CHAPTER II.

Oath of allegiance taken by Peers and Commoners.—Business of Parliament commenced. —Unmeasured language in the House of Commons.—Motion for a Regency in the event of the king's demise.—France.—Retrospect of government in reign of Charles X.—Prince Polignac appointed President of the Council.—Sudden prorogation of the Chambers.—Algiers.—The Royal Ordinances promulgated.—The three days of July. Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.—Abdication of Charles X.—Duke of Orleans King.—Recognition by England of the new government of France. —Revolution of Belgium.—The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.—Early opposition to the Railway system.—The Locomotive Engine.—George Stephenson.—His son Robert.—Anticipations of the triumphs of Railways.—Death of Mr. Huskisson.—Opening of Parliament.—Declaration of the duke of Wellington.—The king's visit to the City postponed.—Defeat of Ministers on the Civil List.—They resign.—Mr. Brougham's parliamentary position.—Administration of earl Grey completed.—List of the Ministry.

On Friday, the 25th of June, both Houses of Parliament had adjourned to the following Monday. The death of George the Fourth having taken place at three o'clock on the morning of the 26th, summonses were issued for the immediate attendance of the Peers for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to King William the Fourth as administered by the Lord Chancellor. According to ancient practice the oath to the Commons was to be administered by the Lord Steward. At an early hour, therefore, many members of the Lower House attended in the Long Gallery for the purpose of taking this oath. The Lord Steward, the Marquis of Conyngham, did not arrive till late. When the House did meet, Mr. Brougham made an indignant protest against the treatment which the Commons of England had experienced; for many members had that morning, like himself, been kept for hours dancing attendance in the Long Gallery, and waiting the pleasure of the Lord Steward. On the following Monday Mr. Brougham explained that he should not have indulged in the remarks which he had made on the Saturday had he been aware that the Lord Steward, being also governor of Windsor Castle, could not leave till he had handed over the body of the king to the Lord Chamberlain. The incident is scarcely worth notice, except as affording a very early indication of the policy of Mr. Brougham—"that he at least had no intention of any longer forming a portion of what was termed his Majesty's opposition, but that he was about to resume in earnest the character of an opponent."* The voice of public scandal, whose echo never died away, asserted that the Marquis of Conyngham and his family had very important private interests to take care of at Windsor Castle, in the few hours that elapsed between the death of the king and their departure from the palace of which they had long been inmates.

On the 29th of June the business of parliament commenced. A message from the king recommended "such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present session and the meeting of a new parliament." During the remaining three weeks of the session there was much sharp discussion in both Houses. On the 30th of June, in the House of Lords, earl Grey, upon the question of an Address to his Majesty, moved an amendment to adjourn, in order to give time for the consideration of the Civil List, and the expediency of providing a Regency. The original motion was carried by a large majority. In the House of Commons, lord Althorp moved a similar amendment which was also lost. On that night, after the proposed amendment had been negatived, a new debate arose upon the question being put on the original Address. Several years had passed since the House of Commons had heard such unmeasured language as now proceeded from the orator who was the real leader of the Opposition. It is difficult to understand how this fierceness should have been provoked by any act or manifest temper of the government—by anything beyond the popular suspicion that the duke of Wellington was an enemy to the liberties of his country. A threat was supposed to have been held out in the other House by the duke which Mr. Brougham thus interpreted for him—"if you leave government in the minority, I will resign, and where then will you get a Field-Marshal to superintend your finances and your law-courts?" Mr. Brougham then warned the government that in the event of a new election they might look back even to the parliament with some of the pleasures of memory. Their case might be the same as that of prince Polignac, who must needs send the representatives of France to their constituents, and in choosing a new Assembly that great nation was up, not in arms, but in the panoply of reason. "We can perceive, sir, in this country as in that, that the day of force is over, and that the Minister who hopes to rule by an appeal to Royal favour or military power may be overwhelmed, though I in nowise accuse him of such an attempt. Him I accuse not. It is you I accuse—his flatterers—his mean, fawning parasites." Sir Robert Peel rose: "I

* Roebuck, "History of the Whig Ministry," vol. i. p. 251.

