THE

POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL

WORKS

OF

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

President of the French Republic.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

WITH

AN ORIGINAL MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE,

BROUGHT DOWN TO THE

PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852;

AND

OCCASIONAL NOTES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON LIBRARY, 227, STRAND.

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VI.m.6

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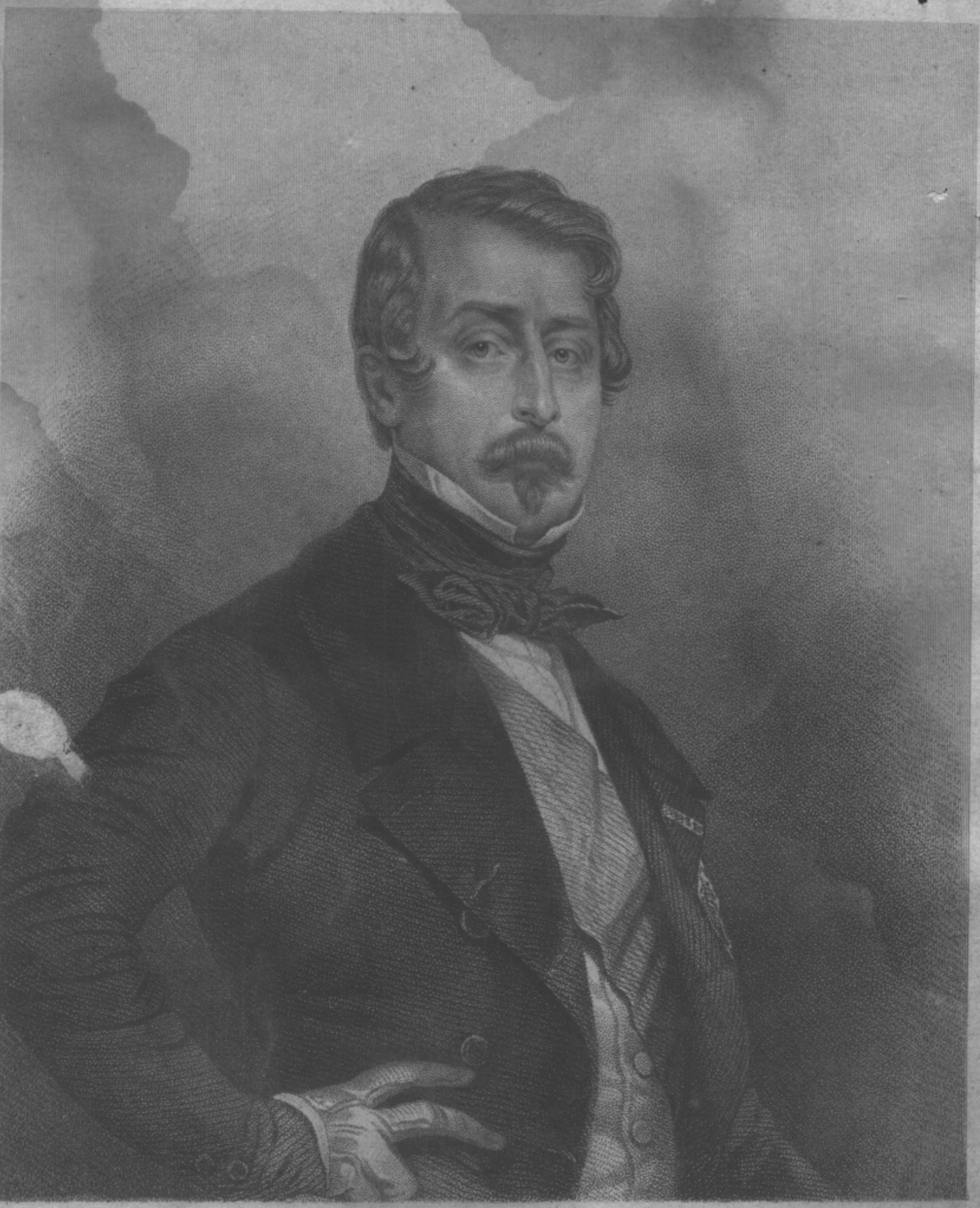
LIFE AND WORKS

OF

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

&c. &c. &c.

VOL. I.



Maurin. Jenkins.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte

President of the French Republic.

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LONDON
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COVENT GARDEN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE various historical and political works of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, though composed at intervals, and whilst the author was in exile or captivity, have all one great object mainly in view, the constitutional re-organization of France. His theory of national reformation is based upon a revival of what he terms the *Idée Napoléonienne*, which he labours to show is the only political system which can meet the requirements, accord with the habits, and command the respect and sympathy of the French nation.

At the present moment, when such projects, from time to time dimly foreshadowed, have been followed by an overt act of usurpation without parallel in the history of modern Europe, and when the consequences of this step are yet doubtful, it was considered that a collection of the writings of the representative of Napoleonism would form an interesting addition to the historical of the age; —and in this light the present volumes are respectfully offered to the British public.

The text followed is that of Temblaire's edition, published at Paris in 1848. A few notes have been added,

chiefly in explanation of the circumstances under which the particular works were produced.

A Memoir of the Political Life of the President of the French Republic precedes his works. This has been compiled from various sources,—including the Memoir by Temblaire (1848);—"the Prisoner of Ham" (1846), since reproduced under the title of "Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, his Life, Captivity, and Escape from Ham;"—De la Guerronnière's "Portraits Politiques" (1851), and contemporary periodicals and journals down to the date of writing. By way of rendering this portion of the subject still more complete, both as a matter of immediate interest, and as a record for future reference, a variety of important documents relating to the Coup-d'Etat of 1851-2 have been appended to the second volume.

London, Feb. 13, 1852.

VI.m.6

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POLITICAL LIFE

OF

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EDUCATION.—EXILE.

CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, the third and only surviving son of the late Louis Bonaparte, ex-King of Holland (brother of the Emperor Napoleon), and Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine, by her marriage with the Viscount de Beauharnois, was born at the Palace of the Tuileries on the 20th April, 1808.

Such, at least, is the authentic pedigree of the present Dictator of France, although scandal has made free to ascribe to him a different paternity. Everybody knows that Louis and Hortense were the victims of a *mariage de convenance*, being almost compelled to it by the united persuasions of Napoleon and Josephine; and Fouché even goes so far as more than to insinuate that the object of this alliance was to throw a veil over an already existing intimacy between the Emperor and his step-daughter, and suggests that the former was actually the father of her first child.* However this may be, it is certain that the new couple, from the first, never pretended to any regard for one

* Napoleon always indignantly denied this imputation; and De Bourrienne refuted it.—EDITOR.

another, and that from the date of their marriage, 2nd January, 1802, down to that of their final separation, in September, 1807, they were not together more than four months in the whole, and that at three wide intervals. After their separation, Hortense went to Paris, where she resided, in great splendour, at court, and where, as above stated, her last son, the subject of the present memoir, was born some months subsequently.

It is worthy of remark that the King of Rome* and the Prince Louis Napoleon were the only two princes of the family who were born under the Imperial *régime*, and who received at their birth military honours, and the homage of the people. Salvos of artillery announced the birth of the Prince Louis Napoleon along the whole line of the '*grande armée*,' throughout the vast extent of the Empire, and in the kingdom of Holland.

In 1810 he was baptized, amid great splendour, at Fontainbleau, the Emperor and the Empress Marie Louise acting as sponsors.

In 1816, after the return of Louis XVIII., the Prince, with his mother, under the title of Duchess of St. Leu, retired to Bavaria. Here, however, they were not permitted to remain, and after a brief sojourn in Switzerland, which political motives compelled them to leave, the family finally settled at Rome. The Prince's education was intrusted to M. Lebas, who was hereditarily a staunch republican, being the son of Lebas, Robespierre's associate, who, at the latter's death, rather than outlive his master, shot himself.

In 1830 the new aspect of political affairs, induced by the French revolution, was looked upon by the Bonaparte

* Son of Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa; afterwards known as the Duke de Reischstadt. He died at Schönbrunn in 1832.

family as one worthy of consideration, as involving their possible future interests. Accordingly, in the December of that year, a sort of family conclave was held at Rome, at which were assembled Letizia, the grandmother, styled by courtesy "Madame Mère," Cardinal Fesch, and Jerome Bonaparte, the Countess St. Leu, and her son, Louis Napoleon. The proceeding was looked upon with jealousy and alarm by the authorities, more especially the presence of the young prince; and a request for his withdrawal from the Papal territories having been made through Cardinal Fesch, without avail, force was resorted to, and he was escorted by a guard of soldiers beyond the frontier.

Expelled from Rome, Louis Napoleon, together with his elder brother, threw himself with ardour into the Italian revolution, which broke out early in the ensuing spring. Tri-coloured flags waved in Ferrara, Urbino, and several other cities. There was, however, a want of union; there was also a want of high military talent. Louis Napoleon and his brother formed moving columns, and endeavoured to organize the revolutionary efforts. Aided by General Sercognani, they defeated the Papal forces in several places. Great rejoicing prevailed in the camp of the insurgents; alarm and confusion filled the Vatican. Both were of short duration. The crooked and double-tongued policy of the French and Austrian rulers gained the upper hand. The two princes were deprived of their command, and banished from the soil of Italy. Meanwhile the elder brother fell sick at Faenza, with an attack of internal inflammation, and shortly afterwards died, March 27, 1831.

Louis Napoleon also was sick, disappointed, disgusted with his ill-success, and not altogether free from anxiety for the future consequences to himself. His mother then came to his rescue, and, in the character of one of her

domestics, he succeeded in evading the of the Austrian troops, and arrived at Cannes—that very Cannes at which, sixteen years before, the Emperor Napoleon had landed from Elba. Escaped from a foreign enemy, the fugitives were now exposed to a new danger in their native land, and were liable to be taken prisoners by the first police agent who might chance to recognise them. They resolved, at all hazards, to reach Paris, and to throw themselves upon the generosity of the King of the French, whose family had been under obligations to the Emperor* for some marks of favour obtained chiefly through the influence of Hortense. Arrived, still *incognito*, at the French capital, the French king, not yet warm in his seat, trembled at sight of them, and, by fair words, sought to persuade them to withdraw from the country. Louis Napoleon applied to the king to allow him to serve in the army, even as a common soldier, an application which was *tout purement* negatived. This refusal was followed up by a peremptory order to quit the kingdom. In England they found an asylum, where they remained till August, 1831, when they returned to Switzerland, and took up their abode at Arenemberg.

Early in 1832, the authorities of the canton of Thurgovia presented the Prince with the rights of citizenship, announcing the honour conferred upon him in the following letter:—

"We, the president of the petty council of the canton of Thurgovia, declare that the commune of Sallenstein, having offered the right of communal citizenship to his highness the Prince Louis Napoleon, out of gratitude for

* He permitted Louis Philippe's mother and aunt to remain in France, and settled upon the former an annuity of 400,000 francs, and upon the latter one of 200,000 francs.

the favours conferred upon the canton by the family of the Duchess of St. Leu, since her residence in Arenemberg; and the grand council having afterwards by its unanimous vote of the 14th of April, sanctioned this award, and decreed unanimously to his highness the right of honorary burgess-ship of the canton, with the desire of proving how highly it honours the generous character of this family, and how highly it appreciates the preference they have shown for the canton, declares that his highness Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the Duke and Duchess of St. Leu, is acknowas a citizen of the canton of Thurgovia.

"In virtue of which we have made out the present act of burgess-ship; certified by our signature and the seal of the state.

"The president of the petty council,

(Signed) "AUDERWEST.

"The secretary of state,

(Signed) "MOERIKOFER.

"Given at Frauenfeld, 30th April, 1832."

The Prince acknowledged this flattering testimonial in the following terms:—

"Monsieur le President,—It is with great pleasure that I have received the right of burgess-ship which the canton has been pleased to offer me. I am happy that new ties now attach me to a country which for sixteen years has afforded to us such kind hospitality.

