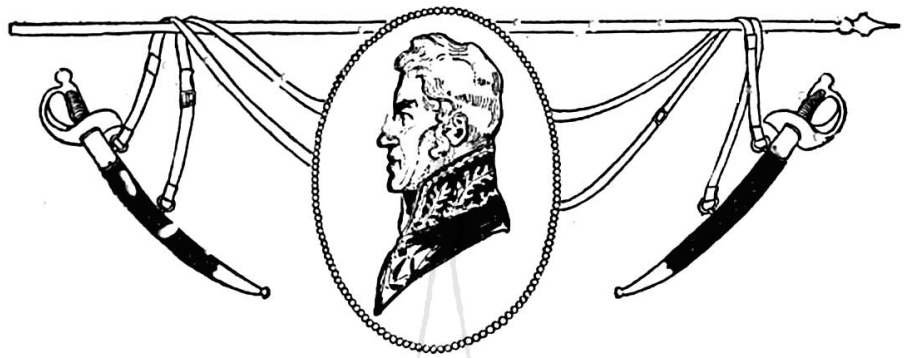

CHAPTER II

CHARLES X AND THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

> Charles X was neither a fanatic, a slave, nor a persecutor, but he was a believer. His zeal, unknown to himself, influenced his policy; and he thought he owed a portion of his reign to his religion. The people were misled by this; it was supposed that he wished to restore France to the church; and the first of the liberties conquered by the Revolution, the freedom of the human mind, felt itself threatened. Hence arose the disquietude, the disaffection, the brevity, and the catastrophe of this reign. He was destined to fall a victim to his faith. This was not the fault of his conscience, but of his reason. In him the Christian was destined to ruin the king.—LAMARTINE.[b]

NEVER did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer prospects and greater advantages than the count d'Artois, who took the name, Charles X; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. Everything at first seemed to smile on the new sovereign, and to prognosticate a reign of concord, peace, and happiness. The great contests which had distracted the government of his predecessor seemed to be over. The Spanish revolution had exhausted itself; it had shaken, without overturning, the monarchies of France and England, and led to a campaign glorious to the French, which on the peninsula, so long the theatre of defeat and disaster, had restored the credit of their arms and the lustre of their influence. In Italy, the efforts of the revolutionists, for a brief season successful, had terminated in defeat and ignominy. After infinite difficulty, and no small danger, the composition of the chamber of deputies had been put on a practical footing, and government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. Internal prosperity prevailed to an unprecedented degree; every branch of industry was flourishing, and ten years of peace had both healed the wounds of war, and enabled the nation to discharge, with honourable fidelity, the heavy burdens imposed on it at its termination. After an arduous reign and a long struggle, Louis had reaped the reward of his wisdom and perseverance.

The character and personal qualities of Charles X were in many respects such as were well calculated to improve and cultivate to the utmost these advantages. Burke had said, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that if the deposed race was ever to be restored, it must be by a sovereign

who could sit eight hours a day on horseback. No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII, whose figure was so unwieldy and his infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair. But, the case was very different with his successor. No captain in his guards managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship; no courtier in his saloons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside.

Many of the sayings he made use of, in the most important crise of his life, became historical; repeated from one end of Europe to the other, they rivalled the most celebrated of Henry IV in warmth of heart, and the most felicitous of Louis XIV in terseness of expression. But, with all these valuable qualities, which, under other circumstances, might have rendered him one of the most popular monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of France, he was subject to several weaknesses still more prejudicial, which, in the end, precipitated himself and his family from the throne. He was extremely fond of the chase, and rivalled any of his royal ancestors in the passion for hunting; but with him it was not a recreation to amuse his mind amidst more serious cares, but, as with the Spanish and Neapolitan princes of the house of Bourbon, a serious occupation, which absorbed both the time and the strength that should have been devoted to affairs of state. A still more dangerous weakness was the blind submission, which increased with his advancing years, that he yielded to the priesthood.

No change was made by the new sovereign in the ministers of state, who indeed were as favourable to the royal cause as any that he could well have selected. But from the very outset of his reign there was a *Camarilla*,[1] or secret court, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, who had more real influence than any of the ostensible ministers, and to whose ascendency in the royal council the misfortunes in which his reign terminated are mainly to be ascribed. The most important of these were the cardinal Latil, archbishop of Rheims, who had been the king's confessor during the time he was in exile, and earnestly recommended to him by his mistress, Madame de Pollastron, who possessed the greatest influence over his mind; the pope's legate, Lambruschini, a subtle and dangerous ecclesiastical diplomatist; and Quelen, archbishop of Paris, a man of probity and worth, but full of ambition, and ardently devoted to the interests of his order. To these, who formed, as it were, the secret cabinet, that directed the king, and of which he took counsel in all cases, were added all the chiefs of the ultra-Royalist and ultra-Catholic party, who, like a more numerous privy council, were summoned on important emergencies. The most important of these were the duke de Rivière and Prince Polignac. Such was the secret council by which Charles was from the first almost entirely directed, and the history of his reign is little more than the annals of the consequences of their administration.

The king made his public entry into Paris on the 27th of September. The day was cloudy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortège; but nothing could damp the ardour of the people. Mounted on an Arab steed of mottled silver colour, which he managed with perfect skill, the monarch traversed the whole distance between St Cloud and the palace, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which proclaimed him at once,

[1 This term is taken from the history of the contemporaneous Spanish Bourbons. See the history of Spain.]

like the prince-regent in England, the first gentleman in his dominions. His answers on his way to and when he arrived at the palace were not less felicitous than his manner. When asked if he did not feel fatigued, he replied, "No; joy never feels weariness." "No halberts between my people and me," cried he to some of his attendants, who were repelling the crowd which pressed in too rudely upon his passage — an expression which recalled his famous saying on April 12th, 1814, "There is but one Frenchman the more." Never had a monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as hope," said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner. Some of his courtiers had suggested the propriety of taking some precautions against the ball of an assassin in the course of his entry. "Why so?" said he: "they cannot hate me without knowing me; and when they know me, I am sure they will not hate me." Everything in his manner and expressions towards those by whom his family had been opposed, seemed to breathe the words, "I have forgotten."[c]

FIRST MISTAKES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Charles introduced his son the duke d' Angoulême into the government, by giving him the supreme direction of the army, whose esteem this prince had justly acquired. Eager for that popularity of which he had just tasted the first-fruits, he himself proposed to the council of ministers to abolish the censorship of the public journals, which was an odious restriction that had been impatiently submitted to during the last few months of the late reign. The press responded to this generous act by an effusion of gratitude which raised the enthusiasm of Paris to a pitch of delirium. "A new reign opens upon us," exclaimed the journalists who had been most bitter against the Bourbons; "the king is desirous of doing good; his wisdom scatters at the first word the cloud under which bad governments conceal their evil thoughts; there is no snare to apprehend from one who himself invokes the light."[b]

