de Berri, had fallen a victim to the aversion he had always shown to a policy which insured neither the honour nor the safety of his family. On the benches of the Left, the sorrow was great; a presentiment of the fatal consequence to liberty was added to the horror of the crime.

M. Clausel de Coussergues ascended the tribune and in a loud voice uttered these words: "Gentlemen, there is no law referring to the mode of accusing ministers, but the nature of such an act warrants its taking place in a public meeting and before the representatives of France; I propose therefore before the chamber, the impeachment of M. Decazes, minister of the interior, as accomplice in the assassination of his royal highness, the duke de Berri, and I claim permission to explain my proposition." A cry of indignation broke out from every part of the house. De Labourdonnais ascended the tribune and in his turn said that he could only see the instrument of an infamous party in the obscure assassin, who without personal hatred, without ambition, had struck down the descendant of kings — him whose duty it was to continue the race; this deed being committed with the intention, openly admitted, of preventing its perpetuation. He asked for strong measures to destroy in its infancy such execrable fanaticism, and once more to stifle the revolutionary spirit which an iron hand had suppressed for so long; the unscrupulous writers whose unpunished doctrines had provoked the most odious crimes should be especially severely dealt with.

In the meanwhile the chiefs of the liberal party came to hear of the sombre agitation which reigned at court. They felt torn between the hor-

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roi of the exceptional laws and the fear of seeing the fall of a minister, victim of his devotion to the charter. The duke de Richelieu obstinately refused the court's appeal to re-enter the ministry. He was more hurt than anyone at the charges made against a young minister of whose goodness of heart he was thoroughly convinced.

This heart-breaking state of affairs seemed likely to prolong itself. Decazes insisted upon retiring; the king conferred a dukedom upon him, and made him ambassador to London. The duke de Richelieu's resistance was overcome; and he was again nominated president of the council, but would not accept any particular department.^h

From this moment the liberal party loses the direction of affairs. Power is going to pass into the hands of royalists, and France, attacked almost continuously by a series of anti-national measures, destroying its liberty, will not emerge from the retrograde path into which a rash hand has thrust her except in overturning the throne upon the torn charter.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

The largest part of Europe was at that time in a state of violent effervescence and the celebrated prediction, "The French Revolution will make the round of the world," was being fulfilled.^j

A revolution at the same time burst out in Spain. Ferdinand, the basest of poltroons and cruelest of tyrants, had refused the reforms he had sworn to introduce. The constitution of 1812 (an imitation of the French constitution of 1791) was proclaimed. The example was followed by Naples, which had a similar king to complain of. The states of the church threw off the hated yoke of the cross-keys and the three-crowned hat, and Benevento and Pontecorvo declared themselves republics. Piedmont was not left behind in its fight for freedom (1820). A cry was heard even at the extreme east of Europe for a new life and a resuscitation of ancient glories. It came from Greece, which for centuries had been trampled down by the brutal and utterly irreclaimable Turks; and, in fact, an outcry for change and improvement arose from all the nations which had aided or even wished the fall of Napoleon. The countrymen of Miltiades were favourably regarded, or at least not forcibly repressed, by the classical potentates — who, besides, were not displeased at the commencement of the dismemberment of Turkey; but the Neapolitans, Romans, and Piedmontese had no dead and innocuous Demosthenes to plead their cause, and the armies of Austria were employed in extinguishing the hopes of freedom from Turin to Naples.^k

In France individual liberty was suspended, the censorship re-established, and the "double vote" instituted in order to make political influence pass into the hands of the large land-owners who voted twice, with the department and the arrondissement. The birth of the duke de Bordeaux, posthumous son of the duke de Berri (Sept. 29th, 1820), and the death of Napoleon (May 5th, 1821), augmented the hopes of the ultra-royalists, which brought Villèle and Corbière into the ministry.^l

THE CONGREGATION AND THE JESUITS

At the same time an occult power was taking hold of the court, of the chambers, and of all branches of public administration.

For ten years men of sincere piety like Montmorency and the abbé Legris-Duval had formed an influential society in France, whose primary

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object had been to perform good works and acts prescribed by a fervent devotion. The Restoration opened the political field for their society, which, imbued with the ultramontane and other royalist principles under the patronage of Polignac and Rivière, became the most redoubtable obstacle to the ministries of Desazes and Richelieu. Generally designated by the name of "Congregation," it allied itself with the Jesuits. The latter, not being allowed to live in France in the capacity of members of their order, again established their power in the state under the name of "Fathers of the Faith."