"My position as an exile from my country, makes me the more sensible of this mark of attention on your part. Believe me, that under all circumstances of my future life, as a Frenchman and a Bonaparte, I shall be proud of being the citizen of a free nation. My mother desires me to say how much she is touched with the interest you have shown towards me.

"I beg, M. le President, that you will interpret my sentiments to the council.

"Receive the assurance, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."*

M. Temblaire states that the Prince, in further testimony of his sense of the honour conferred upon him, presented to the canton two six-pounders, with trains and equipage complete, and founded a free-school in the village of Sallenstein.

Louis Napoleon had been several years studying as a volunteer in the military school of Thun; and in 1833, having published a book upon artillery, the government of Berne nominated him a captain in the Bernese regiment of artillery. On this occasion, the Prince wrote the following letter acknowledging the favour, to M. Tavel, the vice-president of the government:—

"Monsieur le President,

"I have this instant received the warrant which informs me that the executive council of the city of Berne has appointed me a captain of artillery. I hasten to express to you my acknowledgments, for by this act you have realized my utmost desire. My own country—or rather, the government of France—repulses me, because I

* After the death of his elder brother, in 1831, the Prince signed his name thus, "Napoleon-Louis Bonaparte," in accordance with the injunction of the Emperor, who desired that the eldest representative of the family should always bear the name of Napoleon. At the time of the elections, which took place after the Revolution of February, 1848, this order in the prefixes of the Prince having given occasion to some confusion, he decided upon again adopting the signature which he had used before the death of his brother, and he now (1848) signs himself—"Louis Napoleon Bonaparte."—TEMBLAIRE. [The eldest son of Louis and Hortense died in infancy, in 1807.—ED.]

am the nephew of a great man. You are more just to me.

"I am proud of being ranked amongst the number of the defenders of a state where the sovereignty of the people is recognised as the basis of the constitution, and where every citizen is ready to lay down his life for the liberty and the independence of his country.

"Receive the assurance, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

In connexion with this appointment it should be borne in mind that there is no permanent army in Switzerland, and that this commission of captain conferred upon Louis Napoleon had no other effect than that of affording him facilities for continuing his military studies in the school of practice at Thun.

In 1835, Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, having lost her husband, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, there were some persons who threw their eyes upon Louis Napoleon, to supply his place. To some advances which were addressed to him on this subject, he replied in the following letter:—

"Arenemberg, Dec. 14, 1835.

"Several journals have noticed the news of my departure for Portugal, as though I to the hand of the Queen Donna Maria. However flattering to me might be the idea of an union with a youthful Queen, beautiful and virtuous, the widow of a cousin who was very dear to me, it is incumbent upon me to refute such a rumour, because there is no circumstance, of which I am aware, which could give rise to it.

"It is due to myself also to add that, in spite of the lively interest which attaches to the destinies of a people

who have but recently acquired their rights, I should refuse the honour of sharing the throne of Portugal, should it perchance happen that any persons should direct their eyes to me with that view.

"The noble conduct of my father, who abdicated a throne in 1810 because he could not unite the interests of France with those of Holland, has not left my memory.

"My father, by his example, proved to me how far the claims of one's native land are to be preferred even to a throne in a foreign land.* I feel, in fact, that habituated since infancy to cherish the thought of my native land above every other consideration, I should not be able to hold anything in higher esteem than the interests of France.

"Persuaded as I am that the great name which I bear will not always be held as a ground of exclusion in the eyes of my fellow-countrymen—since that name recalls to them fifteen years of glory—I wait with composure, in a

* All this is what the French politely call *blague*, intended to impose upon Frenchmen the belief that poor Louis Bonaparte—for four short years the puppet king of Holland, abdicated that throne because he could not work the affairs of his new people to the advantage of his fellow-countrymen at home; whereas, the very reverse was the case. The history of this mushroom dynasty of Holland is what any one with a grain of taste, or of common sense, would wish to sink into oblivion—at least, if he professed any regard for the "Idées Napoleoniennes." Poor Louis! he was a good, weak sort of person; was forced upon the throne of Holland by his domineering brother, just as he was forced upon Hortense, and she on him; and he had hardly been there a month before "Mon Oncle" called upon him to cede some of the provinces to France, which he unwillingly did, Flushing amongst the number. In March, 1808, "the great man," finding that the little man was not sufficiently patriotic—in the cause of France—wanted to remove him to Spain, which Louis refused to agree to, pleading an excuse which, to his degenerate son, will sound extravagantly weak—namely, "the oath," which pledged him to his Dutch subjects and to their interests, and "which he could not break!" At the close of 1809, Louis, when under a sort of

hospitable and free country, until the time shall come when the nation shall recall into its bosom those who in 1815 were expatriated by the will of two hundred thousand strangers.

"This hope of one day serving France as a citizen and as a soldier, fortifies my soul, and is worth, in my estimation, all the thrones in the world.

"Receive, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

We have now brought our hero down to the age of manhood—by some called the age of discretion. Up to this period his literary works consisted of his "Rêveries Politiques," including a scheme for a new French Constitution; and his "Considérations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse." His personal achievements had been limited to a very brief and unimportant campaign in Romagna. Would that the next twenty years of his life had been as void of incident, and of offence!

honourable arrest at Paris, being still suspected of want of zeal—in the cause of France—was *compelled* to sign an order to admit French troops into Holland, to enforce the continental system against England. He afterwards, when amongst his own subjects, repented of this step; and when the French troops were actually on their way to occupy Amsterdam, he wanted to place the country in a state of defence by cutting the dikes. From this mad act of rebellion against the Empire his ministry dissuaded him; and then, thoroughly humiliated and disgusted, he resolved upon a coup d'état—not one of perjury and assassination!—he simply abdicated—abdicated not in French interests, but in Dutch interests. Of course, he abdicated in favour of his son; but "Mon Oncle" treated the deed as a nullity, carried off the young prince to St. Cloud, and sent Louis, ex-King of Holland, upon his travels. "The noble conduct of my father" was subsequently ill requited by the good matter-of-fact people of Holland; for when, upon the discomfiture of his tyrannical brother, he bethought him of returning to his "former subjects," they would not have him, and positively refused to let him enter the territory. He then retired for ever into private life.—EDITOR.

CHAPTER II.

INSURRECTION AT STRASBURG.—DEFEAT.—EXILE.

On the 30th of October, 1836, France was awakened from its repose, and Europe frighted from its propriety, by what has been dignified as the "Insurrection at Strasburg."

The secret motives and progress of this wild expedition, about which so little has hitherto been known, are thus set forth by its author in a long letter addressed to his mother, after his expatriation upon the suppression of that revolt:—

"TO MY MOTHER.

MOTHER,

"To give you a detailed recital of my misfortunes, will be to renew your sorrows and mine; but, at the same time, it will be a consolation both for you and for me, to put you in possession of all the impressions which were on my mind, of all the emotions which have agitated me since the close of last October. You know what was the pretext which I held out on my departure from Arenemberg; but what you do not know is that which was then passing in my heart. Strong in my conviction, which had long made me look upon the cause of Napoleonism as the cause of the nation in France, and as the only civilizing cause in Europe,—proud of the nobleness, and the purity of my intentions,—I had become firmly resolved to elevate again the Imperial Eagle, or to fall a victim to my political belief.

"I set out accordingly in my carriage, taking the same road which I had followed three months ago, when proceeding to Nukirch and Baden. Everything around me

bore the same aspect as then; but what a difference in the impressions which animated me! Then I was gay and cheerful as the day that smiled around me; to-day, sad and gloomy, my spirit had taken the infection of the cold and cloudy atmosphere which encompassed me. I shall be asked what it was that forced me to abandon a happy existence, to run all the risks of a hazardous enterprise. I will answer, that a secret voice led me on, and that for no consideration upon earth would I have postponed to another time an attempt which seemed to present so many chances of a successful issue.

"And the most distressing consideration for me in the matter is, that now that experience has taken the place of suppositions, and that, instead of merely imagining, I have actually witnessed the circumstances of the case, I am enabled to form a judgment on the matter; and the result is, that I remain only the more convinced in my belief, that if I could have followed the plan which I had traced out for myself in the first instance, instead of now being an exile beyond the equator, I should be still in my native country. What care I for the cries of the vulgar multitude, who will call me mad because I have not succeeded, and who would have exaggerated my merit if I had triumphed! I take upon myself all the responsibility of the event, for I have acted upon conviction, and not by inducement of others. Alas! if I had been the only victim of my act, I should have nothing to regret. I have experienced from my friends a devotedness without limit, and I have nothing to reproach against any one.

"On the 27th I arrived at Sohr, a small town in the grand duchy of Baden, where I waited for intelligence; the axle of my calèche having broken down near this point of the road, I was compelled to remain a day in this town

On the morning of the 28th, I quitted Sohr, and, retracing my steps, I passed through Fribourg, Neubriach, Colmar, and arrived, at eleven o'clock at night, at Strasbourg, without experiencing the slightest difficulty. My carriage was put up at the 'Hôtel de la Fleur,' whilst I proceeded to locate myself in a small room which had been engaged for me in the Rue de la Fontaine.

"Here, on the following day, I saw Colonel Vaudrey, and submitted to him the plan of operations which I had drawn up; but the colonel, whose noble and generous sentiments merited a better fate, said, 'It is not here a question of a conflict of arms; your cause is too French, and too pure, to be soiled by spilling French blood. There is only one course to pursue which is worthy of you, because it will avoid all collision: when you are at the head of my regiment, we will march together to General Voirol; an old soldier will not be able to resist the sight of you, and that of the Imperial Eagle, when he knows that the garrison is with you.' I approved of his arguments, and everything was arranged for the following morning. A house had been engaged near the quartier d'Austerlitz, where we were all to assemble preparatory to repairing to the barracks as soon as the regiment of artillery was assembled.

"On the 29th, at eleven o'clock at night, one of my friends came to seek me in the Rue de la Fontaine, to conduct me to the place of rendezvous. We walked across the town together: a magnificent moonlight was spread over the streets, and I accepted this fine atmosphere as a favourable augury for the morrow. I carefully observed all the parts through which I passed; the silence which everywhere reigned made a deep impression upon me. What, thought I, may reign in place of this calm to-morrow? 'However,' I remarked to my companion, 'there will be no disorder if I succeed, for it is chiefly in order to prevent

the troubles which often accompany popular movements, that I wished to accomplish this revolution by means of the army. But,' I added, 'what confidence, what a profound conviction one must have of the nobleness of a cause, to face, not the dangers which we are going to meet, but public opinion, which will tear us to pieces, which will load us with reproaches, if we do not succeed. Nevertheless, I call God to witness, that it is not to gratify a personal ambition, but because I believe I have a mission to fulfil, that I risk that which is more dear to me than life—the esteem of my fellow-citizens.'

"On arriving at the house in the Rue des Orphelins, I found my friends assembled in two rooms on the basement floor. I thanked them for the devotion which they had shown for my cause, and told them that from that moment we should share together whatever might come of good or evil fortune. One of the officers had brought an eagle; it was that which had belonged to the 7th regiment of the line. 'The eagle of Labédoyère!' we exclaimed, and every one pressed it to his heart with lively emotion. All the officers were in full regimental uniform, and I wore the artillery uniform, and a general officer's hat.

"The night seemed very long. I occupied the time in writing my proclamations, which I did not think it advisable to print beforehand, for fear of any indiscretion. It had been agreed that we should remain in this house until the colonel should have sent me a message to repair to the barracks. We counted the hours, the minutes, the seconds. Six o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed. How difficult it is to describe what one feels on such occasions as this: in one second one lives more than in ten years—for to live is to make use of our organs, of our senses, of our faculties, of all the parts of our entity which produce the idea of existence; and, in such critical moments as these,

our faculties, our organs, our senses, excited to the highest pitch, are concentrated upon a single point; we are arrived at an hour which is to decide all our future destiny. One feels a moral strength when one can say, 'To-morrow I shall be the deliverer of my country, or I shall be in the grave.' One is much to be pitied when the circumstances have so turned out that one has not been able to realize either alternative.