But in granting liberty to the press, Charles X did not at all repudiate the acts of a ministry which had been stigmatised by it. He accepted it on the contrary, declaring his formal intention of keeping it in power. Those who had been too quick in hoping were disabused and public opinion pronounced with terrifying rapidity against a series of unpopular projects presented to the chambers by the crown. One of them, in connection with which the ministry had skilfully formed the plan of converting government bonds to a three per cent. rate, gave a billion francs indemnity to the émigrés;[2] another re-established religious communities for women; a third attached infamous and atrocious penalties to profanities and thefts committed in churches, in certain cases the sacrilege was to be punished by the penalty of parricide.[d] Some moderate and rational-minded men in the chamber of peers, the Molés, the Lally-Tollendals, the Broglies and Chateaubriand himself, revolted in the name of human reason, of humanity, and of religion against this unjust and barbarous law. In the chamber of deputies, Royer-Collard vindicated reason, liberty of conscience, humanity, and the Deity,

[b This epigram, as we have seen, he had borrowed from a courtier.]

[2 In fact this law, very unpopular, and onerous to the national finances, was advantageous to the owners of the properties formerly held by the émigrés. The fear of seeing the titles contested vanished and with it the inferiority in market value of these properties to other estates. As for the families of the émigrés, the poor provincial gentry had had but little; but the people of the court who had already largely regained their affluence, redoubled it and though lacking the immoderate luxury of old, yet found themselves richer than ever, — MARTIN.]

all outraged by this law is one of the most powerful speeches ever inspired at the French tribune by philosophy, religion, and eloquence.[b]

But the project which wounded the greatest number of interests and aroused the greatest resentment tended to put a stop to the division of estates by creating in the law of inheritance the right of primogeniture,[1] in default of a wish formerly expressed by the testator. All these proposed laws, dictated under the influence of the old émigrés and the Congregation, were conceived in a spirit contrary to that of the Revolution. The chamber of deputies adopted them, the peers fought some of them with success, succeeded in eliminating the most objectionable clauses, and for some time shared popular favour with the royal courts.

These governmental acts were interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the coronation. Charles X appeared at Rheims surrounded by the ancient apparel of royal majesty. There he took oath on the charter and received the crown from the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of the ancient ceremonial which was not at all in harmony with the customs of the century, and in which the new generation saw only an act of deference to the clergy.

The liberal party was growing, and drawing new force from all the faults of the party in power. It saw with pride men like Benjamin Constant, Royer-Collard, and Casimir Périer at its head in the elective chamber. One immense loss was to be deplored. Foy, the general of Napoleon, the statesman of Restoration times, was no more. A hundred thousand citizens, the élite of trade, of the bar, of literature, and of the army followed his cortège and energetically protested against the procedure of government, by adopting his children in the name of their country, on the still open tomb of their father, who had been the most redoubtable and the most eloquent adversary of the ministers.

In the first days of 1827 Peyronnet presented to the chamber of deputies the law under which the liberty of the press was to perish. He defended it against the desperate attacks of the Left [which called it the "Vandal Law"] by calling it the "law of justice and love." It hardly became known before it caused a general uprising of public opinion. The French Academy did itself honour by protesting against it on the motion of Charles de Lacretelle, actively supported by Châteaubriand, Lemercier, Jouy, Michaud, Joseph Droz, Alexandre Duval, and Villemain. A commission was appointed from their midst to beg the king to withdraw so fatal a project. Charles X refused to receive the commission and answered by punishing this act of courageous independence. He removed from office Villemain, Lacretelle, and Michaud himself, the author of *History of the Crusades*, and one of the oldest supporters of the monarchy. The law, adopted by the chamber of deputies, met with violent opposition in that of the peers.[2] The ministry understood that, even if the latter should adopt it, it would at least eliminate its most rigorous clauses. The project was withdrawn without being submitted to this dangerous test.

The people did honour to the monarch for this wise measure. Paris was illuminated and cries of "*Vive le roi!*" were heard in the midst of bonfires and popular acclamations.[d]

[1 The law was more timid than its title and cast only a moderate reproach on the existing law, but feeble as it was this reproach was an enormous fault. Nothing was worse conceived than this challenge to "Equality," the grand passion of the nation. — DARESTE.[f]]

[2 Müller[h] speaks of the law as one "which sought to smother all education and reason, turn France into a Jesuit machine, and set it back to the days of the Inquisition."]

GROWING DISCONTENT

The masses seemed to wish to open to the king a peaceful issue. An expression of Casimir Périer made a great stir. Some members of the Left alone rising in favour of a liberal petition, the Right cried, "There are only six of them." Casimir Périer replied, "We are only six in this place, but there are thirty million men in France who rise with us."

CHARLES X
(1757–1836)

The partial elections were to the advantage of the liberals, and the return of La Fayette was a sign of the time. Charles X, uneasy and chagrined, could not conceal his unpopularity. He thought to regain it in Paris by reviewing the national guard. Villèle was greatly alarmed; the dauphin advised against the review, but the guard was summoned on the Champ de Mars April 29th, 1827. The word had been passed to the soldiers to cry nothing but "*Vive le Roi!*" and "*Vive le charte!*" At certain places, however, they cried. "*A bas les ministres! A bas les jésuites!*"

To one national guardsman who repeated this cry near him, the king answered, "I came to receive your homage, not your instructions." On returning from the Champ de Mars, tumultuous groups surrounded the carriages of the princesses crying, "*A bas les jésuitesses!*" Two legions of the national guard cried violently, "*A bas Villèle! A bas Peyronnet!*" in passing the ministers of finance and of justice.

Villèle advised the king to disband the national guard of Paris and double the garrison. The majority of the ministers agreed. The ordinance of disbandment appeared the next day. The liberal journals protested fiercely against this measure and the opposition on the Right associated itself with the liberals. The act alienated irrevocably the entire middle class of Paris. The majority was lost in the chamber. The session terminated June 22nd; it was the fourth and ought to have been the last of the "septennial" chamber; besides, this chamber was used up and, as it were, decomposed.

The day after the closing, the censorship was re-established, despite the dauphin's wishes. The minister instituted above the bureau of censure a council of supervision presided over by De Bonald, the implacable enemy of the liberty of the press as of all liberty. The illustrious scientist Cuvier, who had shown in the council of state much administrative capacity but till now little independence, refused to take part in the committee of supervision; nor would two of the nominees for the bureau of censure serve. The censure fell into odious ridiculous excesses which called forth Châteaubriand and a throng of other writers in pamphlets full of ironic and indignant vigour.