From the moment when they began to direct the Congregation, intrigue exercised a sovereign influence over it and a crowd of ambitious men made their way into it. Montrouge, whither the Jesuits had transferred the place of residence for their novices, became the centre for all the schemes of the court and church against the charter and French institutions. The Jesuits had powerful supporters even in the royal family; and Louis XVIII constantly assailed by petitions in their favour, consented to tolerate them, although without recognising their existence as legal. The Jesuits founded schools called *petits séminaires*, in which children of the most distinguished families of the realm were placed; they dominated the court, the church, the majority in the chamber. Missionaries, affiliated with the Congregation and imbued with its doctrines, traversed the kingdom. Almost everywhere they were the occasion or the involuntary cause of strange disorders.

The French unfortunately blamed religion for the scandals of those who outraged while they invoked her; they were seized with indignation against her on account of the shameful yoke which had roused their anger, and it was necessary to have recourse to force to protect the missionaries against the infuriated populace. At Paris, at Brest, at Rouen, in all the great towns, they preached under the protection of swords and bayonets, and men beheld the spectacle of priests calling down the chastisements of human justice on those whom they had been unable to convince by the authority of their words.

THE CARBONARI

Parallel to the Congregation grew another secret society absolutely different. This was that of the Carbonari,¹ or "Charbonnerie," which, stamped out in Italy, took root in France and established there its methods of organisation and conspiracy. La Fayette and his friends joined it, and Carbonarism spread rapidly, its members uniting with another secret association in the west under the title of "Knights of Liberty." La Fayette thought that if an insurrection succeeded, a constituent assembly would choose between a republic and a constitutional monarchy. It was scarcely practicable to think of a revolution while the country was so unsettled.

The Carbonari made preparations for a double military and popular rising in Alsace and the west. The second of these plots, which was to break out at Saumur, was discovered by accident and many pupils in the military college of this town were arrested. The Carbonari hoped for better success in Alsace. La Fayette went secretly to direct the movement personally. The Belfort garrison was to rise on the night of the 1st of January,

[¹ The word *carbonari* means in Italian "charcoal-makers," and the name rose from the prevalence of charcoal-making in the mountainous regions of Italy where the malcontents gathered and organised into secret societies, using terms from the charcoal trade as well as from Christian ritual for their passwords. As Lamartine said: "Carbonarism, the origin of which is lost in the night of the Middle Ages, like freemasonry, of which it was by turns the ally and the enemy, was a sort of Italian Jacobinism."]

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1822. There, again, a misunderstanding divulged the plot to the military authorities some hours earlier. The officers and non-commissioned officers who were compromised escaped, and La Fayette, who was not far off, was warned in time.

The oppressive laws voted by the Right were the cause of fresh plots among the Carbonari. The movement which had failed at Saumur was tried again. A retired general, Berton, raised the tricolour flag at Thouars and marched to Saumur at the head of a little body of insurgents. The inhabitants of the places through which he passed showed indecision. He reckoned on the national guard at Saumur and on the pupils of the military school, but these, when they saw so small a force, did not stir. Berton's companions dispersed; he himself hid in the country, hoping for better success another time (February 24th). For the third time the Saumur plot was set going, but this time its execution did not even arrive at a beginning. General Berton, betrayed by a non-commissioned officer who had really only joined the Carbonari to betray them, was arrested in the country with two of his friends (June 17th).

A retired officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Caron, tried to revive the movement in Alsace. There the authorities carried out their former action on a larger scale. They introduced Canuel's method at Lyons. Caron was allowed perfect freedom of action. On the 2nd of July a squadron of mounted lancers came from Colmar and put themselves under Caron's orders; a second squadron soon rejoined the first. They made for Mülhausen, crying "*Vive Napoleon II! A bas les Bourbons!*" Suddenly, towards dusk, when at some distance from Mülhausen, officers in disguise who led the pretended insurrection, gave the signal: Caron was seized, and, the next day, taken back to Colmar gagged, to cries of "*Vive le roi!*"

Berton and his accomplices were brought before the court at Poitiers. The procureur-général, Mangin, in the writ of accusation, denounced La Fayette and the principal leaders of the Left, including many who were quite strangers to Carbonarism, as General Foy, Benjamin Constant, and Laffitte the banker. These latter were indignant and demanded an investigation. La Fayette himself showed no indignation but only proud contempt, though he supported the demand for an investigation. This was not granted.