"In spite of my precautions, the noise which must unavoidably be occasioned by a considerable number of persons assembled together, disturbed the occupants of the first floor; we heard them get up, and open their window. This was at five o'clock; and we then became doubly circumspect; and they returned to rest. At length, it struck six o'clock. Never did the strokes of a clock re-echo with such force through my heart; and in a moment's time, the sound of the bugle at the quartier d'Austerlitz accelerated still further its beatings. Yes, the all-important hour had arrived. At this moment a considerable tumult was heard in the street; this was occasioned by some soldiers who passed by raising cries, whilst some horsemen came full gallop before our windows. I sent an officer to inquire into the cause of this disturbance. Could it be the staff of the place already apprized of our projects? Had we been discovered? The officer speedily returned, and informed me, that the noise proceeded from some soldiers whom the colonel had sent to fetch home their horses, which had been out of head-quarters.

"Some minutes more passed away, when it was announced to me, that the colonel was waiting for me. Full of hope, I rushed into the street; M. Parquin, in the uniform of a general of brigade, and a commander of battalion bearing the eagle in his hand, were one on either side of me;—about a dozen officers followed me.

"The distance we had to go was not far; it was soon accomplished. The regiment was drawn up in order of battle in the court of their barracks, inside the gates; úpon the grass were stationed forty of the horse artillery.

"Oh, my mother! judge of the happiness which I enjoyed at that moment. After twenty years of exile, I at length touched the sacred soil of my native land; I found myself surrounded by Frenchmen, whom the memory of the Emperor was about again to warm with electric heat.

"Colonel Vaudrey was alone in the middle of the court. I was advancing towards him, when the colonel, whose noble countenance and figure had, at the moment, something of the sublime about them, drew his sword, and exclaimed: 'Soldiers of the 10th regiment of Artillery! A great revolution is in course of accomplishment at this moment. You behold here before you, the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon. He comes to reconquer the rights of the people;—the people and the army may place full dependence in him. It is around him that all who love the glory and the liberty of France ought to gather themselves. Soldiers! you will feel, as does your commander, all the grandeur of the enterprise which you are about to undertake, all the sanctity of the cause which you are about to defend. Soldiers! may the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon count upon you?'

His voice was drowned at the instant with unanimous cries of "Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!"

"I then spoke in the following terms:—'Resolved to conquer or to die in the cause of the French nation, it was before you that I wished to present myself in the first instance, because between you and me exist some grand recollections in common. It was in your regiment that the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, served as a captain; it was in your company that he distinguished himself at the

siege of Toulon; and it was also your brave regiment which opened the gates of Grenoble to him, on his return from Elba. Soldiers! new destinies are in reserve for you. To you is accorded the glory of commencing a great enterprise—to you it is given first to salute the eagle of Austerlitz and Wagram!' I then snatched the eagle, which had been borne by one of my officers, M. de Querelles, and, presenting it to them, continued:—'Soldiers! behold the symbol of the glory of France, destined also to become the emblem of liberty! During fifteen years it led our fathers to victory—it has glittered upon every field of battle—it has traversed all the capitals of Europe. "Soldiers! will you not rally round this noble standard, which I confide to your honour and your courage? Will you refuse to march with me against the betrayers and oppressors of our country, to the cry of 'Vive la France! vive la Liberté!"'

"A thousand affirmative cries replied to my appeal. We then set out in marching order, the band playing before us. Joy and hope beamed on every face. The plan of operations was, to rush to the general's quarters; to hold—not a pistol at his head—but the eagle before his eyes, in order to lead him with us. In order to arrive at his hotel, we had to march all across the town. On the way I had to send an officer, with a file of men, to a printer's, to publish my proclamations;* another to the *préfet*, to put him under arrest; and others, in all six in number, were despatched upon special missions; so that, by the time I

* These proclamations were to the following effect:—

"In 1830 a government was imposed upon France, without consulting either the people of Paris, or the people of the provinces, or the army. Frenchmen! everything that is established without your authority is illegitimate.

"A national congress, elected by all the citizens of the state, has alone the right of determining what is best for France.

"Paris, in 1830, showed us how to overthrow a wicked government; it is now for us to show the world how to consolidate the liberties of a great nation."

arrived at the general's, I had thus voluntarily parted with a portion of my forces. But, I thought, had I any occasion to surround myself with so many soldiers? Did I not count upon the participation of the people? And, in truth, whatever may now be said of the matter, throughout the whole of my road I received the most unequivocal testimonies of the sympathy of the population. All I had to do was to defend myself against the vehemence of the marks of interest which were lavished upon me; and the various cries which greeted me, showed me that there was not a single party which did not sympathize with the feelings of my heart.

"When we had arrived at the hotel of the general, I ascended to his room, followed by Messrs. Vaudrey, Parquin, and two officers. The general was not yet dressed. I addressed him thus:—'General, I come to you as a friend. I should be much grieved to raise our old tri-colour flag, without having with me a brave soldier like yourself. The garrison is on my side; therefore make up your mind, and follow me.' The eagle was then presented to him: he repulsed it, saying, 'Prince, you have been deceived; the army knows its duties, and I will go at once to prove it you.' Upon this I retired, giving orders to leave a piquet to guard him. The general afterwards presented himself before his soldiers, in order to induce them to return to obedience; the men, however, under the orders of M. Parquin, defied his authority, and answered him only with reiterated cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' Eventually the general succeeded in making his escape from his hotel by a secret door.

"When I came out from the general's, I was greeted with the same acclamations of 'Vive l'Empereur,' but already this first check had very deeply affected me. I was not prepared for it; convinced as I was that the mere sight of

the eagle ought to have awakened in the general old *souvenirs* of glory, and carried him along with us.

"We now again put ourselves on the march; we quitted the high street, and entered the barrack of Finkemalt by the narrow lane which leads to it from the Faubourg de Pierre. This barrack is a spacious building, built at the end of an alley, having no thoroughfare through it; and the ground in front of it is too narrow to allow a regiment to draw up in order of battle. Upon discovering myself thus hemmed in between the rampart and the military quarters, I perceived that the plan agreed upon had not been followed. On our arrival at the barrack the soldiers crowded around me, and I harangued them. The greater part of them then went for their arms and returned, rallying around me, testifying their sympathy by their acclamations. Upon perceiving, however, that some hesitation began suddenly to manifest itself amongst them, occasioned by rumours spread amongst them by some of the officers who strove to inspire them with doubts as to my identity; and as, moreover, we were losing valuable time in an unfavourable position, instead of making the best of our speed to the other regiments who were expecting us, I told the colonel that we ought to quit the place. He, however, urged me to remain; I listened to his advice, and some minutes afterwards it was too late. Some officers of infantry now arrived, who caused the gates to be closed, and severely rebuked their men. But still they hesitated; and I made an attempt to arrest the officers. Their soldiers, however, rescued them, and then a general confusion prevailed on every side. The space was so confined that all our party were scattered and lost in the crowd; meantime the people who had mounted upon the wall began throwing stones at the infantry. The gunners wanted to make use of their cannon, but we prevented their doing so;

the signal of a conflagration, of which Switzerland would become the victim, I have no alternative but to quit a country, when my presence is made the cause of such unjust pretensions, and would be made the excuse for such great misfortunes!

"I beg you, therefore, M. Landamann, to announce to the Federal Directory, that I shall leave Switzerland, as soon as the necessary passports are obtained to enable me to reach, in safety, a place where I shall find a sure asylum.

"In quitting, voluntarily, at present, the only country in Europe where I have met with support and protection, and which has now become dear to me for so many reasons, I hope to prove to the Swiss people, that I was worthy of those marks of esteem and affection which they have lavished upon me. I shall never forget the noble conduct of the Cantons, who have so courageously pronounced in my favour; and above all the generous protection afforded me by the Canton of Thurgovia shall ever remain engraven on my heart. I hope this separation will not be perpetual, and that a day will come, when, without compromising the interests of two nations, which, ought to remain friends, I shall be able to return to an asylum, which twenty years residence and acquired rights have made, as it were, a second fatherland.

"Be good enough, M. Landamann, to convey my sentiments of gratitude to the councils, and believe me that the idea of saving Switzerland from great trouble is the only thing which alleviates the regret which I feel on quitting its soil.

"Receive, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

Louis Bonaparte now again sought refuge in England,—"the only country in Europe," as M. Temblaire observes, "where the laws of hospitality are not subject to the exigencies of policy."

On the occasion of the affair of Barbes, there were some persons who spread a rumour that Louis Bonaparte had incited and paid for that emeute. This accusation he thought proper to deny in the following terms, in a letter to the Editor of the *Times*:—

"Sir,

"I observe, with pain, in your Paris correspondence, that it is sought to throw upon me the responsibility of the late insurrection. I count upon your kindness to refute this insinuation in the most formal manner. The news of the sanguinary scenes which have just taken place, have equally surprised and afflicted me. If I were the soul of a conspiracy, I should also be the leader of it in the day of danger; and I should not deny it after a defeat.

"Receive, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

The illustrious exile remained in London from the end of the year 1838, till the month of August, 1840. In these twenty months, instead of learning to command armies, and to govern empires, his days and nights were passed on the turf, in the betting-room, or in clubs, where high play and desperate stakes roused the jaded energy of the *blasé* gambler. His intimates were amongst the least creditable members of the "gay" world.

Meanwhile his grateful sentiments towards the country which had twice afforded him an asylum, and was destined to do so again, did not remain unexpressed. He was not ashamed to boast in the presence of Englishmen:—"I shall

be Emperor of France one of these days; and the first thing I shall then do will be to invade England. I like you very well as a people; but I must wipe out Waterloo and St. Helena." Vain egotist! happy for him if he do nothing to throw Waterloo and St. Helena into oblivion, by a discomfiture still more exemplary, and a fate still more ignominious!

CHAPTER III.

INVASION OF BOULOGNE.—INCARCERATION FOR LIFE.—ESCAPE.

In August, 184[illegible], Louis Bonaparte made his second invasion of France; the brief facts of which are thus related in the pages of the "Annual Register."

"An absurd attempt was made in the month of August by Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to bring about a revolution in that kingdom in favour of himself and his family. He hired an English steamer called the *City of Edinburgh*, in London, and embarking there on board with Count Montholon, General Voisin, and fifty-three other persons, besides a tame eagle (which was destined to act no unimportant a part in the drama), on Thursday, the 6th of August, landed at Boulogne, in France. They marched into the town about five o'clock in the morning, and traversed the streets shouting 'Vive l'Empereur.' The first attempt they made was at the guard-house, where they summoned the troops to surrender or join with them. The only man who proved a traitor to his sovereign was a young lieutenant of the 42nd, named Aladenize, who tried to induce the soldiers to accompany the Prince. He, however, failed in the attempt, and as the national guard soon beat to arms, and began to muster

in force, Prince Louis retreated with his motley followers out of the town towards the pillar on the height above Boulogne, called the Colonne de Napoleon, and there he planted a flag with a golden eagle at the top of the staff. Finding, however, that he was hard pressed with unequal odds, he retreated to the beach, and was captured in attempting to escape to the steamer which lay in the harbour. His followers also were taken, but one unfortunate man was shot while struggling with the waves. Prince Louis, with Count Montholon, General Voisin, and others, was soon conveyed prisoners to Paris, where they were detained until they were tried before the chamber of peers on the charge of high treason. When he landed at Boulogne he immediately scattered printed papers, addressed to the French nation, in which he commenced by saying that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign, and that he appointed M. Thiers president of the council, and Marshal Clausel minister of war. We must not forget to mention that the tame eagle on board the *Edinburgh* had been intended to create stage effect, by being let loose from the vessel and flying straight to the Colonne de Napoleon, where it was to alight, and thus be an omen of success to the revolution. For this purpose we believe the bird had been trained to take its food from Prince Louis Napoleon, but we certainly cannot explain how these mad visionaries hoped to make it play its part in the tragi-comedy they were acting. The steamboat was seized; and because she was an English vessel the most exaggerated and violent language was for a time held by the French press, which pretended that the English government had countenanced the insane attempt."

A contemporary writer,* who was an eye-witness of this "affair," says:—

* Fraser's Magazine, for January, 1852.