A crisis was imminent, and the approaching elections looked ominous. A

powerful society was formed to prepare the country, under the significant name of "Heaven helps those that help themselves" (*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*). Guizot was president of the governing committee. An allied society of republican tendencies was formed, the "Free-speakers."[e]

When the duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a liberal member of the chamber of Peers, died, some of the old pupils of the Academy of Châlons, to whom he had been very kind, endeavoured to show their gratitude to their neighbour and benefactor by bearing his body to the Barrier, where the hearse was waiting to convey it to his estate. In the church of the Madeleine the police seized the coffin — unwilling that such a mark of respect should be shown to a member of the opposition; the pupils resisted: in the struggle the coffin fell to the ground, and the authorities in triumph carried it off.[g]

Later a similar scene was enacted on a greater scale at the funeral of Manuel the expelled deputy. The irritated crowd was hardly prevented from a pitched battle with the troops. The discourse spoken over the grave by La Fayette was of a very different character from that which signalised the funeral of General Foy. Under this not yet lawless struggle, one felt revolution.[e]

Seventy-six new peers were named; the chamber of Deputies, from which still less subserviency was expected, was dismissed (Nov. 6th, 1827); and the gauntlet was fairly thrown down.

In this year the battle of Navarino (Oct. 20th, 1827) had practically delivered Greece from its oppressors, and was hailed as the first national resurrection to freedom since the reaction had begun. The English and French navies, which were united with the Russian in the entire destruction of the Turkish fleet, took also different views of the result of their valour and preponderating force. France was so enraptured with a naval victory, however obtained, that even the supporters of the ministry rejoiced in an action which greatly excited the liberal hopes throughout Europe. The English, on the other hand, perceived too late the fault they had committed in exposing Turkey unprotected to the maritime attacks of Russia, and called the victory of Navarino "an untoward event." Yet, as naval victories were of more importance to France than England, an opportunity was found for another triumph in an expedition against the dey of Algiers. Successful to a certain degree, but not so brilliantly decisive as its promoters had expected, the squadron came back with its work only half performed, but furnishing information which led to a greater effort and more satisfactory result in a future year. In spite of government influence, which was unscrupulously used, the elections of 1828 returned a majority for the liberals. There were riots and loss of life in Paris and other towns. The Villèle ministry retired for fear of the coming storm.[g]

THE MINISTRY OF MARTIGNAC (1828–1829 A.D.)

Charles X was obliged to form a liberal government. The Restoration again found itself obliged to rely on the support of the left benches. The first time this happened it was the result of the initiative of Louis XVIII; this second time it was due to the will of the electors.

The new ministry was formed Jan. 4th, 1828, with Martignac as leader of the cabinet. Possessed of undoubted eloquence and an attractive manner, he had more charm than strength. Although he was a man of moderate mind he had been one of the majority of Villèle. With him, Portalis, Roy, and soon afterwards Hyde de Neuville and Feutrier, the bishop of Beauvais,

made up a cabinet which the public at first considered lacking in weight and in authority.

The king had made haste to say to his new ministers, "M. de Villèle's system is mine"; and the chamber made haste to write down in its address that M. de Villèle's system was "deplorable." The whole history of the Restoration is epitomised on this simple juxtaposition of facts. How was the chamber to be prevented from exercising the paramount strength it possessed? And what should hinder the head of the state from crying out, under the exasperation of insult, as did Charles X upon the presentation of the address, "I will not suffer my crown to be flung into the mire!" What then remained to be tried? To side completely with the elective power? Martignac could not do so without declaring war against royalty. To serve royalty in accordance with its own views? He could not do so without declaring war on the chamber. To combine these two sorts of servitude, and to hold the reins of government on the tenure of being doubly a slave? He tried this.

The Martignac ministry began by suppressing the "black cabinet," where letters were opened for the police, and by passing a liberal law with regard to the press. In Greece, France received from the two other powers the glorious charge of putting an end to the struggle which was going on. A force of 14,000 men under the orders of General Maison landed in the Morea on the 29th of August. Ibrahim, who had been sent by his father the pasha of Egypt as commander of the Egyptian troops, to help the sultan of Turkey, made no attempt to fight; on the 9th of September he sailed away with his troops. The only case in which force had to be employed was in the taking of Fort Morea, and Greece was delivered. Two burning questions occupied the public mind: one was that of an inquiry into the proceedings of the Villèle ministry, a measure on which the liberals insisted; the other the enforcing of the laws against the Jesuits, which was demanded by a strong wave of public opinion, by a decision of the court in Paris, and by the new chamber. The ministry decided on carrying out the latter measure in order to avoid the former. They prepared two ordinances, in which the name of the Jesuits was not so much as mentioned. The first, which was countersigned by Portalis, deprived them of their educational establishments; the second, which was inspired by the bishop of Beauvais, dictated the necessary precautions to be observed in order to exclude them from the management of ecclesiastical schools (June 19th, 1828).

Thus the throne seemed anxious to be reconciled to the liberal party. But this was only apparently true. Between the two parties who were struggling for possession of the country, one supported by the king, the other by the people, one wishing to go back to the eve of '89, the other to march forward with the century, there was no room for equivocation or for compromise. Those who were anxious to conciliate both parties ran the risk of being crushed between the two. Martignac, in spite of his wonderful eloquence, his charm, and the sympathy he inspired, was looked upon with suspicion by both camps.

As for Charles X, he submitted to this ministry as to a personal defeat; he was still the ardent partisan of the cabinet which had been overthrown. It was therefore most obnoxious to him to have to sign the ordinances against the Jesuits. The ministers were obliged to threaten to resign in order to get him to do it. The furious outcry raised by the whole body of the clergy, the maledictions of the bishops directed even against the bishop of Beauvais, brought the devout frenzy to a climax.

He could only endure this return to liberalism for a time by nursing thoughts of revenge. But he still had patiently to endure the session of 1829, which was occupied by discussions on the organisation of the departments and the communes, in which the cabinet was weakened by several reverses. Hardly had the chambers dissolved when the king dismissed his ministers. The session had closed on the 30th of July; on the 9th of August the list of the new ministry was published.*i*

When the names were made known a cry of indignation broke out from one end of France to the other: Polignac, Labourdonnaie, Bourmont. The patriots who, from passion or principles, had never admitted the possibility of a compromise with the old dynasty, experienced that sort of satisfaction which a soldier feels on the eve of a decisive battle. Those who had dreamed of liberty with monarchy were now overwhelmed with consternation. "See!" cried Royer-Collard, "Charles X is still the count d'Artois of 1789."

The liberal journals in general responded by an explosion of anger and menaces to the defiance which had just been flung at the nation. The *Journal des Débats*, attached to the Bourbons by bonds which its ardent opposition had not hitherto broken, terminated an article full of an eloquent suffering by the cry so often quoted: "Unhappy France! Unhappy king!"