ask the hon. and learned gentleman, as I am one of those on this side of the House to which he is referring, whether he means to accuse me of such conduct? . . . . I ask him whether he presumes to call me the mean and fawning parasite of anybody?" The historian of the Whig Ministry says, "Checked thus suddenly in mid-career, Mr. Brougham seemed at once to perceive that the phrase he had used, and the charge he had brought, were not to be justified." He disclaimed every intention of applying the words to sir Robert Peel himself. Sir Robert Peel required something more. Mr. Brougham had "no right to accuse men as honest, upright, and independent as himself, of being parasites. He would make the apology and retraction for the hon. and learned gentleman"—that "these words were uttered in the warmth of debate, and without reference to any individual application."* Mr. Brougham at once adopted the apology thus prescribed to him.

On the 6th of July Mr. R. Grant moved an Address to his Majesty, touching the expediency of making provision against the dangers to which the country might be exposed by a demise of the crown. The motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifty-four. It was on this occasion that Mr. Macaulay, who had very recently been returned to Parliament for the borough of Calne, first exhibited his power of discussing a constitutional question upon broader principles than those of a mere debater. The Solicitor-General had talked about the delicacy due to the new monarch; that in previous cases of interference there had been a suspension of the executive functions. "I should wish," said Mr. Macaulay, "to ask the honourable and learned gentleman what he conceives to be the end and object of Parliament? The history of our hereditary form of government does not present us with any certain security for the wisdom or virtue of the chief magistrate. The destinies of the community may be entrusted to the feeble hands of infancy; and this and other consequences have afforded ample themes to the satirist and the declaimer. Look, at this moment, at the enormous weight and extent of power confided to the hereditary monarch, whether an infant or an adult. . . . . Yet this enormous empire, with all its complicated interests, may be placed under the control of a thoughtless boy or girl. For a child, unable to walk or to express the simplest wish in its mother tongue, the claims of veteran Generals and of accomplished Statesmen are passed by. Senates pay it homage, and by the years of its rule laws are numbered and public Acts are dated. To many this system may appear, if not absurd, unreasonable; and what is the answer? Why in this enlightened age do we resist, and would oppose even with our lives any change of that system? What is the advantage that counterbalances its numerous and admitted evils? It may be designated in one word—certainty. . . . . Under an hereditary government the Royal authority passes without interval from one Royal depository to another, and none can dispute in whom the right of supreme magistracy resides. If this certainty be of more value than wisdom, virtues, or public services—if it be paramount to every other consideration, then, I ask, what becomes of all the arguments of the honourable and learned member? He tells us to pause in the appointment of a Regency, and to choose well, rather than to choose soon; but if we follow his advice, we forego the only advantage of our hereditary form of government—its certainty."* A satisfactory measure by which this desirable certainty was attained, the personage in whom the nation could place the utmost confidence being nominated sole Regent, was passed in the new Parliament. The Duchess of Kent was appointed to this high office, in the event of the princess Victoria becoming Queen before she had attained the age of eighteen.

* Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 286.

The king, on the 23rd of July, prorogued Parliament in person. The royal speech contained these flattering words: "It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find myself enabled to congratulate you upon the general tranquillity of Europe." On the 24th Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

It has been observed by M. Guizot that the ties, apparent or concealed, that exist between France and England, have never been broken even by their rivalries. "Whether they know or are ignorant of it, whether they acknowledge or deny the fact, they cannot avoid being powerfully acted upon by each other."† Never was this truth more strikingly exemplified than in the effect produced upon English opinion with regard to our domestic politics, by that French revolution of 1830 which, bursting forth within forty-eight hours of the dissolution of our own Parliament, had a most decided influence upon the elections that took place during the month of August, and thus produced a change of administration which immediately led to our own peaceful revolution—the Reform of Parliament. To comprehend in some degree the causes of the great event which hurled the elder branch of the Bourbons from that throne upon which they appeared to be firmly seated after the battle of Waterloo, we must advert very briefly to the course of the government of France after the death of Louis XVIII., on the 16th of September, 1824.

* Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 326.

† Guizot, "Memoirs to illustrate the History of My Time," vol. i. p. 306.