"I was at Boulogne in August, 1840, when the adventurer, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, sailing in a steamer called the *City of Edinburgh*, from Margate, landed on the coast of France at Vimereux. With a well supplied cellar and larder, with a tame eagle, a cook and scullions, with a valet, a *maitre-d'hotel*, a secretary, a chasseur, a hairdresser, and grooms, with an elaborate and costly dressing-case, and a couple of travelling carriages, there was not wanting a *Fortunata* to grace these orgies of a political Trimalchio; but notwithstanding the midnight and early morning potations, worthy of the descriptive pen of a modern Petronius, the hero of this escapade in no degree unnecessarily exposed himself. Servants—*i. e.*, footmen and grooms in English liveries—officers and soldiers in French, and a couple of military intendants, surrounded and encircled, as he landed and marched to the barracks, the future emperor, and made a rampart round his body. But never once, I repeat, did the pretender fairly expose his person, and all the bombast we have been reading about his courage and nerve is mere thrasonical *blague*. Before the firmness of Captain-Colonel-Puygellier, the pretender was appalled, and though he drew a pistol on an unarmed man, and shot out three of his teeth, yet the moment Captain Laroche, of the 42nd, could arm his men, M. Bonaparte and his followers took to their heels. Some of his brave and rash adherents I saw shot down before me; others wounded; others, among the rest a Corsican named Ornano, taken in a bathing-machine, but the *Coryphæus* of the band was calm and phlegmatic as a Dutchman, excepting during the moment he fired on an unarmed soldier, and exhibited as safe a discretion as M. Dupin himself might be supposed to show under similar circumstances. At a quarter before six on that memorable morning, the future emperor touched the French soil. Before eight o'clock his party were routed,

and such of them as were not shot or drowned in attempting to escape, were safely lodged in prison."

Towards the end of September Louis Bonaparte and his accomplices were, in due course, brought to trial before the Court of Peers, where, on the 28th of that month, the Prince spoke as follows:—

"For the first time in my life it is permitted to me to lift my voice in France, and to speak freely to Frenchmen.

"Undaunted by the presence of the guards who surround me, in spite of the accusations which I have just heard brought against me, filled with the recollections of my earliest childhood, on finding myself within the walls of the senate, in the midst of you, gentlemen, whom I know, I can hardly believe that I have any hope of justifying myself, and that you should be my judges. An opportunity, however, is afforded me of explaining to my fellow-countrymen my past conduct, my intentions, my projects; all that I think, all that I have at heart.

"Without pride, but also without weakness, if I recall the rights deposited by the nation in the hands of my family, it is solely to explain the duties which these rights have imposed upon us.

"Since, fifty years ago, when the principle of the sovereignty of the people was consecrated in France by the most powerful revolution which ever occurred in the history of the world, never was the national will so solemnly proclaimed, never was it asserted by suffrages so numerous and so free, as on the occasion when it adopted the constitutions of the empire.

"The nation has never revoked that grand act of its sovereignty, and the Emperor has declared it—'Whatever has been done without its authority is illegal.'

"At the same time do not allow yourselves to believe that, led away by the impulses of personal ambition, I have wished by these acts to attempt in France a restoration of the Empire. I have been taught noble lessons, and have lived with nobler examples before me, than to do so.

"I was born the son of a King, who descended without regret from a throne on the day when he had reason to believe that it was no longer possible to conciliate with the interests of France those of the people whom he had been called upon to govern.

"The Emperor, my uncle, preferred to abdicate the Empire than to accept by treaty the restricted frontiers, while he could not but expose France to the insults and the menaces in which foreign nations to this day permit themselves to indulge. I have not lived a single day forgetful of such lessons. The unmerited and cruel act of proscription under which for twenty-five years I have endured a lingering existence—beginning at the steps of the throne, where I was born, and now stopping at the dungeon from which I have just come—has been alike powerless to irritate as to fatigue my heart; it has not been able for a single day to estrange me from the glory, the rights, and the interests of France. My conduct and my convictions sufficiently explain the fact.

"In 1830, when the people reconquered their sovereignty, I had expected that the policy of the following days would have been as loyal as the conquest itself, and that the destinies of France would have been established for ever; instead of this, the country has undergone the melancholy experiences of the last ten years. Under such circumstances I considered that the vote of 4,000,000 of fellow-countrymen, which had elevated my family to supreme power, imposed upon me at least the duty of making an appeal to the nation, and inquiring what was

its will. I thought also that if, in the midst of the national congress which I intended to convene, certain pretensions should have made themselves heard, I should have had the right to reawaken the glorious *souvenirs* of the empire; to speak of the elder brother of the Emperor, of that virtuous man who before me is his only heir; and to contrast, face to face, this France as she is now, weakened and passed over in silence in the congress of kings, and the France of that day, when she was so strong at home, and abroad so powerful and so respected. The nation would then have replied to the question, 'Republic or Monarchy; Empire or Kingdom?' And upon the free discussion of the nation upon this question depends the termination of our sorrows and of our dissensions.

"With respect to my enterprise, I repeat it—I had no accomplice. It was I alone who determined everything; nobody knew beforehand my plans, nor my resources, nor my hopes. If I am guilty as against anybody, it is against my friends only. Nevertheless, I hope that they will not accuse me of having lightly trifled with courage and devotion such as theirs. They will understand the motives of honour and of prudence which prevent me from revealing, even to themselves, how widely based and how powerful are my reasons for hoping for a successful result.

"One word more, gentlemen. I represent before you a principle, a cause, and a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause is that of the Empire; the defeat is that of Waterloo. The principle—you have recognised it; the cause—you have served in it; the defeat—you would revenge it. No, then, there is no dis-accord between you and me; and I will not believe that I can be destined to be grieved by the disaffection of any others.

"Representing a political cause, I cannot accept as the

judge of my intentions and of my acts a political tribunal. Nobody will be imposed upon by your forms. In the struggle which is now commencing, there will be but one to conquer, one defeated. If you are in the ranks of the conqueror I cannot expect justice at your hands, and I will not accept of your generosity."

M. Berryer, who conducted the defence of the Prince and General Montholon, in the course of his speech, delivered himself of a passage, remarkable alike for its ingenuity and its boldness. Addressing the judges, many of whom had been old and favoured servants of the great Napoleon, he said:—

"And, standing where I do, I do not think that the claims of the name in which this project was attempted, can possibly fall humiliated by the disdainful expressions of the *Procureur General.* You make remarks upon the weakness of the means employed, of the poverty of the whole enterprise, which made all hope of success ridiculous;—well! if success is anything, I will say to you who are men,—you, who are the first men in the state,—you, who are the members of a great political body,—there is an inevitable and eternal arbitrator between every judge and every accused who stands before him;—before giving your judgment, now, being in presence of this Arbitrator, and in the face of the country, which will hear your decrees, tell me this, without regard now to weakness of means, but with the rights of the case, the laws, and the institution before your eyes, and with your hands upon your hearts, as standing before your God, and in presence of us, who know you, will you say this:—'If he had succeeded, if his pretended right had triumphed, I would have denied him and it; I would have refused all share in his

power,—I would have denied and rejected him.' For my part, I accept the Supreme arbitration I have mentioned; and whoever there may be amongst you who, before their God, and before their country, will say to me—'If he had succeeded, I would have denied him,'—such a one will I accept for judge in this case."*

On the 6th of October, 1840, the Court delivered its sentence, convicting all the prisoners, with three exceptions, and condemning Louis Bonaparte to perpetual imprisonment, the others to various terms of imprisonment, Lieutenant Aladenize alone being sentenced to transportation. When he heard his sentence, he is recorded to have exclaimed, "At least, I shall have the happiness of dying in France!"

Before setting out for the place of confinement, which was destined to him for life, Louis Bonaparte wrote the following letter of thanks to his eminent counsel. It would appear to be dated on the day before the court pronounced sentence; but the nature of which he was doubtless by this time fully aware of.

"Paris, 5th October, 1840.

"MY DEAR MONSIEUR BERRYER,

"I will not quit my prison in Paris, without renewing to you all my thanks for the noble services which you have rendered me during my trial. As soon as I learned that I was about to be brought for trial before the Court of Peers, I had the idea of asking you to undertake my defence, because I knew that your independence of character placed you above all the petty influence of parties, and that your heart was ever open to the claims of misfortune,

* M. Berryer must have recalled to mind this speech, and its very practical import, on the 2nd December, 1851, when, from the windows of the Mairie of the tenth Arrondissement, he denounced his former client as a traitor—for having too well succeeded! Such are the glorious uncertainties of politics in these troublous times.—EDITOR.

as your spirit was able to comprehend every great thought, every noble sentiment. I chose you, therefore, out of esteem; now I quit you with sentiments of gratitude and friendship. I know not what fate may have in reserve for me; I know not if I shall ever be in a position to prove to you my gratitude; I know not if you would even consent to accept any proofs of it; but whatever may be our respective positions, apart from politics, and their painful obligations, we can always entertain feelings of esteem and friendship for one another; and I declare to you that, if my trial had had no other result than to obtain for me your friendship, I should consider myself immensely the gainer by it, and should not complain of my fate.

"Adieu, my dear Monsieur Berryer;—receive the assurance of my sentiments of esteem and gratitude.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Consigned to the gloomy fortress of Ham, the Prince found in the regulations of his prison a constant source of irritation, and the monotony of his existence was at times almost insupportable. Of the former he very soon complained, as will be seen, in an indignant letter to the government; and the latter he sought to mitigate by study, and by writing essays upon various subjects, some of which appeared in a newspaper called the *Progrès du Pas de Calais;* whilst others, as the *Considerations sur la Question des Sucres, l'Extinction de la Pauperisme,* and the *Fragments Historiques,* were reserved for publication in a distinct form. These graver occupations he relieved by writing to his friends,* cultivating a small garden within the walls of the castle, and occasionally by horse exercise within the same restricted limits.

* Amongst his correspondents at this period were Louis Blanc, George Sand, and other apostles of democratic principles, with whom he appeared to get on remarkably well.—EDITOR.

It was at this period that Louis Philippe sought to conciliate the old remnants of the Imperial party, and to gratify the national vanity, by importing the remains of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena, to which the British government gave their cheerful consent;—and conveying them with great pomp for interment in the *Hotel des Invalides.* This occasion M. Louis Bonaparte seized to pen a wild rhapsody addressed, "Aux Mânes de l'Empereur;" of which the following is a translation:—

"TO THE MANES OF THE EMPEROR.

"Citadel of Ham, 15th December, 1840.

"Sire,

"You return to your capital, and the people in multitudes hailed your return; whilst I from the depth of my dungeon can only discern a ray of that sun which shines upon your obsequies!

"Be not angry with your family, because they are not there to receive you; your exile and your misfortunes have ceased with your life;—ours continue still!

"You have expired upon a rock, far from your country and from your kindred; the hand of a son has not closed your eyes; and to-day not one of your kinsmen will follow your bier!

"Montholon, whom you loved the most amongst your faithful companions, has performed the office of a son; he remains faithful to your ideas, and has fulfilled your last wishes. He has conveyed to me your last words. He is in prison with me!

"A French vessel, under the command of a noble youth,*

* This "noble youth" was no other than the Prince de Joinville, whom the perjured of the 10th of December has since, by a simple edict (January, 1852), plundered of all his property, in common with the rest of the Orleans family, wherewith to reward his "brave army" for the butcheries of December.—EDITOR.

went to claim your ashes; in vain you would have surveyed the deck in search of any of your kin; your family was not there.

"When you touched the soil of France, an electric shock was felt; you raised yourself in your coffin; your eyes were for a moment re-opened; the tricolor floated upon the shore, but your Eagle was not there!

"The people, as in former times, pass around your passage, and salute you with their acclamations, as if you were still alive; but the courtiers of the day, whilst rendering you homage, say, with suppressed breath—'God grant, he may not awake!'

"You have at length seen again these French, whom you loved so much; you have returned into that France, which you made so great; but foreigners have left their trace, which the pomp of your return can never efface!

"See that young army; they are the sons of your veterans; they venerate you, for you are their glory; but they say to them, 'fold your arms!'