The ministry brought a suit against it. Answer was made by a violent attack from a young editor, Saint-Marc Girardin, on Polignac, "the man of Coblenz and the counter-revolution," on Bourmont, "the deserter of Waterloo now exposed on the scaffold of the ministry," and on Labourdonnaie, the man who in the White Terror of 1815 had constantly demanded irons, hangmen, and executions.*g*

THE MINISTRY OF POLIGNAC

The president of the new cabinet, Jules de Polignac, son of the chief equerry of Louis XVI and of the duchess de Polignac, who was an intimate friend of Marie Antoinette, was a sort of incarnation of the old régime. He had been one of the most enthusiastic amongst the émigrés and later had become a leading member of the Congregation. He was perhaps the most ardent adherent that body possessed. His minister of war, Bourmont, had, in 1815, on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, deserted Napoleon's army for that of the enemy, and had thus gained the rank of marshal.

It was certain that such a minister would advocate extreme measures. The country prepared for a struggle. Societies were formed quite openly, at first in Brittany and then throughout France, with the purpose of refusing to pay the taxes in case the cabinet should attempt to force any violent measure on the country. The papers which advertised these associations were in every case prosecuted, but were either acquitted or very lightly punished. The courts themselves seemed to condemn in advance the projects with which the ministry was credited.*i*

This was indeed a ministry of madness. Not only every liberal sentiment but every national sentiment was defied. The unfortunate Charles X was so much a stranger to his age and country that he did not understand that France would take the summons of Bourmont to the head of the army as the most deadly of outrages. He believed that in order to justify the deserter of Fleurus in the eyes of the public it would suffice to give out that he had the king's orders.

If the king and his advisers had been capable of reflection, the attitude of the country would have made them tremble. At this moment La Fayette paid a visit to Auvergne, his native province, and then to Dauphiné and Lyons. In the towns of Dauphiné, especially in Vizille, the little place famous for having given the signal for the revolution of 1789, La Fayette was welcomed by demonstrations which recalled that great epoch; at Grenoble the population offered him an oak wreath "as a witness of the people's gratitude and as the emblem of the force which the people of Grenoble, following his example, would be able to bring into action to maintain their rights and the constitution." At Lyons he made a truly royal entry: the whole city went out to meet him, deputations from the neighbouring departments waited on him. At the banquet which was given him La Fayette declared that he was happy to receive proof of the determination of that great and patriotic city to resist all the attempts of the incorrigible counter revolution. The official journals of this party had said recently "no more concessions." "No more concessions" says in its turn the French people, which knows its rights and will know how to defend them. Then he added, "How are the projects with which the people are threatened to be executed? By means of the chamber of deputies? It would show itself faithful to patriotism and honour. By a dissolution? The electors would have something to say to that. By simple ordinances? The partisans of such measures would then learn that the strength of every government lies only in the arms and the purse of the citizens which compose the nation."

The triumphant journey of La Fayette afforded royalty an alarming contrast to the reception which the dauphin and dauphiness received about the same time in Normandy. Silence and a desert surrounded them everywhere. At Cherbourg the authorities could not even organise a ball in their honour.[c]

On the 2nd of March, 1830, Charles X, displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers his intention to preserve intact the prerogatives of the crown and French institutions. The address of the deputies in response to the speech from the throne showed the king that the composition of his new cabinet was dangerous and menacing to public liberty. Two hundred and twenty-one members as against 186 voted for this memorable address. The king was indignant. He complained in his response of a lack of support and concluded by stating that his resolves were known and were unchangeable. The chamber was prorogued and then dissolved.

However, the council had tried to acquire some popularity by means of a military success, and an insult offered to the French consul by the dey of Algiers furnished the ministers a favourable opportunity to clear the sea of barbarous pirates.[d]

WAR WITH ALGERIA

The Algerian dey, Hussein, had come into power in 1818. No dey had been so well obeyed. His foreign policy was less fortunate, because he had illusions about his own strength and thought he could brave the European powers with impunity. This error caused his downfall. The relations with France, interrupted during the empire, were renewed in 1816; but the understanding was never very cordial, especially after the accession of Hussein. He wished the annual revenue paid for the concessions to amount to 300,000 francs, according to the convention made in 1817 with the dey Omar; France wished to keep to the amount of 90,000 francs, which was the revenue paid to Ali Khodja, who reigned between Omar and Hussein. The dey would not

consent to the fortifying of the French establishments; the execution of some works of defence had greatly annoyed him. But the Bakri affair caused him more annoyance than anything else.

Bakri and Busnah, two Algerian Jews, had furnished the Directory with a large amount of corn which had not been entirely paid for; the empire gave some instalments. In 1819 the credit was fixed at seven millions, but the convention then concluded expressly reserved the rights of certain Frenchmen of whom Bakri and Busnah were debtors. Opposition arose, and a part of the sum was kept back while awaiting the decision of the tribunals.

Hussein, who had large interests in the business, and who understood nothing of the complicated forms of French justice, was indignant at the delay. At a solemn audience he questioned the French consul sharply and then hit him with his fan and sent him out of his presence; a more prudent and dignified consul would not have provoked such a scene; but Deval represented France; a reparation was necessary.

A naval division appeared before Algiers. Hussein absolutely refused satisfaction; June 15th, 1827, war was declared; immediately the French settlements, which they had taken the precaution to evacuate, were pillaged and destroyed. A cruising expedition then began; but the blockade soon proved useless; it imposed a difficult and dangerous service on the French navy, it cost upwards of twenty millions in three years, and the dey appeared no more disposed to give in than on the first day.

Since 1827 Clermont-Tonnerre, then minister of war, had been inclined to act vigorously; England made almost imperious representations, which were answered as they should have been. Even in France, the opposing parties disapproved of an expedition; they saw in this, not without some reason, a political artifice to turn men's minds from interior affairs, but they also forgot that national honour was engaged.

An admiral, Duperré, at last decided to accept the command of the fleet. Bourmont, minister of war, kept that of the army for himself, with the sole direction of the enterprise. It was decided to fortify the peninsula to make it into an entrenched camp, a place of refuge in case of defeat. The enemy, however, had taken its forces to Staouëli; Ibrahim, Hussein's son-in-law, took with him the Turkish militia, some Kolougis and Moors of Algiers, the contingent of the beys, and some thousand Kabyles. Among the eye-witnesses, some enumerate this army at 60,000 men, others only at 20,000. The confused manœuvring, the rapid and disorderly movements of the Arabian cavalry, must have promoted the illusion of an immense multitude. With the exception of the Turks all these undisciplined troops presented a poor appearance when drawn up in battle order. The first shock, however, was terrible; on the morning of the 19th all the French lines were assailed, but the attack told more on the wings, weaker and not so well posted as the centre. The left was exposed for a moment; the Turks fought with incredible ardour; the horsemen spurred their horses and sprang over the entrenchments. But the French army had the advantage of tactics and discipline. After a desperate fight the Algerians retreated to their camp.