The procureur-général answered the demand of the deputies with insult, and in the trial of the case at Poitiers shamefully outraged the accused. The prosecution employed the language of 1815. The Poitiers jury, composed wholly of ultras and émigrés, condemned Berton and the greater number of those accused with him. Berton and two others were executed. A fourth committed suicide (October 5th).

Lieutenant-Colonel Caron had been executed a few days before at Colmar. The details of his case had raised a storm of reprobation; the army was dishonoured; whole squadrons had been made to play the part of government spies in the midst of the people of Alsace.

Another affair which had excited exceptional interest had ended the month before. This was the case of the "four sergeants of Rochelle"—Lories, Goubin, Pommier, and Raoul. These four young men, enrolled amongst the Carbonari, had been arrested for a plot in which they had joined with certain men not in the army, and brought before the tribunal in Paris. Their age, their bearing, and generous sentiments had touched public opinion. There had been no beginning of carrying the plot into effect on their part, but they were, all the same, condemned to death. "France

will judge us!" said Bories, the one of them most remarkable by his intelligence and character.

La Fayette and his friends did their utmost, but in vain, to insure the escape of these four condemned men. They were executed the 21st of September. A great display of military force rendered useless every attempt on the part of the Carbonari to save them. They died crying, "*Vive la liberté!*" That same evening a grand birthday fête was given at the Tuilleries for the duke de Berri's daughter. The contrast produced a sinister effect. The memory of the four Rochelle sergeants has remained popular from among all those of the political victims of this time. Every year, on *le jour des morts* [All Souls' Day], the Parisians cover with flowers and wreaths the tomb erected to them in the cemetery of Mont-Parnasse after the revolution of 1830.

Many other malcontents had been put to death and numbers of others had suffered severe penalties. This was the end of the bloody executions of the Restoration. Carbonarism was discouraged and in fact dissolved. The struggle against the Restoration took other forms.

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE AND THE SPANISH CRUSADE (1821-1823 A.D.)

At the opening of the session of 1821 the Congregation redoubled its efforts against Richelieu's ministry. The liberals felt obliged to unite with the ultra-royalists to overturn the cabinet, in the dangerous hope that the majority, if it came to the head of affairs, would perish as in 1815 through its own excesses. The address in the chamber, composed by that majority, was hostile and insulting to the monarch. Richelieu having demanded new restrictions of the press, the royalists, whose most immediate interest was to vanquish him, pretended a great horror of the censorship, an ardent zeal for the liberty he was attacking. The position of the ministry was no longer tenable, and it retired on December 15th, 1821, after twenty-three months of existence.

Madame du Cayla, a woman whose patronage favoured the associate of the Congregation, and who kept Louis XVIII under the charms of her fascination up to the end of his days, was not a stranger to the foundation of the new cabinet, the most influential members of which were Peyronnet, keeper of the seals; Villèle, minister of finance; Corbière, minister of the interior. The viscount Mathieu de Montmorency had received the portfolio of foreign affairs, and the duke de Bellune [formerly the Napoleonic marshal Victor], that of war. Villèle already exercised a great influence in the council and soon became its chief. His fortune had been rapid; endowed with a great talent for intrigue and with a remarkable capacity for affairs, he had neither the lofty views of a statesman nor force of character sufficient to escape the influence of a faction whose fatal blindness he deplored. In a word, he thought he could fight against the sympathies and the political and moral demands of a great people, by means of ruse and corruption. The Congregation understood that it could dominate in spite of him, while the nomination of the pious viscount de Montmorency assured its triumph. Its allies immediately took possession of the offices and seized the prominent posts of every ministry.

From that moment the chamber of deputies and the government marched hand in hand towards a counter-revolution. The Jesuits first attacked their most serious enemy, the university, by causing the courses given by Cousin and Guizot to be suppressed (1822). To intimidate the press a law was

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made which made it possible to bring suit not for one particular offence, but for the general tendency of opinion of a journal. Royer-Colard who was not a revolter, described the situation in a word: "The government is in a sense the inverse of society."¹

The victors of 1814 and 1815, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had formed the "Holy Alliance" for the purpose of smothering, to their common advantage, the ideas of liberty which the Revolution had thrown into the world, and which were fermenting everywhere. They were violently repressed in Germany, Naples, and Piedmont, and the French government, which had just prevented their return by laws and punishments, received from the congress of Verona (1822) a strange task.¹

To try the firmness of Louis XVIII in support of the monarchic cause, the sovereigns assembled at Verona committed to France the task of putting down the Spanish liberals who still maintained their constitution of 1812, and reinstating Ferdinand on his absolute throne.¹

A hundred thousand men crossed the Pyrenees (1823) under the command of the duke d'Angoulême,² and were joined by the remains of a Catholic army called the "army of the faith," which the priests and other absolutists had raised in defence of the irresponsible crown.