"Sire, the people are the good stuff which cover our beautiful country, but these men whom you have made so great, and who are yet so small—ah, sire, regret them not!

"They have denied your gospel, your ideas, your glory, and your blood; when I have spoken to them of your cause, they have said to me, 'we do not understand it!'

"Let them say, let them do; what signifies to the car which rolls the grains of sand which it crushes under its wheels! They say in vain that you were a meteor which has left no trace behind; in vain they deny your civil glory, they will not disinherit us!

"Sire, the fifteenth of December is a great day for France and for me. From the midst of your splendid *cortége*, disdaining the homage of many around, you have, for a

moment, cast your eyes upon my gloomy abode, and calling to mind the caresses you lavished upon me when a child, you have said to me, 'You suffer for me: friend, I am satisfied with thee.'

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

To one friend he writes as follows:—

"Ham, 14th August, 1841.

"My life is passed here in a very monotonous manner, for the rigours of the authorities are unchanged; nevertheless, I cannot say that I am dull, because I have created for myself occupations which interest me; for instance, I am writing *Reflections upon the History of England*, and also I have planted a small garden in the corner of the yard in which I am located. But all this fills up the time without filling the heart, and sometimes we find it very void of sentiment.

"I am very much pleased at what you tell me of the good opinion which I have left behind me in England; but I do not share in your hope as to the possibility of soon being in that country again; and, indeed, notwithstanding all the pleasure I should have in again finding myself there, I do not complain in the least of the position to which I have brought myself, and to which I am completely resigned.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

About this time he happened to read, in a work by M. Saintine, the private history of a prisoner, which, coming home to his own situation, interested him very deeply. He writes as follows:—

"Ham, May 22, 1841.

"—— I have read the book—*Picciola*—of which you speak, and have been enchanted with the style—so simple,

so elegant—which differs so widely from the generality of the works of the day. The fact is, that literature is nothing else than the voice of the society of the day; and when society is undergoing convulsions, and subject to all sorts of fancies, its voice must speak of them.

"I am, however, more happy than the prisoner who is the hero of the author of *Picciola*, and they respect my flowers very carefully. I might, indeed, already gather a bouquet worthy of Lady ——'s garden. Perhaps I boast a little in saying this: but then it is because I see my onions with paternal eyes.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

M. de la Guerronnière, in his *Portraits Politiques*, also supplies us with a copy of a letter in the same style, addressed to "an illustrious Englishwoman" (Lady Blessington), which was put into his hands by Count d'Orsay. It is remarkable—the latter part—as showing a still undaunted aspiration after power. It runs thus:—

"Ham, January 13, 1841.

"MY LADY,

"I have only to-day received your letter of the 1st of January, because, being in English, it had to be sent to the minister at Paris to be read. I am very sensible of your kind recollection of me, and it is with regret that I find that your letters hitherto have not reached me. I have only received from Gore House one letter from Count d'Orsay, which I immediately replied to whilst at the Conciergerie; I very much regret that it should have been intercepted, because in it I expressed to him all the gratitude which I felt for the interest which he took in my misfortunes. I will not give you an account of all that I have suffered. Your poetic soul, and your noble heart, have already divined all the cruel circumstances of a position,

where self-deference has impassable limits, and self-justification is shackled with a reserve to which one feels oneself compelled. In such a case, the only consolation for all the calumnies and all the hardships of fortune is to be able to hear, at the bottom of one's heart, an absolving voice; and to receive testimonials of sympathy from those rare creatures, who, like you, madam, are distinguished from the ordinary crowd by the loftiness of their sentiments, by their independence of character, and who do not allow their affections, and their judgments, to depend upon the caprices of fortune or the dispensations of fate.

"I have been, for the last three months, in the fortress of Ham, together with the General Montholon and Dr. Conneau; but all communication with the exterior of the prison is forbidden; nobody, as yet, has been able to obtain leave to come and see me. I will send you, one of these days, a view of the citadel which I copied from a small lithograph, for you may be well aware that, of myself, I know nothing of the fortress from the outside.

"My thoughts often go back to the spot in which you dwell; and I recal, with happiness, the moments which I have passed in your amiable society, to which the Count d'Orsay still adds a charm with his spirited and open-hearted gaiety. Nevertheless, I have no desire to quit the spot in which I now am, for here I am in my proper place. *With the name which I bear, I must be either in the seclusion of the dungeon, or in the brightness of power.*

"If you will deign, madam, to write to me occasionally, and to give me some news of a country in which I have been too happy not to love it, you will confer on me a great pleasure.

"&c., &c.,

"NAPOLEON LOUIS."

About this time the Prince addressed the following protest to the French government, against the annoyances and regulations to which he was subjected in his prison:—

"Citadel of Ham, May 28, 1841.

"During the nine months which I have now been in the hands of the French government, I have submitted patiently to indignities of every description; I do not, however, wish longer to be silent, or to authorize oppression by my silence.

"My position ought to be considered under two points of view—the one moral, and the other legal: morally speaking, the government which has recognised the legitimacy of the head of my family, is bound to recognise me as a prince, and to treat me as such.

"Policy has rights which I do not dispute. Let government act towards me as towards its enemy, and deprive me of the means of doing any harm. So far it would be right; but, on the other hand, its behaviour will be inconsequent and dastardly if it treats me, who am the son of a king, the nephew of an emperor, and allied to all the sovereigns of Europe, as an ordinary prisoner.

"In appealing to foreign alliances, I am not ignorant that they have never been of use to the conquered, and that misfortune severs all bonds; but the French government ought to recognise the principle which has made me what I am, for it is by this that it exists itself. The sovereignty of the people made my uncle an emperor, my father a king, and me a French prince by my birth. Have I not, then, a right to the respect and regard of all those, in whose eyes the voice of a great people, glory and misfortune, are anything?

"If, for the first time in my life, I perchance boast of the accident which has presided over my birth, it is

because pride suits my position, and that I have purchased the early favours of fortune by twenty-seven years of suffering and sorrow.

"With respect to my *legal position*, the Court of Peers has created in my case an exceptional penalty.

"By condemning me to perpetual imprisonment, it has only legalized the decree of fate which has made me a prisoner of war. It has endeavoured to combine humanity with policy, by inflicting upon me the mildest punishment for the longest time possible.

"In its execution, however, the government has fallen very far short of the intention which I am pleased to ascribe to my judges. Accustomed from my youth to a strict rule of life, I do not complain of the inconvenient simplicity of my dwelling; but that of which I do complain, is being made the victim of vexatious measures, by no means necessary to my safe-keeping.

"During the first months of my captivity, every kind of communication from without was forbidden, and within I was kept in the most rigorous confinement; since, however, several persons have been admitted to communicate with me, these internal restrictions can have no longer an object; and yet it is precisely since they have become useless that they are more rigorously enforced.

"All the provisions for the supply of my daily wants are subjected to the most rigid scrutiny.

"The attentions of my single faithful servant, who has been permitted to follow me, are encumbered by obstacles of every description. Such a system of terror has been established in the garrison and among the officials in the castle, that no individual dares raise his eyes towards me; and it requires even extraordinary boldness to be commonly polite.

look is regarded as a crime, and when all those who would wish to soften the rigours of my position, without failing in their duty, are threatened with being denounced to the authorities, and with losing their places. In the midst of this France, which the head of my family has rendered so great, I am treated like an excommunicated person in the thirteenth century. Every one flies at my approach, and all fear my touch as if my breath were infectious.

"This insulting inquisition, which pursues me into my very chamber, which follows my footsteps when I breathe the fresh air in a retired corner of the fort, is not limited to my person alone, but is extended even to my thoughts. My letters to my family, the effusions of my heart, are submitted to the strictest scrutiny; and if a letter should contain any expressions of too lively a sympathy, the letter is sequestrated, and its writer is denounced to the government.

"By an infinity of details too long to enumerate, it appears that pains are taken, at every moment of the day, to make me sensible of my captivity, and cry incessantly in my ears, *væ victis*.

"It is important to call to mind, that none of the measures which I have pointed out were put in force against the ministers of Charles X., whose dilapidated chambers I now occupy.

"And yet these ministers were not born on the steps of a throne; and, r, they were not condemned to simple imprisonment, but their sentence implied a more severe treatment than has been given to me: and, finally, they were not the representatives of a cause which is an object of veneration in France.

"The treatment, therefore, which I endure is neither just, legal, nor humane.

"If it be supposed that such measures will subdue me,

it is a mistake: it is not outrage, but marks of kindness, which subdue the hearts of those who suffer.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

This appeal to the generosity of the government of Louis Philippe was not made in vain; the previously existing regulations were relaxed in some respects, and his valet was allowed to go into the neighbouring town on commissions for his master.

Louis Bonaparte was afterwards allowed to receive visitors, and many men of note came to pay homage to that impersonation of the Empire. During all this time he was not idle—never allowed an opportunity of keeping alive the memory of "the cause" to slip through his hands unimproved. Being asked one day to give some rewards or prizes for distribution amongst the children of the school of the commune, to the dismay of the authorities these testimonials turned out to be medals commemorative of the wars and other "glories" of the Empire!

In 1843, there having been some talk of an amnesty, the Prince addressed the following letter to M. de George, the editor of the *Progrès du Pas de Calais*, who published it in his journal:—

"Fortress of Ham, 18th April, 1843.

"You tell me that they talk a good deal in Paris about an amnesty, and you inquire of me what are the impressions produced upon me by that news. I reply frankly to your question.

"If to-morrow the door of my prison were to be opened to me, and I were told 'You are free, come and seat yourself as a citizen amongst the hearths of your native country; France no longer repudiates any of her children;' ah! then indeed a lively feeling of joy would seize my soul. But if, on the contrary, they were to come to offer to me to ex-

change my present condition for that of an exile, I should refuse such a proposition, because it would be, in my view, an aggravation of punishment. I prefer being a captive on the soil of France, to being a free man in a foreign land.*

"Moreover, I know the value of an amnesty granted by the existing authorities. Seven years ago, after the affair of Strasburg, they came one night and snatched me away from the tribunals of justice, in spite of my protestations, and without giving me the time to pack up the most necessary articles of apparel;—thus was I carried two thousand leagues away from Europe. After detaining me for some time at Rio Janeiro, they took me eventually to the United States. Receiving at New York the news of the serious indisposition of my mother, I returned to England. On arriving there, what was my astonishment to find all the ports of the Continent closed against me, through the exertions of the French government; and what was my indignation on learning, that in order to prevent me from going to close the eyes of a dying mother, they had spread abroad during my absence this calumny, (so often repeated and so often denied,) that I had promised not to return to Europe.

"Deceiving the police authorities of the German states, I succeeded in making my way into Switzerland, and assisted at a spectacle the most agonizing it is possible for the heart of a son to contemplate. Scarcely was the corpse of my mother deposited in its coffin, when the French government wanted to have me expelled from the hospitable soil in which I had become a citizen and a proprietor; the Swiss people stood by their rights, and protected me. Nevertheless, wishing to avoid innumerable complications, and, perhaps, a collision, I voluntarily quitted, not, how-

* Vain boasting, all this! He afterwards stole away into exile, in preference to remaining captive on the soil of France!—EDITOR.

ever, without bitter regret, the scenes where my mother, during twenty years, had preserved her French *penates*, and where I had grown to manhood; where, in short, I had so many friends, that I sometimes almost believed I was in my own country. Such were the results, as far as I was concerned, of the violent amnesty forced upon me by the government. Do you think I can wish to experience a second amnesty at their hands?

"Banished for twenty-five years; twice betrayed by fate, I have experienced all the vicissitudes and sorrows of this life; and, having got the better of the illusions of youth, I find in the native air I breathe,—in study, in the seclusion of a prison,—a charm which I have not experienced when I participated in the enjoyments of foreign countries, where when, being vanquished, I had to drink out of the same cup as the conqueror of Waterloo.

"In a word, I should repeat, supposing that the occasion presented itself to me,—that which I declared before the court of peers: 'I will not accept of any generosity, because I know how much it costs.'