The dey and the inhabitants of Algiers had no doubt of success; there was consternation at the arrival of the fugitives. The Algerians hastened to defend Fort Emperor, which protected the town on the southwest. Emissaries were sent on all sides to rally the Arabs, the Ulemas preached the holy war.

On the 24th the French lines of Staouëli were attacked; the French army easily repulsed the aggressors, pursued them, and established itself on the plateau of Sidi-Khaled. The days of the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th were difficult and murderous. On the 29th, before day, the offensive movement commenced all along the line. The fleet cannonaded the place and, without causing much damage, added by this opportune demonstration to the consternation of the population. On July 4th, at four o'clock in the morning, the entrenchment was opened against Fort Emperor: the French batteries then uncovered and destroyed it with their fire.

The garrison made a brave defence, but the contest of the two artilleries was too unequal; at the end of a few hours the Turks had their embrasures demolished, their guns dismounted, their gunners disabled.

Fort Emperor once taken, Algiers could no longer hold out; Hussein signed a capitulation.[k]

The victory, however, was little heeded at home and war was declared between France and monarchy. The struggle had been desperate on both sides. The opposition brought out a new paper, the *National*, edited by Thiers and Mignet, the two historians of the Revolution, and Armand Carrel, who had begun his public career as leader of an armed conspiracy. This paper propagated the views of the opposition with extreme ardour. On the other side the king vainly threw his name and his influence into the scale. The result was a crushing defeat. The opposition had fought for the 221 deputies who had condemned the Polignac ministry, as in 1877 they were to fight for the 363. They were all returned again and fifty more elections were also gained.

The Ordinances of Polignac and War with the Press, 1830 A.D.

The defeated ministry prepared a coup d'état. Taking as a pretext the wording of Article 14 of the charter, they resolved to suppress the liberties of the country. Three ordinances signed by all the ministers formed the reply of Charles X to the French nation. One of these dissolved the chamber before it had ever met; so that the country had been consulted and had given its answer, but that answer was treated with contempt. Another abolished liberty of the press. Henceforth every paper would be forced to obtain the royal sanction; otherwise, it would not only be forbidden to appear, but its plant would be destroyed. The third created a new electoral system. It would no longer be a sufficient qualification for a vote to pay 300 francs in taxes; patents were no longer to be taken into account; and all electors who were engaged in commerce or manufactures were to be deprived of their votes.

The last two ordinances were manifestly unconstitutional: they violated the laws and usurped their functions. The king's pleasure was substituted for the votes of the chambers. This was a return to absolute monarchy. This attempt at violence was made in incredible ignorance of the actual situation. Up to the time of the elections the ministers had thought themselves certain of a majority, and, even after the results were known, seemed to have an inexplicable confidence in the measures they were preparing. They had only 19,000 men at their command to subdue Paris.

Secrecy was most carefully observed. Nobody, except those who had drawn them up and signed them, knew the contents of the ordinances, when, on the evening of Sunday, 25th July, they were handed over to the chief editor of the *Moniteur* for publication the following morning. The editor

A BARRICADE IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

(From the painting by Cain)

glanced over them, and turning pale said to the minister: "I am fifty-seven years of age; I have passed through all the revolutions, but I now withdraw overwhelmed with fear." On the morning of the 26th of July, 1830, the ordinances published in the *Moniteur* burst on the nation like a thunderbolt. At first people seemed stupefied. The press had the honour of setting an example of action.

It has already been said that one of the edicts suppressed all the opposition papers. That very day all their editors signed a protest of which the following words contain the gist: To-day the government has lost that constitutional character which alone commands obedience. And they added that they would use every possible means to publish their papers in defiance of the authority of the government. Among the young writers who perhaps risked their lives by affixing their signatures to this bold protest, were some who were destined to play an important part in public affairs. The protest was signed by Thiers, Mignet, Armand Carrel, Rémusat, and Pierre Leroux. This intrepid action of the press was the first reply to the coup d'état. Their actions were as bold as their words; and when on the following day the police attempted to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, the commissary of police found the proprietor of the paper, with the law in his hand, threatening the agent of the government with the punishment due to theft aggravated by housebreaking. A crowd collected and protested loudly.

The locksmith who had been summoned to break up the plant refused to do so, and was heartily applauded. Another was sent for, who also refused. Not a workman could be found who was willing to raise his hand against the instrument of public liberty. It was found necessary at last to have recourse to the wretch whose duty it was to affix the fetters worn by convicts.

Such was the lawful resistance which most politicians of that time, whether journalists or deputies, considered the only possible course.

PELLETAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE THREE DAYS OF JULY

The first day, the wrath of Paris, kept in check by amazement, had the appearance of hesitation; people were waiting and consulting. The next day, July 27th, the dissatisfaction of the city became articulate. The middle classes and the working people began to express their feelings; street orators were active, and stones were thrown at the police outside the Palais Royal. A barricade was raised near the French Theatre; men formed themselves into bands; shots were fired and the pavements had begun to be stained with blood; but the movement had begun outside the popular quarters of the town; the mass of the people had not yet joined it.

However, the last rays of the setting sun shone on a well-nigh forgotten sight—an unknown man ran along the quays waving a strip of blue, white, and red stuff. This was the tricolour flag, which had formerly sprung from the ruins of the Bastille to wave over a nation rescued and delivered from tyranny. This was the flag of the convention and the empire, which, borne by the regiments from Madrid to Moscow, from Cairo to Amsterdam, had shaken liberty from its folds in its passage through the nations. This was the proscribed flag, which throughout Europe lay hidden in the depths of men's memories, as the symbol of liberties destroyed and nations remorselessly crushed.

Whoever the unknown man was who first waved the tricolour in the sunlight, he had thoroughly grasped the spirit of the situation. The question at issue had ceased to be the maintenance of a royal constitution, the

downfall of a minister, or the re-establishment of a king: above all these more limited ideas, the cause of popular liberty was now supreme. A fatherland which had been assailed, a revolution which had been defeated, had now to be reckoned with.

The question at issue was between the people and the Bourbons. On the 28th the people rose in arms. Workmen, citizens, students, marched out pell-mell to fight. A student from the Polytechnic who had been expelled for having sung the *Marseillaise* — Charras, afterwards a minister under the republic, and one of the most celebrated among those who were proscribed under the second empire — had informed his comrades the day before of what was to take place, and they had forced the gates of the school in order to be present at the battle. None of the people had any weapons, and they were obliged to equip themselves as well as they could. Here an armourer's shop was broken into and pillaged, there a military post was surprised, or barracks were attacked; and manufacturers and merchants might be seen distributing muskets.