On the 15th of August, a month only before the decease of Louis, the censorship of journals was re-established by a royal ordinance. The state of the king's health appeared to the minister, M. de Villèle, to require that the government should have in its hands this power of controlling the press. The good sense of Louis XVIII., and his desire to govern as far as possible in an enlightened and liberal spirit, preserved France during his reign from any popular convulsion. Under the Charter the struggles of parties were of a constitutional character. There were great orators in the Chamber of Deputies who were opposed to the government; there were bitter satirists in prose and verse, such as Courier and Beranger, who attacked the ultra-royalist party and the priestly party with unsparing ridicule; nevertheless, the nation had not arrived at the belief that another vital change in its institutions was necessary, and was content to confide in the power of the Charter gradually to repair its own deficiencies. Charles X. came to the throne. The French saw the change with something like dread, for he was considered the representative of ultra-royalist opinions. He at once manifested a solicitude that the people should accept him as a constitutional king. His first act was to abolish the censorship of the journals. He said to the peers and deputies that his great desire was to consolidate the Charter for the happiness of his people. He promised to each religious body protection for its worship. The ceremony of consecrating the king at Rheims was little in accordance with the spirit of the age, or the general character of the French. The people laughed and sneered when the "Moniteur" said:—"There is no doubt that the holy oil which will flow on the forehead of Charles X. in the solemnity of his consecration, is the same as that which, since the time of Clovis, has consecrated the French kings." Napoleon putting the crown upon his own head, was a fitter type of popular sovereignty in France than Charles X. anointed in seven parts of his body by the Archbishop of Rheims. Nevertheless, the king had solemnly promised to maintain the Charter, and the obsolete pageantries of his coronation were not imputed to him as a fault. The people had soon to learn how little dependence could be placed upon the professions, and even upon the liberal actions, of their new king. "Without false calculation or premeditated deceit, Charles X. wavered from contradiction to contradiction, from inconsistency to inconsistency, until the day when, given up to his own will and belief, he committed the error which cost him his throne."* He was at heart "a true emigrant and a submissive bigot." In 1826, a

* Guizot, vol. i. p. 266.

shrewd Englishman, writing from Paris, saw clearly how the bigotry would terminate:—"The French government are behaving very foolishly, flinging themselves into the arms of the Jesuits; making processions through the streets of twelve hundred priests, with the king and royal family at their head; disgusting the people, and laying the foundation of another revolution, which seems to me (if this man lives) to be inevitable."*

M. de Villèle's career, as the chief minister of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., had been of a longer duration than might have been expected from the discordant elements by which he was surrounded. For six years he had been the presiding spirit of the government. When he entered upon power he said, "I am born for the end of revolutions." This belief had little of the spirit of prophecy, however the prudence and sagacity of this minister might have retarded that isolation of the ruler from the ruled which is the beginning of new revolutions. The elections of 1827 were unfavourable to the government; and the minister, not having the cordial support of the whole royalist party, was compelled to retire from office. The dauphiness said to the king, "in abandoning M. de Villèle, you have descended the first step of your throne." M. de Martignac became the head of the cabinet which replaced that of M. de Villèle. His tendencies were liberal and constitutional; his talents had not their proper influence either with the king or the chambers. He did what was in his power to prevent the measures of repression which one party desired, and to carry forward those measures of conciliation which he thought would retard a rupture between the throne and the nation. Lafayette characterized the policy of Martignac in a very significant sentence:—"Three steps forward and two backward, we have the net product of one little step." To move forward at all, and not have the power of carrying the chambers in a retrogressive policy, was held at the Tuileries to be the fault of this minister. In August, 1829, a royal ordinance appeared changing the whole of the ministry, and finally appointing Prince Jules de Polignac president of the council. The prince had been ambassador to England; and many of the French, and not a few of the English, chose to believe that he had been appointed to his post through the influence of the duke of Wellington, and that his subsequent measures were taken in concert with our cabinet. Sir Robert Peel, on the 2nd of November, 1830, emphatically denied that the government of this country, directly or indirectly, had interfered in this ap-

* "Letters of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 261.