"I remain, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

At a later period in the same year, an article appeared in the same friendly journal, entitled "The professions of faith, democratic, of the Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte;" part of which ran as follows:—

"It is now no longer a secret, and we never made any secret of it, that during the last fifteen months Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte has sent from his prison at Ham, articles for insertion in the *Progrès*.

"Our number of the 18th instant contained one relative to the wish unanimously adopted by the *consul-general* of

Corsica, that the Napoleon family should be recalled from exile, and that the prisoner of Ham should be restored to liberty, and to the enjoyment of his rights as a French citizen.

"Although that article, which has been republished by a great number of French journals, and by a considerable portion of the foreign press, contained this declaration:—

"'The Bonaparte family, offspring of the revolution, neither ought, nor can recognise any other than one principle, that of the national sovereignty; they can, therefore, only invoke the rights of French citizens; they are the only rights which we recognise in them; but longer to deny them these, would be unjust and cowardly.'

"Notwithstanding this declaration, the *Journal du Loiret*, replying to the Prince's statement, thought it necessary to ask him, and very properly did so, under what title he would be prepared to come again amongst the great French family, if the doors of his prison were opened to him, and if the decree of exile, to which all his family were condemned, were revoked?"

"To this question," says the editor of the *Progrès*, "the Prince replied as follows:"—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "JOURNAL DU LOIRET."

"Fortress of Ham, Oct. 21, 1843.

"SIR,

"I reply, without hesitation, to the friendly question which you address to me in your number of the 18th inst.

"I have never believed, and I never can believe, that France is the property (*apanage*) of any man or any family. I have never pretended to any other rights than those of a French citizen, and I never shall have any other desire

than to see the whole people, *legally convened*, choosing freely the form of government which they might think best to have.

"A member of a family which owes its elevation to the suffrages of the nation, I should belie my origin, my nature, and what is more, I should do violence to common sense, if I did not admit the sovereignty of the people as the fundamental basis of all political organization. My previous actions and declarations are in accordance with this opinion. If I have not been understood, it is because we do not seek to explain defeats, we only condemn them.

"It is true, I claimed to be in the foremost rank; but that was one in the breach. I had a high ambition, but it was one which might be loudly avowed; it was the ambition to re-assemble around my plebeian name all the friends of national sovereignty, all those who wished for glory and liberty. If I have been mistaken, is it for the democratic opinions to blame me—is it for France to punish me?

"Believe me, sir, that whatever be the fate which the future may have in reserve for me, it shall never be said of me that, in exile or in captivity, I 'have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.'

"Receive the assurance of my sentiments of esteem and sympathy.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

The editor of the *Journal du Loiret* remarks upon this letter:—

"It is an evidence of the all-powerful virtue of the democratic principle, and it is also an evidence of high-mindedness, to see a man of royal blood, heir to a throne, a young prince, intelligent and proud, popular for the name he bears and for the glorious *souvenirs* which that name recals, thus ridding himself from monarchical pre-

judices, abdicating the privileges of his race, and paying a solemn homage to the sovereignty of the people. We highly compliment Prince Louis for the noble sentiments* expressed in this letter. They are those of a man of heart and spirit."

Things went on in this way for nearly five years; the prisoner of Ham settling down and almost forgotten in his life-long home — now dreaming vaguely of a brighter future from the gloomy recesses of his prison, and now giving way to feelings of utter despondency, as described in the following impassioned phrases, addressed to a friend :—

"Ham, 6th January, 1845.

"Years roll on with a discouraging uniformity, and it is only in the promptings of my conscience and my heart that I find the strength to stand up against this atmosphere of lead which surrounds me and suffocates me. Nevertheless, the hope of a better future never entirely abandons me;" &c.

Towards the autumn of this year the Count de St. Leu, finding himself in declining health, his end approaching, determined upon making an earnest appeal to the King's clemency for permission to clasp his son once more to his arms before he died. These applications were made through M. Poggioli, and there is little reason to doubt that Louis Philippe, personally, was disposed to give them a favourable hearing, and to release the prince, thus at once performing an act of generosity and getting rid of an *embarras*, which the prince's protracted incarceration

* It is impossible to read all this correspondence, and this philosophic comment, without calling to mind the quiet sarcasm levelled by Sheridan against the whole *Oliver Surface* fraternity, and put into the mouth of *Sir Peter Teazle*, one of their victims: "Such noble sentiments!" —EDITOR.

unquestionably amounted to. The correspondence which passed with the prince, however, showed that he was altogether impracticable; that though he was quite ready to walk out of prison, if permitted to do so, he would not do so upon the mildest conditions which a government would have a right to demand from one who had twice been guilty of treason, and had already grievously abused its former clemency.

In December, 1845, we find the Prince writing as follows, to the Minister of the Interior:—

"Ham, December, 23, 1845.

"Sir,

"My father, whose age and infirmity require the attention of a son, has requested the government to allow me to go to him.

"His application has not been attended with a favourable result.

"The government, as I am informed, required a formal guarantee from me. Under the circumstances, my resolve cannot be doubted; and I am prepared to do every thing compatible with my honour, in order to be allowed to offer to my father those consolations to which he has so many claims.

"I now, therefore, declare to you, sir, that if the French government consent to allow me to go to Florence, to discharge a sacred duty, I will promise, upon my honour, to return, and to place myself at the disposal of the government, whenever it shall express a desire that I should do so.

"Accept, sir, &c.

(Signed) "Napoleon Louis Bonaparte."

This application was not successful; the council deciding

being an act of grace, the King ought to have the merit of it. The Prince then addressed Louis Philippe as follows:—

"Fortress of Ham, 14 January, 1846.

"SIRE,

"It is not without deep emotion that I approach your Majesty, and ask, as a favour, permission to quit France, even for a very short time. For five years I have found, in breathing the air of my country, ample compensation for the torments of captivity; but my father is now aged and infirm, and calls for my attentions and care. He has applied to persons known for their attachment to your Majesty, in order to obtain my liberation; and it is my duty to do every thing which depends upon me to meet his desires.

"The council of ministers has not felt itself competent to accede to the request which I made to be allowed to go to Florence, engaging to return, and again to become a prisoner, as soon as the government might desire me to do so. I approach your Majesty with confidence, to make an appeal to your feeling of humanity, and to renew my request by submitting to your high and generous interference.

"Your Majesty will, I am convinced, appreciate a step which, beforehand, engages my gratitude, and, affected by the isolated position in a foreign land of a man who, upon a throne, gained the esteem of Europe, will accede to the wishes of my father and myself.

"I beg your Majesty to receive the expressions of my profound respect.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

Other letters wrote he also to ministers, courtiers, and others, and received, amongst others, the following in reply

"PRINCE,

"I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me, in order to make me acquainted with the refusal which has been given to your request. It seems to me, that the desire of seeing a dying father, accompanied by the promise of returning to prison on the first requisition of the Minister of the Interior, ought to have been regarded as sufficient. In my opinion, such a measure might have been adopted without inconvenience, upon the responsibility of the minister who had sanctioned it. I am sorry, Prince, not to have it in my power to be of any use to you whatever in these circumstances. I have no influence with the government, and publicity would serve you little. On every occasion in which I can possibly contribute to solace your misfortunes without contravening my duty, I shall be happy to have it in my power to give fresh proofs of my sympathy with the glorious name which you bear.

"Accept, &c. "A. THIERS."

In the course of the negotiations which ensued, the draft of a letter was prepared, and submitted to his friends as the only guarantee upon which the government would be prepared to sanction M. Bonaparte's release. Amongst other matters, this letter, it is understood, contained a distinct renunciation of any claims to the throne of France on the part of his highness; an acknowledgment for the past in the nature of *peccavi;* and a promise not to molest the Orleans family any more. The nature of this ultimatum was communicated to the prisoner by M. Odillon Barrot, to whom he replied in the following letter:—

"Ham, 2nd February, 1846.

"SIR,

"Before replying to the letter which you have been good enough to address to me, allow me to thank you, as

well as your political friends, for the interest you have shown, and the spontaneous steps which you have thought it consistent with your duty to take, in order to lighten the weight of my misfortunes. Be assured that my gratitude will never be wanting to those generous men who, in such painful circumstances, have extended towards me a friendly hand.

"I now proceed to state to you, that I do not think it consistent with my duty to attach my name to the letter of which you have sent me a copy. The brave man, who finds himself alone face to face with adversity—alone in the presence of enemies interested in depreciating his character, ought to avoid every kind of subterfuge, everything equivocal, and take all his measures with the greatest degree of frankness and decision. Like Cæsar's wife, he ought not to be suspected. If I signed the letter, which you and many other deputies have recommended me to sign, I would, in fact really ask for pardon, without avowing the fact, I would take shelter behind the request of my father, like the coward who covers himself with a tree to escape the enemy's fire. I consider such a course unworthy of me. If I thought it consistent with my condition and honour merely and simply to invoke the royal clemency, I would write to the King, 'Sire, I ask pardon.'

"Such, however, is not my intention. For six years I have endured without complaining an imprisonment which is one of the natural consequences of my attack against the government; and I shall endure it for ten years longer, if necessary, without accusing either my destiny or the men who inflict it. I suffer, but I say to myself every day, I am in France. I have preserved my honour unstained. I live without enjoyments, but also without remorse; and every evening I go to repose in peace. No steps would have been taken by me to disturb the calm of my con-

science and the repose of my life, had not my father signified an earnest desire of having me near him again during his declining years. My filial duty roused me from a state of resignation, and I took a step of which I was fully aware of its gravity, and to which I attached all that frankness and honesty which I desire to exhibit in all my actions. I wrote to the head of the state—to him alone who had the legal right to alter my position; I asked to be allowed to go and see my father, and spoke to him of *honour*, *humanity*, *generosity*, because I have no hesitation in calling things by their proper names.

"The king appeared satisfied, and said to the worthy son of Marshal Ney, who was good enough to place my letter in his hands, that the guarantee which I offered was sufficient; but he has, as yet, given no intimation of his decision. His ministers, on the contrary, forwarding their resolution in a copy of my letter to the king, which I sent to them with firm deference, taking advantage of my position and their own, caused an answer to be transmitted to me, which was merely an insult to misfortune.

"Under the blow of such a refusal, and still unacquainted with the king's decision, my duty is to abstain from taking any step, and, above all, not to subscribe a request for pardon under the disguise of filial duty.

"I still maintain all that I said in my letter to the king, because the sentiments which I have expressed were deeply felt, and were such as appeared suitable to my position; but I shall not advance a line further. The path of honour is narrow and slippery, and there is but a hand-breadth between the firm ground and the abyss.

"You may, moreover, be well assured, sir, that, should I sign the letter in question, more exacting demands would be made. On the 25th of December, I wrote rather a dry letter to the Minister of the Interior, requesting permission

to visit my father. The reply was politely worded. On the 14th of January, I determined on a very serious step. I wrote a letter to the king, in which I spared no expression which I thought might conduce to the success of my request: the answer was an impertinent one.

"My position is clear. I am a captive; but it is a consolation to me to breathe the air of my country. A sacred duty summons me to my father's side. I say to the government,—circumstances compel me to entreat from you, as a favour, permission to leave Ham. If you grant my request, you may depend on my gratitude, and it will be of the more value, as your decision will bear the stamp of generosity; for the gratitude of those who would consent to humiliate themselves in order to gain an advantage, would be valueless.

"Finally, I calmly await the decision of the King—a man who, like me, has lived through thirty years of misfortune.

"I rely on the support and sympathy of generous and independent men like you; I commit myself to destiny, and prepare to resign myself to its decision.

"Accept, Sir, my assurance of esteem.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

The eventual failure of the negotiations in this matter was reported to M. Louis Bonaparte in the following letter from M. Odillon Barrot:—

"5th February, 1846.

"YOUR HIGHNESS,

"Our renewed negotiations have proved a failure; and if I have delayed to inform you of the fact, it was because up till yesterday I still retained some hope. The government speak of present circumstances—the state of Italy, of Switzerland—these circumstances would, nevertheless, have

been overlooked, had a more *explicit* guarantee been given in your letter, because then they would have dispensed with the council of ministers; but politics not having been put out of the question, it was necessary to yield to the considerations of public order which prevailed in the council; and that, for the present, considering the circumstances, no liberation is to be looked for.