To the open space in front of the Exchange two carriages, driven by Étienne Arago, brought a store of guns and uniforms, which were being used at the Vaudeville in a military play. Next the Musée d'Artillerie was attacked, and military equipments which had belonged to warriors of the Middle Ages were seized; so for this epic battle the people borrowed theatrical properties and the rusty uniforms of ancient knights.

Since the day before, the government had understood that they required an efficient military leader: they had chosen Marshal Marmont, duke de Raguse. His was a very unpopular name. In 1814, at the time of Napoleon's first defeat, Marmont, whilst negotiations were going on, had prematurely yielded to the enemy some important positions before Paris. This shadow of a terrible suspicion hung over him. Besides, having served as a soldier under the republic and the empire, he was now about to shed French blood in support of a coup d'état of which he did not approve. His plan of action was soon made; from the Tuileries where he was, two columns of troops would drive back the insurgents, one by the boulevards, the other by the quays. A body of troops posted at the market of the Innocents, and clearing the whole length of the rue St. Denis, would maintain communications between the two columns.

But on all sides, in that close network of streets and alleys which formed the heart of Paris, and which were not yet intersected by the wide thoroughfares which exist in the present day, in front and behind the lines of troops, combatants seemed to spring up in myriads as if they rose out of the very ground; the streets were bristling with barricades, and a battle was waging at every cross-road. The columns were both stopped, one at the Hôtel-de-Ville and one at the Bastille; the troops at the market of the Innocents were surrounded and cut off; the army seemed lost in this immense rising of Parisians.

What an heroic crowd it was! After fifteen years of peace, the citizens of 1830 proved themselves worthy of the soldiers of Jemmapes, Fleurus, and Austerlitz. A fine sense of a fraternity in courage and enthusiasm united the rich and the poor. The Paris street-boy shared in the perils of the day with his usual saucy intrepidity. During the battle, a boy of fifteen brought a packet of cartridges to Charras, saying, "We will go shares, but only on condition that you will lend me your gun so that I may take my turn at firing." Certain of the combatants had not money to buy bread; in the rue St. Joseph a citizen saw a workman who was fighting at his side

stagger, and said to him: "You are wounded?" "No, I am starving." The other offered him a five-franc piece. Then the workman pulled out from his blood-stained shirt a strip of the royalist flag, saying: "I will give you this in exchange." A hundred incidents proved that the combatants felt that the same blood was flowing in their veins, though they were fighting on different sides. In one case an officer had received a dangerous blow from an iron bar, but, with his face bathed in blood, he warded off with his sword the bayonets which were about to pierce the man who had struck him. In another place the corpse of an insurgent was lying near the tricolour flag; some soldiers passed by and they and their officers all saluted.

It would be impossible to describe the war that raged all over Paris. On the 28th the thick of the fight had been at the market of the Innocents and round the Hotel-de-Ville. To reach it, it was necessary to cross the suspension bridge, which was under a constant fire. A young man sprang forward with a tricolour flag in his hand: "If I fall," he cried, "remember that my name was Arcole." His name was given to the bridge which was consecrated by his heroic death. Nightfall interrupted the fighting. Silence and solitude descended on the bloody streets, on the deserted barricades and on the corpses lying in the shadow. Nothing disturbed the silent solemnity of that terrible night but the footsteps of the troops as they evacuated the town in order to mass themselves round the Tuileries.

On the morning of the 29th, fighting began again. Two battles took place that day, both against the Swiss Guard. This foreign guard was the last resource of the monarchy, just as it had been on the occasion of the 10th of August, 1792. The Swiss troops belonged to the king, not to the nation. On the left bank of the river the Polytechnic school, at the head of several columns of workmen and students, laid siege to the Babylon barracks. Charras led one of the columns. Vaneau was killed by a bullet in the head, and the street where he fell was called after him. The barracks were taken, but a more decisive struggle had taken place elsewhere.

On the right bank, the people had only to get possession of the vast enclosure of the palace formed by the Louvre and the Tuileries. Since the day before they had been besieging the front of the Louvre before St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The Swiss, posted in the colonnade, directed a murderous fire on the assailants. A blunder, made while changing the battalion posted there, left the colonnade unprotected; in an instant the people stormed the entrance and broke in through the windows, firing from those which looked on to the courtyard. The Swiss, taken by surprise, were seized with a panic, the officers were unable to restore order, and they were chased by the people as far as the place de la Concorde. The crowd then for the second time made their way into the conquered palace. They had already entered it on the 10th of August, 1792, and they were to enter it again in February, 1848, and in September, 1870.

Charles X deposed

Each of these visits signified the fall of a monarchy. And this time, as on every similar occasion, was seen the spectacle of a crowd of starving men keeping guard, without attempting to touch it, over the wealth of treasure which was passing from the king to the nation. Thus ended that most glorious struggle, the result of which was greeted by universal acclamations. Where, during those terrible days, were the men who on one side or the other represented the principles for which France was fighting?

Charles X was at St. Cloud. The day the ordinances appeared (July 26th) he was stag-hunting until the evening at Rambouillet. Partly owing to an incomprehensible carelessness and partly to avoid the unpleasantness of the struggle, he had kept out of reach of the storm which had assailed his crown. He was told: "Stocks have fallen"; and replied, "They will go up again." Then they said, "Paris is in a state of anarchy." To this he answered, "Anarchy will bring her to my feet." The most faithful royalists, trying to make the king realise his position, found him incredulous. Even on the 29th, when the revolutionists, after three days' fighting, were driving the army from Paris, Charles X, six miles away, kept on repeating that every measure was being taken to suppress the insurrection.

Three days' war had raged; officers and men alike sad at heart had found themselves obliged to shed French blood. Men who should have been the glory of their country, politicians, artists, and philosophers, had been made the mark for French bullets; the people and the army had covered the streets with corpses, and all the time the king refused to believe what was happening.

It was only on the evening of the 29th, when the army returned to St. Cloud and he heard of their defeat, that he agreed to withdraw the ordinances and change the ministry. There was a great deal of talk about a game of whist that he played, whilst Mortemart, who was to be the new minister, was awaiting his instructions. Ten hours later Charles X was still hesitating, and it was only at daybreak on the 30th of July that the king made up his mind—just twenty-four hours after the triumph of the Revolution.

The next evening, after two long days of hesitation, in the midst of troops decimated by desertion, Charles X at last resolved to retire to Rambouillet; this was the first stage on his way to exile. Most of the men who were looked upon as the leaders of the victorious party had done little more fighting on their side than Charles X had done on his. When they met on the very day the edicts were issued there was division in the camp. If some, notably La Fayette, were anxious for revolt, others not only did not desire it, but actually feared it. All the deliberations of the deputies and other influential persons during these three days were fruitless, as no decision was reached. At last, on the 28th of July, they sent five of their number to Marshal Marmont, who was already being urged by the great astronomer Arago to put a stop to bloodshed. Polignac refused to see the five deputies, and while they were opening tardy negotiations with St. Cloud, the people completed their victory.