These allies brought more dishonour and dislike on the invading forces, by their cruelty and insubordination, than were compensated for by their numbers or moral weight in the country. The cortes carried Ferdinand in honourable durance with them to Seville.

Angoulême entered Madrid, and, after heroic resistance on the part of Mina, Quiroga and Ballasteros, succeeded in the object of his mission [as has been already described at length in the history of Spain]. The constitutional regency was dissolved, and a loose given to the feuds and passions of the triumphant army of the faith. But Angoulême was a French gentleman, and not a Spanish butcher. He bridled the lawlessness of both mob and army, and placed the late rebels, and all who were suspected of disaffection, under the protection of French tribunals and impartial law. Impartiality in the eyes of the Spanish enthusiasts was worse than hostility; and a royalist insurrection was with difficulty prevented against the protectors of royalty, since they would not condescend to be also the oppressors of the people.

At length the struggle came to an end. The king was liberated, freedom withdrawn, and a frantic mob received their monarch when he returned to his capital with cries of "Long live the absolute king! Death to the liberals! Perish the nation!" By an unfortunate coincidence, though perhaps designed by his admirers, the duke d'Angoulême made his entry into Paris on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2nd, 1823). The arch of triumph, which forms so splendid a termination to the view from the Tuileries, had been left uncompleted on the downfall of Napoleon; but wooden scaffoldings were raised on the unfinished walls, painted carpets were suspended from the top, and the arch itself garlanded with laurels. The ridicule, however, was not of the duke's seeking, and even Béranger spared him for the sake of his moderation and love of justice.

[¹ Such a policy was repugnant to the liberal party in France, and throughout Europe; but military glory has ever rallied the French people round their rulers whether royal or republican. For a time the monarchy was strengthened by this success; but the pretensions of the royalists were dangerously encouraged. France had accepted the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance; and her rulers were to become yet more defiant of the principles of the Revolution. — ENRIQUE MARX.]

[² The duke d'Angoulême was the son of the heir to the throne, the count d'Artois.]

The monarchy appeared strengthened for a while by the Spanish crusade,¹ and the minister, Villèle, thought he might venture on the introduction of various measures.

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE

Villèle carried out the traditional administration of his predecessors. As to politics, he wanted to steer clear of emergency laws and expedients. He proposed a press law — no longer preventive, but repressive, and more severe than that of 1819 — transferring from the jury to the magistracy the judgment of the greater number of law-suits and multiplying penalties of suspension and suppression of the newspapers.

Count Molé, who had acquired in his high offices a profound knowledge of the administration, of government and men generally, said to the peers: "Those institutions which would have prevented the Revolution of 1789 are now the only methods of ending it." Without a press and publicity all sorts of abuses would be possible. Other peers supported these ideas. The chamber, in voting for the project, introduced important amendments. Although the government could thenceforth count on success, Villèle continued to exercise power without too much demonstration. He had a great end in view, a vast financial operation, destined to end the debate on the national lands. He flattered himself that he would thus forever destroy one of the most irritating causes of the struggles and reiriminations of opposite parties, and proudly believed himself destined to put an end to revolution. But he was not yet sure of support from the chamber of deputies, mutilated by the resignation of the Left, and influential members of the Right kept a most independent attitude. He obtained a decree of dissolution from the king on December 24th, and made every possible effort to get deputies favourable to himself elected in the following January.

Assured henceforth of a loyal majority, Villèle resolved to keep it, and govern for several years without fresh elections. With this object he formulated a law which made the government septennial — the only way, he urged, to give it a spirit of continuity and cut short the uncertainty of majorities which annual elections constantly raised. He met with much opposition, some urging very reasonably the inconvenience of general elections which disturbed the whole country and threatened it with changes otherwise perfect. Royer-Collard, however, went a little too far when he declared that representative government ought to be an organised mobility. Opinions were very diverse, but as the deputies were as interested as the minister in passing the bill it was passed.