"It is with great pain that I inform you of this result; I had begged Valmy to say to the King, that if we had completely differed, since 1830, in political opinions, I hoped that, at least, we agreed in sentiments of humanity and generosity. I now see that this is another of my Utopian ideas, which I shall be compelled to renounce.

"Accept, &c.,

"ODILLON BARROT."

The prisoner of Ham, finding the negotiations for his release hopeless, determined to cut the Gordian knot by making his escape, in disguise—in the disguise of an honest workman. This project he carried into effect very cleverly, on Monday, the 25th of May, by the aid of his faithful friend Dr. Conneau, and his valet Thelin. The Prince gives the following account of the proceeding, so far as he is concerned, in a letter addressed to M. de George, the Editor of the *Journal de la Somme*; (it may be observed that in his adversity the Pretender to the Empire assiduously flattered and constantly made use of the men of intelligence who regulated the affairs of the press, both in his own country and in *Perfide Albion* also):—

"MY DEAR M. DE GEORGE,

"My desire to see my father once more in this world made me attempt the boldest enterprise I ever engaged in. It required more resolution and courage on

my part than at Strasburg and Boulogne, for I was determined not to submit to the ridicule that attaches to those who are arrested escaping under a disguise, and a failure I could not have endured. The following are the particulars of my escape:—

"You know that the fort was guarded by four hundred men, who furnished daily sixty soldiers, placed as sentries outside the walls. Moreover, the principal gate of the prison was guarded by three gaolers, two of whom were constantly on duty. It was necessary that I should first elude their vigilance, afterwards traverse the inside court, before the windows of the commandant's residence; and arriving there, I should be obliged to pass by a gate which was guarded by soldiers.

"Not wishing to communicate my design to any one, it was necessary to disguise myself. As several rooms in the part of the building I occupied were undergoing repairs, it was not difficult to assume the dress of a workman. My good and faithful valet, Charles Thelin, procured a smock-frock and a pair of sabots (wooden shoes), and, after shaving off my moustaches, I took a plank on my shoulders.

"On Monday morning I saw the workmen enter, at half-past eight o'clock. Charles took them some drink, in order that I should not meet any of them on my passage. He was also to call one of the *gardiens* (turnkeys), whilst Dr. Conneau conversed with the others. Nevertheless, I had scarcely got out of my room before I was accosted by a workman, who took me for one of his comrades, and, at the bottom of the stairs I found myself in front of the keeper. Fortunately, I placed the plank I was carrying before my face, and succeeded in reaching the yard. Whenever I passed a sentinel, or any other person, I always kept the plank before my face.

"Passing before the first sentinel, I let my pipe fall, and stopped to pick up the bits. There I met the officer on duty, but, as he was reading a letter, he did not pay attention to me. The soldiers at the guard-house appeared surprised at my dress, and a drummer turned round several times to look at me. I next met some workmen, who looked very attentively at me. I placed the plank before my face, but they appeared to be so curious, that I thought I should never escape them, until I heard them cry, 'Oh! it is Bernard!'

"Once outside, I walked quickly towards the road of St. Quentin. Charles, who, the day before, had engaged a carriage, shortly overtook me, and we arrived at St. Quentin. I passed through the town on foot, after having thrown off my smock-frock. Charles procured a post-chaise, under pretext of going to Cambrai. We arrived, without meeting with any obstacles, at Valenciennes, where I took the rail-way. I had procured a Belgian passport, but nowhere was I asked to show it.

"During my escape, Dr. Conneau, always so devoted to me, remained in prison, and caused them to believe I was ill, in order to give me time to reach the frontier. It was necessary to be convinced that the government would never set me at liberty before I could be persuaded to quit France, if I would not consent to dishonour myself. It was also a matter of duty that I should exert all my powers to be able to console my father in his old age.

"Adieu, my dear M. de George; although free, I feel myself to be most unhappy. Receive the assurance of my sincere friendship, and, if you are able, endeavour to be useful to my kind Conneau.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS."

Dr. Conneau, whose five years of imprisonment had at this time expired, was a free agent in the affair; and the noble disinterestedness of his character may be judged of from the fact that, by aiding his patron's escape he placed himself again in the hands of the law for an indefinite period. Dr. Conneau, then, to whose affectionate devotion it is impossible to refuse a tribute of admiration, gives the following account of the Prince's escape, and of the anxious moments which he, the doctor, passed during the after part of the day; when, instead of going away himself, as he was free to do, he remained in the fortress, in order to conceal, by every manœuvre ingenuity could suggest, the fact of the Prince's escape until the latest possible moment. In answer to the interrogations of the Tribunal Correctional at Peronne, the doctor said:—

"I tried to conceal the departure of the Prince, in order to give him time to escape. I was anxious, if possible, in this way to gain at least twenty-four hours. I first of all closed the door leading from the Prince's chamber into the saloon. I kindled a strong fire, although, in fact, the weather was extremely hot, to countenance the supposition that the Prince was ill; with the same intent I put the coffee-pot on the fire, and told the man-of-all-work that the Prince was indisposed. About eight o'clock, a packet of violet plants arrived by the *diligence*. I told the keeper to fill some pots with earth, and prevented him from entering the Prince's saloon. About half-past eight o'clock the man-of-all-work came and asked me where we would breakfast. 'In my room,' I replied. 'I shall fetch the large table,' he said. I answered, 'that is unnecessary; the General is ill, and will not breakfast with us.'

"My intention was, in this manner, to push off further knowledge till the next day. I said the Prince had taken

medicine. It was absolutely necessary that it should be taken—accordingly I took it myself. I intended to have given him a bath—this was impossible, on account of the workmen. I then thought of an emetic, and attempted myself to perform the consequent functions; but that was impossible. I then took some coffee and threw it into a pot of water, with some crumbs of bread, and added nitric acid, which produced a very disagreeable smell; so that our man-of-all-work might be persuaded that the Prince was really ill.

"About half-past twelve I saw the commandant for the second time, and informed him that the Prince was somewhat easier. The commandant looked at the works, and offered to send me his servant, in consequence of Thélin's absence. About one o'clock I told Delaplace to come and make the Prince's bed. Every time that I came out of the small saloon, in which the Prince was supposed to be lying on a sofa, I pretended to be speaking to him; the man-of-all-work did not hear me—if his ears had been at all delicate, he would have been able perfectly to hear me speaking.

"The day passed on very well till a quarter past seven o'clock. At this moment the commandant entered, with an air somewhat stern. 'The Prince is a little better, Commandant.' 'If,' he exclaimed, 'the Prince is still ill, I must speak to him—I must speak to the Prince!' I had prepared a large stuffed figure, and laid it in the Prince's bed, with the head resting upon the pillow. I called the Prince—who, *naturally* enough, made no reply. I retired towards the commandant, and indicated to him, by a sign, that the Prince was asleep. This did not satisfy him. He sat down in the saloon, saying, 'the Prince will not sleep for ever—I will wait."

"He remarked to me, that the time of the arrival of the

diligence was passed, and expressed his wonder that Thélin was not returned; I explained to him that he had taken a cabriolet. The drum beat, and the commandant rose and said, 'the Prince has moved in his bed; he is waking up.'

"The commandant stretched his ear, but did not hear him breathe. I did the same, and said, 'Let him sleep on.' He drew near the bed, and found a stuffed figure. He immediately turned towards me, and said, 'the Prince is gone! At what hour?' 'At seven in the morning.' 'Who were the persons on guard?' 'I know nothing. These were the only words which were interchanged between us: the commandant left the room."

Dr. Conneau was sentenced to three months, and Charles Thelin, *en contumace*, to six months imprisonment. The commandant was acquitted.

Arrived in London the Prince wrote to Count St. Aulaire, the French ambassador; to Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister; and to Lord Aberdeen the foreign minister, explaining his motives and intentions. His letter to Count St. Aulaire was as follows:—

"London, May 29, 1846.

"M. LE COMTE,

"I come frankly to declare to the man who was the friend of my mother, that, in quitting my prison, I have not been actuated by any idea of renewing against the French government a war which has been disastrous to me, but only to be enabled to go near my aged father.

"Previous to my taking this step I made every effort to obtain from the French government permission to go to Florence, and I offered every guarantee consistent with my honour; but, finding that all my applications had proved unsuccessful, I determined to have recourse to the last

expedient, which the Duc de Nemours and the Duc de Guise adopted in similar circumstances, under Henry IV.'

"I beg, M. le Comte, that you will inform the French government of my peaceable intentions; and I hope that such a spontaneous assurance on my part will shorten the captivity of my friends who still remain in prison.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

"To M. le Comte de St. Aulaire."

Sir R. Peel simply acknowledged the receipt of the Prince's letter; and Lord Aberdeen is understood to have written a reply to the effect that, under the circumstances stated, "the Prince's sojourn in England would not be disagreeable either to her Majesty the Queen or to her government."

The prime object which moved the Prince to make his escape from a prison at the present moment—namely, to attend the deathbed of his father—was not attained after all; Count Dietrichstein, the Austrian ambassador, who was at the same time the representative of Tuscany, positively refusing to sign his passport.

The Count St. Leu died on the 25th of July, 1846.

In his will, the Count expressed a wish that his body should be transferred to St. Leu which is situated near Paris, and there interred beside the ashes of his eldest son, who died in 1807. He requested further that the remains of his second son, who died in Italy, should be likewise transported to the same spot for interment. He left a sum of 60,000f. to erect a tomb, and adds, speaking of St. Leu, "I have borne the name of that village for forty years, and I liked the place better than any other in the world."

These requests were complied with; the body of the ex-king, and the remains of his son, were conveyed together to St. Leu, where they were buried on the 29th Sept.

M. Louis Bonaparte not being able to attend this ceremony, wrote the following letter to Capt. Lecomte, who commanded the guard of honour, composed of veterans of the imperial army, on the occasion:—

"London, 4th Oct., 1847.

"SIR,

"The testimonies of respect offered to the memory of my father, on the 29th of September, have deeply affected me; and I was above all things touched on hearing that a great number of the ancient warriors of the Empire assisted at this pious ceremony.

"I come to-day to thank those glorious veterans of our army, through the medium of their worthy leader, for the tribute of homage they have bestowed upon an ancient companion in arms.

"It is not the man, whom chance and the fortune of war made a king for a brief period, that you have honoured with your regrets, but the old soldier of the Republican armies of Italy and Egypt;—a man who remained but a short time upon the throne, and who paid for a few years of glory by forty years of exile, and died isolated in a foreign land. The sympathy which has attended his obsequies is something more than an act of homage—it is a reparation for the past.

"Permit me, therefore, to thank you for attending, for you have expressed my sentiments of gratitude to the deceased, have mitigated the bitter grief which I experience at my not having had an opportunity of kneeling before the tomb of my family, have made me forget, for a moment, that I am condemned, as it appears, to remain for ever removed from the men whom I love the best, and from objects which are most dear to me.

"Receive, &c.,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

We shall now pass over several months in the Prince's career, which afford no points of interest to the historian. As a gentleman at large, and an idler about town, he cultivated the acquaintance of a certain class of "notabilities," whose advice, experience, and example have not, there is reason to believe, been without influence upon his conduct in a new and more important position.

CHAPTER IV.

FRENCH CITIZEN.—MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Louis Bonaparte was in London when the revolution of the 24th February, 1848, again threw the social elements of France into confusion and doubt. His heart leapt within him when he heard of the fall of a government—any government, it mattered not to him,—and although his ambitious views were again revived, he, with his usual cunning, resolved upon disguising his ultimate objects during all the intermediary stages by which it behoved him to arrive at a status in the country which, being his own, he had secretly resolved to treat as "his own," after the theory of a notable British senator now deceased.