On the evening of the 28th, the monarchy being abolished, there was no recognised authority in Paris.[1] An unknown man named Dubourg, dressed in a general's uniform borrowed from a theatre, and the journalist Laude who appointed himself secretary to a provisional government which did not exist, had only to take their places in the Hôtel-de-Ville, which the troops had abandoned, in order to exercise a certain amount of power. On the evening of the 29th La Fayette took possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville and was reinforced by a commission consisting of Casimir Périer, Lobau, Schonen, Audry de Puyraveau, and Mauguin; Laffitte, whose house had been latterly the headquarters of the victors, and General Gérard, who continued to be the military chief of the new government, declining to join the commission.

[1 Men who had received their warrant from themselves alone, installed themselves in the Hôtel-de-Ville as representatives of the provisional government; and in that capacity they parodied the majesty of command, signed orders, distributed employments, and conferred dignities. Their reign was short, because those who would dare greatly must be able to do greatly; but it was real, and gave occasion to scenes of unexampled buffoonery. — Louis Blanc.]

[1830 A.D.]

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM

Those who had taken no part in the fighting wished to take advantage of the victory. Most of them had already begun to think of the duke of Orleans. As often happens in reigning families the Orleans branch, the younger branch, was always in a state of rivalry with the elder branch of Bourbons. Since 1789 the duke of Orleans had supported the revolutionary party; whilst his cousins were amongst the émigrés, he, a member of the convention, having given up using his title and assumed the name of Philippe Egalité, voted in favour of the death of Louis XVI. His son, duke of Orleans in 1792, had fought under the tricolour with Dumouriez at Jemmapes. Though he had emigrated afterwards, yet on the Restoration he had again declared himself a liberal. The family has always maintained this variable attitude, sometimes supporting, sometimes deserting the revolutionary party.

After 1815 the duke of Orleans was sometimes a prince of the blood, sometimes the hope of the revolutionists. He alternately claimed the largest share of the indemnity paid to the émigrés, or openly took the part of Béranger and General Foy; he at one time obtained from Charles X the title of Royal Highness, and at another would pose as a citizen-prince.

The example of England was in everybody's mind. It was by dethroning the lawful king and putting in his place a prince of a lateral branch that the English had gained their liberties in 1688. For a long time many people had been hoping that a similar change might bring about a similar result in France.

On the 30th Thiers and Mignet hurried to Neuilly where the prince lived, but he was not there. In the morning the deputies met at the house of Laffitte, and decided to hold a session at noon at the Bourbon palace. There it was decided to offer the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" to the duke of Orleans. He hesitated, tried to gain time, and was finally, it is said, persuaded by the advice of Talleyrand. On the 31st he accepted.

The Revolution was sacrificed for his benefit. But would those who had brought it about permit this? It was doubtful. The duke of Orleans decided to confront the danger by going through Paris to the Hôtel-de-Ville. A good deal of dissatisfaction was manifested in the streets. People were saying to themselves, "What? Another Bourbon!" His life was at the mercy of the populace. An adverse movement seemed imminent, but it did not take place. At the Hôtel-de-Ville La Fayette appeared on the balcony and was received with acclamations; the duke of Orleans embraced him and was applauded too. He had gained the crown.

Charles X had finally abdicated in favour of a child, the duke de Bordeaux. His was a strange destiny. He, whom the royalists called Henry V, was only to reign for one day and that at the age of ten! The old king was convinced that the duke of Orleans had only accepted the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" for the purpose of re-establishing legitimate authority in the person of Henry V. The duke found himself in a difficult position between the revolutionists who had offered him a throne, and Charles X, to whom he owed so much! Very opportunely, owing to an alarm raised in Paris, on the 3rd of August a little band of Parisians marched on Rambouillet. It was a strange jumble of national guards, volunteers, students with soldiers' belts over their black coats, workmen wearing helmets, many of them in omnibuses or cabs chartered for the occasion. This disorderly troop set out on a march of forty-five miles without victuals and quite unprepared for any emergency. At the same time the duke of Orleans sent Marshal Maison,

Schonen, and Odilon Barrot to Rambouillet. He had given the Parisians to understand that Charles X might prove dangerous, and he warned Charles X that sixty thousand Parisians were marching against him, and that he had better provide for his safety. Thus he got rid of the old king. Charles X and his family were accompanied as far as Cherbourg by his cousin's three envoys. Thence he went into exile where the elder branch of the Bourbons was to die out. On the 9th of August, 1830, the duke of Orleans was solemnly proclaimed king under the name of Louis Philippe I, king of the French.[1]

HILLEBRAND'S PARALLEL BETWEEN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 AND 1830

The French 1688 was accomplished: the kingdom of God's grace had made way for a kingdom of conventions. Whilst the "Glorious Revolution" had sealed the representative system in England, the "Great Week" forever put an end to it in France. Instead of the balance of power between the crown, the house of peers, and the house of commons, the real or seemingly unlimited authority of the latter stepped in. The victory of the 221, that is to say the majority of the house, was like that of Pyrrhus, as is every victory which is only due to the assistance of uncertain confederates. Their leaders would infallibly have come into power, even if the throne had not been overturned, and they would have taken over the government under circumstances far more favourable to themselves and the land, if the irresponsibility of the throne had been regarded, and the dangerous support of the street riots disdained.

Be that as it may, Charles X was the last monarch of France who attempted to oppose his will to the majority of the House. From henceforth not only did the minister require a similar majority so as to retain his office, but also the leaders of the state — king, emperor, or president — were dependent on Parliament, the fiction of an irresponsible leader of the state was forever ended, and the upper house was practically a thing of the past. According to this it was only natural and right that from henceforth all leaders of the state should, if only artificially, seek to assure the majority in the Commons and to accustom themselves to consider every opponent of their minister as their own opponent, views which the nation shared and still shares.

At times the capital which helped the parliamentary majority to win in 1830 may have fought and conquered this majority, as in the years 1848 and 1870, but only to withdraw her taxes after a short interregnum. In England, the House of Commons only became all-powerful a century after the Revolution, and the irresponsibility of the crown is still undisputed to-day. The convention of 1688 was the voluntary agreement of two equally powerful contractors; the convention of 1830 was a one-sided and conditional offer to which the one party submitted and which the other simply signed.

In other respects the popular comparison between 1688 and 1830 was no less sound. The eminent German statesman Stein at that time wrote to Gagern that only the spirit of falsehood and deception could find a resemblance between Charles X and James II. He asks, "Where is the barbarian Jeffreys? Where are the endeavours and attempts to establish a strange church in the place of the national church? Where is the treaty with a strange monarch to destroy the administration and religion of his own land? Where is the money that the stranger will receive for this purpose?