Villèle then advanced a project for the conversion of five per cent. stock to three per cent., offering fund-holders a diminution of income with an augmentation of capital. Government bonds were at par, a proof of public prosperity and definitively established confidence; this was a necessary condition of the measure. His idea was to obtain a thousand million francs, which he intended to employ in indemnities to émigrés whose estates had been confiscated during the Revolution. The financial side of the project was skilfully planned; but competent financiers opposed it, and orators on the Left, judging from another point of view, reproached him with destroy-

[¹There had been some resistance to the vote of a hundred million francs for the war, and one deputy named Manuel had been dragged out of the chamber by the *gendarmes* for opposing intervention in the Spanish quarrel, in a speech which was taken to be of regicidal spirit. The entire Left, including La Fayette, Foy, Casimir-Périer, and fifty-nine others, departed from the chamber and did not return.]

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ing under pretext of consolidating the work of the Revolution, and of making a retrograde act. Villèle adjourned his project, but did not renounce it.

The ministry lacked necessary homogeneity. The decided character of Corbière was cause of dispute. Châteaubriand, who affected independence, and rendered himself insupportable to everyone and particularly to the court by his desire to outshine and his immense self-esteem, was dismissed June 6th. To please the clergy, Villèle created a Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction, and gave the post to a prelate.

After the close of the session on August 4th, he re-established the censorship. He was obliged to buy over papers to defend his policy, and he overwhelmed those who attacked him with law-suits. Neither the ordinary law court nor the superior courts had condemned as frequently or as severely as he desired.

MISSION ON THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XVIII

During this year Louis XVIII lived, but did not reign. His mission was accomplished; his work was done. The reception of the duke d'Angoulême and his triumphant host at the Tuileries was the last real act of his eventful career; thenceforward the royal functions, nominally his own, were in reality performed by others. It must be confessed he could not have terminated his reign with a brighter ray of glory. The magnitude of the services he rendered to France can only be appreciated by recollecting in what state he found, and in what he left it. He found it divided, he left it united; he found it overrun by conquerors, he left it returning from conquest; he found it in slavery, he left it in freedom; he found it bankrupt, he left it in affluence; he found it drained of its heart's blood, he left it teeming with life; he found it overspread with mourning, he left it radiant with happiness. An old man had vanquished the Revolution; he had done that which Robespierre and Napoleon had left undone.

He had ruled France, and showed that it could be ruled without either foreign conquest or domestic blood. Foreign bayonets had placed him on the throne, but his own wisdom maintained him on it. Other sovereigns of France may have left more durable records of their reign, for they have written them in blood, and engraven them in characters of fire upon the minds of men; but none have left so really glorious a monument of their rule, for it was written in the hearts, and might be read in the eyes, of his subjects.

This arduous and memorable reign, however, so beset with difficulties, so crossed by obstacles, so opposed by faction, was now drawing to a close. His constitution, long oppressed by a complication of disorders, the result in part of the constitutional disorders of his family, was now worn out. Unable to carry on the affairs of state, sinking under the load of government, he silently relinquished the direction to De Villèle and the count d'Artois, who really conducted the administration of affairs. Madame du Cayla was the organ by whose influence they directed the royal mind. [Louis said to one of his ministers, "My brother is impatient to squander my realm. I hope he will remember that if he does not change, the soil will tremble beneath him." On his death-bed he warned his brother against the royalists, painted for him in words feeble and broken the difficulties of his reign, the means of escaping the reefs that a too great exaltation of royalist opinion could produce, and added, "Do as I have done and you will arrive at the same peaceful and tranquil end."—*CATEFIGUE.*]

Though abundant^{ly} sensible of the necessity of the support of religion to the maintenance of his throne, and at once careful and respectful in its out-

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ward observances, Louis was far from being a bigot, and in no way the slave of the Jesuits, who in his declining days had got possession of his palace. In secret, his opinions on religious subjects, though far from sceptical, were still farther from devout: he had never surmounted the influence of the phisicophers who, when he began life, ruled general opinion in Paris. He listened to the suggestions of the priests, when they were presented to him from the charming lips of Madame du Cayla; but he never permitted themselves any nearer approach to his person.