pointment.* In the choice of Polignac as his prime minister, "Charles X.," says M. Guizot, "had hoisted upon the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution." On the 2nd of March, 1830, the chambers were opened. There was a half menace in the royal speech, which appeared to presage some exercise of arbitrary power. "If criminal manœuvres were to place obstacles in the way of my government, which I neither can, nor wish to foresee, I should find the power of surmounting them in a resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French people, and in the devotion which they have always demonstrated for their king." The address of the Chamber of Deputies, which was carried by a majority of 221 to 181, affirmed that it was their duty to declare to the king that the Charter supposed, in order to its working, a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of his people; that it was their painful duty to declare that such concurrence existed no longer, as the administration ordered all its acts upon the supposition of the disaffection of the people. The next day the chambers were prorogued till the 1st of September. On the 16th of May they were dissolved. New elections were ordered for June and July, and the parliament so elected was to meet on the 3rd of August. Most men saw clearly that a great struggle was at hand. The duke of Orleans, on the 31st of May, gave a fête in honour of his brother-in-law, the King of Naples, at the Palais Royal, at which Charles X. and the royal family were present. M. de Salvandy said to the duke of Orleans, "This is truly a Neapolitan festival; we are dancing on a volcano." The duke agreed with him, adding that he would not have to reproach himself with making no effort to open the eyes of the king. "What am I to do? Nothing is listened to. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months. But I well know where I shall be. Under any circumstances my family and I remain in this palace." †

On the 12th of July, during the progress of the French elections, the news arrived of the capture of Algiers. For two or three years the French government had been carrying on a small war against that barbarian power. But the ministry of Polignac resolved to strike a great blow for the establishment of a colonial dominion, and for the revival of that passion for military glory which had so often bestowed popularity upon the rulers of France, in their neglect of the national industry and their indifference to the growth of the people's liberties. A formidable expedition sailed from Toulon on the 25th of May, of which the three hundred

* Hansard, Third Series, vol. i. p. 90. † Guizot, vol. ii. p. 12.

and fifty ships carried forty thousand troops. Before the elections began, the landing of this expedition was announced. Before they were concluded, Algiers had been surrendered, and the Dey had been dethroned. But this triumph produced not the slightest effect upon the elections. In some respects, it made the electors more determined that a military glory should not encourage the tendencies to Absolutism at home. M. Guizot, upon hearing the news of the capture of Algiers, wrote, "I hope this success will not stimulate power to the last madness." The elections being completed, it was ascertained beyond a doubt that a very large majority of the Chamber of Deputies would be opposed to the administration of the prince de Polignac. Charles X. at this juncture was meditating some desperate act which would restore what he believed to be his legitimate rights. "The Charter contained, for a prudent and patient monarch, certain means of exercising the royal authority, and of securing the Crown. But Charles X. had lost confidence in France and in the Charter." * The historian of his own time relates that the Russian ambassador, count Pozzo di Borgo, a few days before the government was committed to its fatal determination, had an audience with the King, in which his Majesty's conversation led the shrewd diplomatist to have little doubt as to the measures in preparation. He had found the King studying the fourteenth article of the Charter, "seeking with honest inquietude the interpretation he wanted to find there: in such cases we always discover what we are in search of." † The fourteenth article of the French Constitution says that the King is supreme head of the State. How Charles X. interpreted this is disclosed in that Revolution of July for which it is affirmed France had no desire. "The spirit of legality and sound political reason had made remarkable progress. Even during the ferment of the elections, public feeling loudly repudiated all idea of a new revolution." ‡

On the 21st of July a Report, signed by the prince de Polignac, was presented to the King in council, in which it was represented that signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy presented themselves in every part of the kingdom; that the periodical press was the chief instrument of disorder and sedition. It had endeavoured to eradicate every germ of religious sentiment from the heart of the people; worst of all, it had dared to criticise the causes, the means, the preparations, and the chances of success of that expedition whose glory had cast such a pure and durable brilliancy over the crown of France. The laws were insufficient to restrain the

* Guizot, vol. i. p. 357. † *Ibid.*, p. 358. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

licence of the press; it was time, it was more than time, to stop its ravages. The report then set forth that the ordinary conditions of representative government did not then exist in France; that a turbulent democracy had disposed of a majority of the elections through the means of the journals and by affiliated societies. The fourteenth article of the Charter was then appealed to as giving to the King a sufficient power, not indeed for the change of institutions, but for their consolidation and immutability. No government on earth could stand if it had not the power of providing for its own security, which is pre-existent to laws, because it is in the nature of things. The moment was come to have recourse to measures which were in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain. Such was the tenor of the document which an infatuated ministry presented to an infatuated king, as a justification of the decrees which they proposed for the overthrow of the Constitution.