And we might further ask: wherein lay the future danger? Was Henry V born into a church hostile to his own country, and baptised like James III? Did the Parisian workers and students — whose political wisdom had at first discovered and made known the inconsistency of the eight hundred years of national dynasty with the interests and views of France, whilst the entire nation held contrary views — possess the same importance as the experienced statesmen who, in 1688, amidst the rejoicings of the middle classes and people of the land, and assisted by the church and aristocracy, called the daughter of James II to the throne of England? Did Louis Philippe gain his crown against foreign armies, as William fought for his at the bloody battle of the Boyne, after having at the head of his troops obtained it by defiance from the politicians who would so willingly have made of him prince consort and their creature? And William was not content with the acts of Parliament but also made his own. The childless monarch only acted in the interests of the statesmen, not in that of his own person or of the family, and considering his childless position, as well as his Dutch disposition and the confessional side of his rôle, one might well say: William of Orange as regent for his brother-in-law a minor — in the guardianship of whom none could have excelled him — could never attain that which he attained as king, and that Louis Philippe on his side would have attained without trouble, had he reigned in his own name, instead of in that of the minor Henry V for whom he had been appointed regent."

The insurrection which served as motive for the violation of the constitution on the 25th of July, was artfully called forth by some secret covenanters and journalists; but when after long procrastination it really broke out, the whole of the middle class of France backed up the July combatants, although they took no active part in the fight — for seldom in history has a deed been so firmly corroborated by eye-witnesses on all sides, as the inactivity of the middle class in this fight. Even after they had been carried away by a moral if not active participation they only wished to defend the constitution, at the most to extend it and to prevent its being attacked — not to change the dynasty. Certainly the sense of the insurrection was first falsified by the conspirators — republicans and Orleanists — who made themselves masters of the situation, and under pretext of protecting the threatened statutes undertook to dismiss the king's guilty counsellors, to do away with his law and the king himself. Thus the nation remains responsible to history for the result, as the wearer of the new crown accepted the responsibility of what had happened, although throughout the whole affair he had been more sinned against than sinning. And if there is no doubt that he had often dreamed of the throne, there is no proof that he ever aspired to it through conspiracy or intrigue.

For in public as in private life we not only act by what we do, but also by what we allow to be done, how much more by that which is termed goodness. When and where did a people acknowledge having done something more energetically and unconditionally than the French after the July days?

Not only those who were late in hastening to the fight but also those not concerned in it wished to acknowledge this as a great national event; and if the feeling shown towards the new monarch, almost unknown to the mass of the nation, was less spirited and less general than that shown for this event, the nation nevertheless imposed on it, and in no way reacted against it as it did against the republic in 1848, towards which it would have acted differently in 1830. And it not only confirmed this change by silent acknowledgment but also by the expressed oath of representatives of the

people, of the House of Lords, of almost all military and civil state officials, above all by the loud and unanimous respect shown by all towns, places, villages, and communities of the land.

The old dynasty which had been estranged from the nation by the twenty-five years of revolution and empire had not yet sufficiently grown accustomed to it, and Charles X had placed every difficulty in the way of approximation. No doubt the nation would have liked to see the reigning family retained, but as they were only drawn to it by considerations of profit and fear of overthrow, and not by a feeling of warm attachment or a deep insight into the affairs of the kingdom, they gave it up with all the cheerfulness so peculiar to the French in public affairs. No idea was formed as to the extent of this change; the kingdom still existed; that its life-giving roots had been cut off was not taken into consideration. They were only too glad to have been let off so cheaply. This feeling effaced all regret as well as all fears, which the fall of the old kingdom might have instilled into less unscrupulous minds.

The July Revolution was generally felt to be a liberation and was accepted with enthusiasm; and no less outside of France, and rightly; for this revolution was more profitable to foreign parts than to the country which made it. Europe breathed again as after a nightmare. Everywhere nations awoke at this early call, stirred and stretched themselves in their chains, and although they were not yet to succeed looked to see where they could cast them off, for the long, long night was over. It had been a gloomy time for Europe: fifteen years of darkness only illuminated by the reflection of princely feasts and congresses, fifteen years of silence only broken by the melodious voices of incomparable artists who seemed to wish to sing the people into a deeper sleep. For France it had been a bright and alert time which was now so suddenly interrupted: a time of fighting for the highest treasures, strong reliance in the victory of the good, and of pure enthusiasm for ideal aims. Now all this was ended.

The July Revolution was the last flicker of the flame of 1789, and although a great deal of deception was mixed in the enthusiasm, and pathos and declamation were less naïve than forty years before, "the great week" rightfully lives in the traditions of the nation as the most heroic and glorious of all the great battles of the past ninety years, not so much because the victory was more unsullied, sacrificing, and magnanimous than all others, but because the elevation was the sublimest of all.

With this elevation, the poetry of the Revolution ended, the hour of prose had struck. There began a bitter strife for power and gain, a life in the moment and for the moment, a mastery of phrases such as had never been seen before and which in the end degenerated into conscious lies. For the entire movement was the outcome of the great reaction of Rousseau and his times against the calmness of the eighteenth century, and it lasted until the fresh calmness stepped in, in the middle of the nineteenth century. All the inspirations of the times were hollowed out into empty words during those twenty years; instead of the thoughts and sentiments which had filled the race, there arose vain forms, behind which covetousness and pure egotism were hidden. These were not to be dethroned after the cooling down of 1849–1850, but they were unmasked, and it is characteristic of our times that after the extinction of enthusiasm and want of idealism, under the ever more grasping rule of a sceptical and positive comprehension of life, they have at least the courage to honour the truth, on which the former race, either consciously or unconsciously, laid so little stress.[1]

MARTIN ON THE JULY REVOLUTION

It must be recognised that — given the conditions of French history since '89, and the social state of France being what it was, and so different from that of England — after the national sovereignty had once been re-established, the republic must also take its turn. In 1830 the question however was not to know if the republic were the last word of the French Revolution, but if the time were come to pronounce that word irrevocably.

France was not then at all ready. Memories of the Terror oppressed the imagination and were still generally confounded with the idea of a republic; an irresistible current carried the liberal citizenry to an imitation of the English revolution of 1688 and the trial of an elective monarchy. As for the popular masses, they had in the highest degree the national sentiment, which had raised again with passion the tricoloured flag, but they had little sentiment for universal suffrage which is inseparable in the modern world from the republican idea.

The régime established August 9th, 1830, has then its *raison d'être* in French history, but could be only a transition, and the blame that attaches to its authors is that of neglecting to introduce in the Charter a means of operating this transition peacefully by giving the nation the power to revise its constitutional laws, a faculty inalienable and inseparable from national self-government.[e]