At length the last hour approached. The extremities of the king became cold, and symptoms of mortification began to appear; but his mind continued as distinct, his courage as great as ever. He was careful to conceal his most dangerous symptoms from his attendants. "A king of France," said he, "may die, but he is never ill;" and around his death-bed he received the foreign diplomatists and officers of the national guard, with whom he cheerfully conversed upon the affairs of the day. "Love each other," said the dying monarch to his family, "and console yourselves by that affection for the disasters of our house. Providence has replaced us upon the throne; and I have succeeded in maintaining you on it by concessions which, without weakening the real strength of the crown, have secured for it the support of the people. The Charter is your best inheritance; preserve it entire, my brothers, for me, for our subjects, for yourselves;" then stretching out his hand to the duke de Bordeaux who was brought to his bedside, he added, "and also for this dear child, to whom you should transmit the throne after my children are gone. May you be more wise than your parents."

Louis XVIII, who thus paid the debt of nature, after having sat for ten years on the throne of France, during the most difficult and stormy period in its whole annals, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. Alone of all the sovereigns who have ruled its destinies since the Revolution, he succeeded in conducting the government without either serious foreign war or domestic overthrow. In this respect he was more fortunate, or rather more wise, than either Napoleon, Charles X, or Louis Philippe; for the first kept his seat on the throne only by keeping the nation constantly in a state of hostility, and the last two lost their crowns mainly by having attempted to do without it. He was no common man who at such a time, and with such people, could succeed in effecting such a prodigy. Louis Philippe aimed at being the Napoleon of peace; but Louis XVIII really was so, and succeeded so far that he died the king of France. The secret of his success was, that he entirely accommodated himself to the temper of the times. He was the man of the age — neither before it, like great, nor behind it, like little men. Thus he succeeded in steering the vessel of the state successfully through shoals which would have in all probability stranded a man of a greater or less capacity. The career of Napoleon illustrated the danger of the first, that of Charles X the peril of the last. *g*

LAMARTINE'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS XVIII

The natural cast of his mind, cultivated, reflective, but quick withal, stored with recollections, rich in anecdotes, ripe with philosophy, full of reading, ready at quotation, but by no means of a pedantic character, placed him at that period on a level with the most celebrated geniuses and literary men of his age. Châteaubriand had not more elegance. Talleyrand more fancy, or Madame de Staël more brilliancy.

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Since the sappers of Potsdam, the cabinet of a prince had never been the sanctuary of more philosophy, more literature, more wit, and more lively sallies. Louis XVIII would have served for a king of Athens equally as well as a king of Paris; for his nature was Grecian more than French, universal, elastic, artistic, delicate, graceful, feminine, sceptical, somewhat corrupted by the age, but if not capable of doing everything, capable at least of understanding and expressing everything with propriety. Such, without any flattery, was the mind of Louis XVIII. His intimacy with Madame du Cayla, which her wit and allurements made every day more necessary to his heart, was no longer a mystery to anyone. But Madame du Cayla was not merely the affectionate friend and comforter of the king; she was the confidential minister, and the secret negotiator of a triple, or quadruple intrigue. An emissary of the clerical party, like Madame de Maintenon, in the cabinet of the king, the pledge and the instrument of favour for the houses of La Rochefoucauld and Montmorency; the hidden link between the policy of the count d'Artois and the heart of his royal brother, and finally, the intermediate agent between Villèle, the clerical party, the count d'Artois, and the king himself; she was the multiplied connection between these four diversified influences, the accordance of which formed and maintained the harmony of the government. No woman ever had so many and such delicate strings of intrigue and policy to manage in the same hand.

Posterity, when it approaches too closely the memory of a deceased monarch, is influenced in its judgment of that memory by the prejudices, the partialities, and the party-feelings which prevailed during his life; and by those posthumous feelings the reign of Louis XVIII has been hitherto judged. Almost all men were equally interested in misrepresenting, depreciating, and lessening the merit of his life and person. The partisans of the empire had to avenge themselves upon him for the fall of their idol; and to eclipse disdainfully under the military glory of Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, the civil and modest merits of policy, of peace, and of freedom. It was necessary to debase the king in order to elevate the hero; to sacrifice a memory to exalt a fanaticism; and they have accordingly continued to pour forth sarcasm instead of history.

No king ever bore with more dignity and constancy dethronement and exile, tests which are almost always fatal to men who are elevated only by their situation: no king ever waited with more patience, or more certainty, the restoration of his race: no king ever re-ascended the throne under circumstances of greater difficulty, confirmed himself upon it against greater obstacles, or left it to his family with a fairer prospect of maintaining it long after his death.⁴