The three ordinances by which the liberty of the periodical press was suspended, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the number of deputies was lessened, and their term of office regulated, were kept profoundly secret till nearly midnight of the 25th of July. No communication whatever was made to the heads of the police, nor to the commanders of the forces, that any unusual amount of vigilance or energy might be required in the possible event of a popular movement. The ministers had not the least idea that any effect would be produced by their acts beyond the suspension of obnoxious journals, and the re-election of a Chamber of Deputies under conditions more favourable to the government. At eleven o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the 25th of July, copies of the memorial of the ministers to the King, and of the three ordinances which had been signed in Council on that day, were sent to the responsible editor of the "Moniteur," to be published in his paper of the following morning.

On Monday morning, the 26th of July, whilst the population of Paris were quietly proceeding to their various duties or pleasures, Paris was shaken to its centre as by a political earthquake. Before the doors of the Bourse were opened, the holders of stock were crowding thither to sell. More important than the operations of commerce were the proceedings of the journalists. The proprietors and editors of the chief opposition papers took a wise and prudent course in the first instance. They consulted the most eminent lawyers, who gave their opinion that the ordinances were illegal, and ought not to be submitted to. One of the judges of

the Tribunal of First Instance authorized the "Journal of Commerce" to continue its publication provisionally, because the ordinances had not been promulgated in legal forms. Forty-four conductors of newspapers assembled at the office of the "National," signed a protest in which they declared their intention to resist the ordinances as regarded their own interests, and invited the deputies to meet on the 3rd of August as if no decree had gone forth for new elections. The Government, said this protest, has this day lost that character of legality which commands obedience; we resist it as far as we are concerned; it remains for France to judge how far it should carry its own resistance. On that Monday there was no appearance of popular insurrection. There was occasionally a cry in the streets of "Long live the Charter!—Down with the ministers!"

The next day a more ominous cry went forth—"Up with Liberty—Down with the Bourbons." The provisions of the decrees respecting the Press were to be carried through by naked force. Four of the most popular journals had been printed without the licence which was required by the ordinance. Sentinels were placed around the offices to prevent their sale; but copies of the journals, which, not only contained the ordinances, but the protest of the journalists, were thrown out of the windows, and were quickly circulated throughout Paris. The old scenes of the Revolution of 1789 were rapidly developed. In the Palais Royal, and other public places, men mounted upon chairs read the ordinances and the bitter comments upon them to assembled crowds. The steps taken by the police to prevent the farther issue of these papers were calculated to stimulate the excitement of the people into absolute fury. The doors of the offices where they were printed were broken open, and the presses rendered unserviceable. The printers thrown out of their employ joined the crowds in the streets; and they are not a class to be injured without lifting up their voices against the wrong. In the course of that Tuesday the resistance to the acts of the government began to be transferred to men who might have been able to guide its course more safely than the declamation of the journalists or the passions of the populace. The Deputies were beginning to arrive in Paris. M. Guizot describes how, on reaching the city on the morning of the 27th, he found a note from M. Casimir Périer, inviting him to a meeting of some of their colleagues. "A few hours before," he says, "and within a short distance of Paris, the decrees were unknown to me; and, by the side of legal opposition, I saw on my arrival revolutionary and unchained insurrec-

tion." * He went to the meeting at the house of M. Casimir Périer and was selected, in conjunction with MM. Villemain and Dupin, to draw up in the name of the deputies present a protest against the decrees. This protest was adopted on the 28th. It was signed by sixty-three deputies. Its tone was moderate, and did not close the door against conciliation. It left to the king and his advisers a *locus penitentiæ*.

The solution of the great question was very soon to be taken out of the hands of deputies who entertained a diversity of opinion; some wishing to carry resistance to the utmost limit of legal order and not beyond, some desiring a change of dynasty, and a few sighing for a republic. The people in the streets were not distracted by contending opinions; they were not inclined to look forward to "the fashion of uncertain evils." They saw that the government had forfeited its claim to their obedience, and they little cared what form of government might succeed to the one that had betrayed its trust. There were ten thousand soldiers in Paris under the command of Marmont. The immediate business which presented itself to the minds of the people was to fight, if necessary. Guizot relates that, whilst he and a few other deputies were consulting on the evening of the 28th of July, in a drawing-room of the ground-floor of a private residence, whose windows were open, a crowd of labouring people, youths, children, and combatants of every kind, filled the court-yard, and addressing the deputies, said, they were ready to defend them, if soldiers and police, as was stated, were coming to arrest them. At the same time they demanded an instant adhesion to their revolutionary proceedings. M. Guizot says, that the revolutionists at any price, the dreamers of an imaginary future, had rapidly thrown themselves into the movement, and became hourly more influential and exacting. "Some firm well-regulated minds ventured to resist and show themselves resolved not to become revolutionists even while promoting a revolution." This was a subtle distinction, which certainly did not enter into the views of the great body of the bourgeoisie, who entered almost with one accord into the contest with unconstitutional power, although they had everything to lose by the spread of anarchy. The manufacturers had closed their workshops, and sent their men into the streets to contend for their common liberties. The members of the National Guard, which had been disbanded in 1827, had again put on their uniforms and taken their arms, which the greater part of them had retained. The crowd, which on the evening of the 28th surrounded the drawing-room

* Guizot, "My Own Time," vol. ii. p. 3.

with open windows had been fighting themselves throughout the day, or knew that there had been fighting in almost every quarter of Paris. From daybreak, multitudes had begun to assemble, armed with sticks and pikes, old guns and sabres. They unpaved the streets; they threw up barricades of timber and of carts filled with the paving-stones; they seized the Hôtel de Ville; they hoisted the tri-coloured flag on its roof, and on the towers of Nôtre-Dame. The bells of the municipal palace and of the metropolitan church again called the citizens to arms as in the days of the first Revolution. Terror was in every family now as then; but there were no frightful excesses, no sanguinary scenes of popular vengeance, to make even the name of Liberty hateful. The people stood prepared for the struggle with the regular troops that was coming upon them—for Paris, on that morning of the 28th, had been declared by the government to be in a state of siege. Marmont had not begun to act after receiving the ordinance, which thus declared that the military power was the sole arbiter, before the insurgents were in possession of the chief part of the capital. He finally formed his troops in four columns, which were directed upon different points. It was not long before the sanguinary conflict began. It would be beyond the object of this history, even if it were in the power of the writer, to furnish a clear detail in a small compass of the struggles of this memorable day. Those who witnessed some of the many occurrences which were proceeding simultaneously in distant parts of Paris felt this difficulty in the subsequent discharge of their official duty. "The events," said M. Martignac, in the defence of Polignac, "so press upon, jostle, and confound each other, that the imagination can scarcely follow them, or the understanding range them in order." The first serious fighting appears to have taken place in the narrow street of St. Antoine, which was closed by barricades. From the houses approaching this street, paving-stones, broken bottles, and even articles of furniture, were showered upon the heads of the unfortunate soldiery. The column which was ordered to force this street returned to the Tuileries where Marmont had his head-quarters. Another column had to sustain an obstinate fight about the Hôtel de Ville. The general who commanded the troops obtained possession of the place, but he was compelled to confine his resistance to the populace to defensive operations. Another column lost many men at the Marché des Innocens. The fourth column sustained less loss. Night came on. The firing was still continued; the tocsin was rung from every church; the lamps were extinguished in the streets. Neither mail nor diligence left Paris. The communication with

the provinces by telegraph was cut off. During the afternoon five deputies headed by M. Lafitte had waited upon Marshal Marmont at the Tuileries to ask for a suspension of hostilities, that in the interval they might send a deputation to the King. The marshal said he could only despatch a messenger to the King to inform him of the proceedings of the assembled deputies and of the state of affairs in Paris. His aide-de-camp received at St. Cloud a verbal answer directing Marmont to hold out, to collect his forces, and to act in masses. In conformity with these orders, the column which had held the Hôtel de Ville returned at midnight to the Tuileries, having left in the streets several hundred men killed or wounded. The King in his suburban palace had no conception of the magnitude of the danger; but was passing his evening at cards, whilst the court routine went forward as if the distant boom of the cannon was a sound which should inspire no fear and awaken little sympathy.

On the 28th the working classes had almost exclusively borne the brunt of the battle. On the morning of the 29th, hostilities had again commenced by seven o'clock. National Guards, young students, and even deputies, were now at the barricades. The stately Faubourg St. Germain was now as ready for battle as the dingy Faubough St. Antoine. The posts of the Luxembourg were disarmed. At a very early hour several royalists of high rank went to the Tuileries and had an interview with Marmont and Polignac. They urged the minister to recall the ordinances. He was calm and polite, but would promise nothing. He would consult his colleagues. They then suggested to Marmont that he should arrest the ministers. He seemed somewhat inclined to take their advice, when Peyronnet, one of the most obnoxious of the cabinet, came in, and exclaimed, "What! are you not gone yet?" They had stated their intention to go to St. Cloud. They set out, but Polignac got there before them. According to M. Guizot, the duke de Mortémart, Messrs. de Sémonville, d'Argout, de Vitrolles, and de Sussy, were "the enlightened royalists who attempted to give legal satisfaction to the country, and to bring about an arrangement between the inert royalty at St. Cloud and the boiling revolution at Paris. But when they demanded an audience of the king they were met by the unseasonable hour, by etiquette, the countersign, and repose." From Charles X., whose inconsistency in this trying hour of his destiny was as remarkable as in all his previous actions, they at last extorted a promise for the dismissal of the Polignac ministry, the appointment of the duke de Mortémart as President of the Council, and for other appointments which would be a guarantee for constitutional government. Still the king lingered and delayed the proper signatures till late in the day to the necessary ordinances. The duke de Mortémart, who set out on his return to Paris without a proper passport, met with a succession of interruptions from the royal guards. He had equal difficulty with the people in passing the barricades. The battle was raging all round Marmont at the Tuileries. The detachment at the Palais Bourbon was attacked, and the commander retired with his troops into the garden, and promised to be neutral. The Louvre was surrounded by masses of the populace, of whom a great number fell by the fire of the Swiss from the windows. At the Place Vendôme two regiments of the line were stationed, and a remnant of the gendarmerie. They were surrounded by the people, who, manifesting no inclination to regard the soldiers as enemies, the whole body of the troops with their officers went over to the side of the insurgents. On a second attack the Swiss were driven from the Louvre. The defection of the army, which was beginning to spread, proclaimed to Marmont that it was impossible to continue this contest. The insurrection had become a revolution. He hastily quitted the Tuileries with his troops to repair to St. Cloud. The populace as quickly broke into the palace. The tri-colour was hoisted on the staff where the white flag of the Bourbons had floated for fifteen years. The deputies who had met in the morning had determined to establish a provisional government. Lafayette, who had received from them the command of the forces in Paris, had, in the uniform of a National Guard, gone to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville. Upon the news of the defection of the two regiments, and the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries, a municipal commission that had been formed by ballot, with authority to take all measures that the public safety might require, installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by dead bodies heaped up on the Place. In a few hours the National Guard was organized; the administration of finance was provided for; the Post-office was again set in action; the mails and the diligences left Paris bearing the tri-colour flag. Three of the Royalists who had been at St. Cloud arrived at ten o'clock at night with the ordinances already mentioned, and with a further ordinance, repealing those of the 25th July, and appointing the Chamber of Deputies to meet on the 3rd of August. The three Royalists from St. Cloud came to negotiate for the preservation of the Crown to Charles X. They were interrupted by cries of "It is too late!" The sovereignty of France had vanished from the grasp of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

On the 30th of July the deputies who had held their previous