He lost not much time: on the 28th of February he arrived in Paris (the interdict against his family being now nugatory, together with all laws), and made profession of faith as a good citizen (as M. Temblaire describes it, "*faisait acte de bon citoyen*"), being amongst the first who saluted and recognised the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government, however, being apprehensive lest the presence of the Prince in Paris might be made the pretext for disturbance by the enemies of the existing order

of things, the subject of our memoir thought it proper to retrace his steps, and to resign himself again to exile amongst the gambling-houses of St. James's, where he could wait in security for a better opportunity of playing out the game which he had determined upon. "Louis Napoleon," as M. Temblaire states it, "wished to give this new proof of his devotion to his country, by retracing his steps into exile, and thenceforward he resolved to wait until the elections which were at hand, and the constitution which was about to be voted, should lead to a condition of order and stability."

"But new events," continues the same historian, "necessarily led to new anxieties for Louis Napoleon. It was proposed in the *bureaux* of the Assembly to retain, as regarded him alone, the law of exile which had been directed against the family of the Emperor."

Louis Bonaparte, thus singled out, his single-minded policy thus threatened, addressed the following letter to the National Assembly:—

"TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

"London, 23rd May, 1848.

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

"I learn, by the newspapers of the 22nd inst., that it has been proposed in the *bureaux* of the Assembly to retain against me alone the law of exile which has been in force against my family since the year 1816; I now apply to the representatives of the people to know why I have merited this penalty?

"Can it be for having always publicly declared that, in my opinion, France was not the property (*apanage*) either of an individual, or of a family, or of a party?

"Can it be because, desiring to accomplish the triumph,

sovereignty, which alone can put an end to our dissensions, I have been twice the victim of my hostility to a government which you have overthrown?

"Can it be from having consented, out of deference to the wish of the Provisional Government, to return to a foreign country after having hastened to Paris upon the first news of the revolution? Can it be because I disinterestedly refused seats in the Assembly which were proffered to me, resolved not to return to France until the new constitution should be agreed upon, and the Republic firmly established.

"The same reasons which have made me take up arms against the government of Louis Philippe, would lead me, if my services were required, *to devote myself to the defence of the Assembly, the result of universal suffrage.*

"In the presence of a king elected by two hundred deputies, I might have recollected that I was heir to an empire founded by the consent of four millions of Frenchmen. In the presence of the national sovereignty I can, nor will claim more than my rights as a French citizen; but there, I will demand them with that energy which an honest heart derives from the knowledge of never having done anything to render it unworthy of its country.

"Receive, gentlemen, the assurance of my sentiments of high esteem.

"Your fallen citizen,

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

Similar letters from the Princes of the Orleans family had already been read to the Assembly at this sitting, and they refused even to hear that of M. Bonaparte.

All this time considerable excitement prevailed both in Paris and some of the departments, in consequence of the machinations of an organized body of conspirators, who

endeavoured to proclaim the restoration of Napoleon and the Empire:* and we search in vain, spite of his protestations in his letters to the Assembly, for any evidence that the Prince made the slightest effort to discourage or even to repudiate participation in these manifestations. A new paper, entitled "*Le Napoleonienne*," made its appearance at this critical moment, which neither the Prince, nor any one on his behalf, disavowed. Early in June the following proclamation was posted in the department of the Ardennes:—

"Frenchmen, after having again expelled the tyranny which deceived us in July, we have once more suffered ourselves to be deceived by a tyranny more hypocritical and more infamous, inasmuch as it conceals itself under the veil of democracy. In place of one king who plundered us, we have several who enrich themselves at our expense. Men of the Ardennes, let us rush to our arms; let us break our chains; let us show an example which France will hasten to follow, and let us place at our head the only man who is worthy of us. Let us place there Louis Napoleon.

"VIVE L'EMPEREUR."

But it would be useless to multiply facts of this sort, which occurred every day, evidently forming part of an organized plan. It would be vain also to inquire whether, taking all the circumstances of subsequent occurrence into account, any one can reasonably doubt that M. Louis Bonaparte was a directing party in these conspiracies against the republican government. *Credat qui vult*

* Amongst others of this sort arrested in Paris about this time, was Lieutenant Laity—"My dear Laity," — whom we have already seen recognised by M. Louis Bonaparte as an "authorized" apostle of Napoleonism.—EDITOR.

there are men who will believe anything, but the evidence of facts.

The following abridged account of the disturbances of the 12th of June, will suffice to exemplify the nature of the danger the French government had to deal with:—

"There was great excitement in Paris on Monday. At about half-past two o'clock the *rappel* was beaten for the National Guard, and a report was immediately current that Prince Louis Napoleon intended to go in the course of the afternoon to take his seat in the National Assembly, and that, as admission would be refused, a strong display of force was required to keep his partisans in check. At this time the crowd in the environs of the Chamber was not great, but within half an hour after the beating of the *rappel*, several groups, consisting of about three-fourths bourgeoisie and one-fourth working classes, had assembled on the Place de la Concorde. The crowd was divided into groups, each of which had its orator, and in one of them was a young and well-dressed woman, who harangued with some vehemence in favour of Louis Napoleon—not, she said, as a pretender to a crown, but as a representative of the people. In the groups, generally speaking, the feeling was strong for the admission of the new deputy to the Assembly, but many persons did not hesitate to declare that they were favourable to pretensions of another sort, whilst others treated such pretensions with contempt, and asked how anybody could be silly enough to excite commotion for a man who had twice made attempts, remarkable for their weakness and absurdity, to revive the despotism of the Napoleon age. In one of the largest groups a well-dressed person said, 'There must be no more pretenders; let us show ourselves good republicans, and shout *Vive la République!*' He then took off his hat, and raised this

shout, which, however, was not repeated by more than a twentieth part of the group. On the other hand, in a group not twenty yards distant from the scene of this outrage, a young man who had spoken in favour of the Prince was set upon, and the coat almost torn from his back. Still more outrageous scenes would probably have occurred if the National Guards had not come up and cleared the place. Immediately round the Chamber there was a large force of troops of the line, National Guards, and Garde Mobile, with several pieces of artillery, and the gardens of the Tuileries were filled with National Guards. About five o'clock, a report of three muskets having been discharged at General Clement Thomas, an officer of the line, and a National Guard, the latter of whom was wounded, became general; it produced a great impression, but did not discourage the advocates of tumult. On the contrary, the groups became more and more numerous in every part of the environs of the Chamber which had not been cleared. In the evening, there were groups on the Place de la Bourse, in which the discussions ran high, and also on the whole line of the Boulevards. Towards the Madeleine, the National Guards made several charges, and arrested many persons who had shouted '*Vive Napoleon!*' Many arrests were made also in the Place de la Concorde—amongst them was a drummer of the Garde Républicaine."

In the midst of these troubles, and immediately after the announcement of these disturbances, the following decree was made:—

Monday, June 12.

"The Executive Committee,

"Looking at article 4 of the law of June 12, 1816;

"Considering that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprised in the law of 1832, which banishes the family of

"That if that law has been departed from by the vote of the National Assembly in favour of three members of that family who were admitted to take their seats as representatives of the people, such departure from the law is quite personal, and by no means applies to the said Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;

"That Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has twice come forward as a pretender, and that his pretensions might compromise the Republic;

"That the Government cannot accept the responsibility of such acts, and that it would fail in the first of its duties if it did not take measures to prevent the recurrence of them;

"Declares, that it will cause the law of 1832 to be executed against Louis Napoleon Bonaparte until such time as the National Assembly shall decide otherwise."

Meantime M. Bonaparte, who perceived that the game was rather too hot a one to be agreeable; that, in short, the public mind was not attuned to give him the reception he desired, took prudence into his councils, and again declined the field, at the same time addressing the following letter to the President of the Assembly, dated 11th June:—

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,

"I had set out to place myself at my post, when I heard that my election had been made the pretext for some diplomatic disturbances, and some grave errors.

"I have not sought the honour of being elected a representative of the people, because I was aware of the injurious suspicions of which I was the object. Still less should I seek for power. *If the people were to impose duties upon me, I should know how to fulfil them.*

"But I disavow all those who attribute to me intentions

which I do not hold. My name is a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory, and it would be with the liveliest grief that I should see it made use of to augment the troubles and dissensions of my country. In order to avoid such a misfortune, I shall prefer remaining in exile. I am ready to make every sacrifice for the happiness of France.

"Have the goodness, M. le President, to make known to the Assembly the contents of this letter. I send you a copy of the letter of thanks I have addressed to the electors.

"Receive, &c.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."*

There was one expression in this letter which still served to keep alive the jealousies with which M. Bonaparte and his motives had been viewed by a large portion of the republican party—that in which he spoke of his willingness and ability to perform any duties which France might impose upon him. M. Temblaire, the Prince's biographer, editor, and advocate, speaks with great feeling upon this unfortunate mistake. He says: "A few words in this letter, which might bear a false interpretation, served still to belie (*dénaturer*) the intentions of the Prince;" and adds, "No doubt could have remained as to his intentions, in the sense of the very phrase incriminated, if the letter which Louis Napoleon addressed to the electors of La Seine and Yonne, a copy of which he sent to the President of the Assembly, had been read to that body. This address, which was of a nature to calm all the apprehensions which an expression accidentally introduced had given rise to, the president did not think proper to read." This statement, made in the tone of complaint, must strike any dispassionate person as most unjust. The National Assembly, as a body, had

* Herein first occurs the change of signature, already referred to in note, page 6, which see.

nothing to do with the address of M. Bonaparte to any body of electors, and had no right to interrupt and delay public business by reading or discussing it. Let us see, however, how M. Temblaire's assertion is borne out as to the satisfactory and calmatory effect of the address in question, which ran as follows:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE SEINE, OF YONNE, OF SARTHE, AND OF CHARENTE INFEREIUR.

"London, June 11, 1848.

"CITIZENS,

"Your suffrages fill me with gratitude. This mark of sympathy, which is the more flattering as I had not solicited it, found me at a moment when I was regretting that I should remain inactive when my country is in want of the co-operation of all her children, in order to pass out of the difficulties in which she is now placed.

"*The confidence you have reposed in me imposes upon me duties which I shall know how to fulfil.* Our interests, our sentiments, our aspirations, are the same. A native of Paris, and now a representative of the people, *I shall join my efforts to those of my colleagues* in order to re-establish order, public credit, and industry; to ensure peaceful relations abroad; to consolidate democratic institutions; and to conciliate interests which now seem to be adverse to one another, simply because they suspect one another, and clash, instead of marching together towards a single object—that of the prosperity and grandeur of the country.

"The people have been free since the 24th of February. It may obtain anything (it requires?) without recourse to brute force. Let us, then, rally ourselves round the altars of the country, under the flag of the Republic, and let us

nerating itself without violence, without civil contests, without anarchy.

"Receive, my dear fellow citizens, the assurance of my devotedness, and of my sympathies.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Without criticising the very great difference between the general tone of the above address to popular communities, and that sent to the President of the Assembly under the same date, it cannot fail of remark, that in the one he declines to undertake the specific duty imposed upon him as a representative, pointing vaguely to duties generally which *might* at some indefinite period be imposed upon him; and, in the other, accepts the duties of a representative, talking largely about rallying with his constituents under the flag of the Republic, &c.

Meantime more journals were started in Paris in the interest of the Prince. The *Times* of June 20th mentions the following new appearances on one day alone, the Sunday preceding (18th June):—*Le Bonapartiste, Napoleon Républicain, Le Petit Caporal, La Constitution Bonapartienne, La Redingote Grise*, &c. "We learn also," adds that journal, "that a report prevailed that emissaries were expected to present themselves at all the resorts of the people outside the barriers on Sunday, in order to keep the attention of the working classes fixed upon the Prince."

But still the Prince was not affected by the authorities—"he was not understood." "Still," says M. Temblaire, "the hostility manifested against him by the executive power, and the plan adopted of misrepresenting his words and his actions, made him believe that the moment was not arrived when he ought to return to France." Accordingly, he wrote another letter to the President of the Assembly:—

"London, June 15, 1848.

"M. LE PRESIDENT,

"I was proud to have been elected representative of the people in Paris and in three other departments. It was, in my opinion, an ample reparation for thirty years' exile and six years' captivity. But the injurious suspicions to which my election has given rise, the disturbances of which it was the pretext, and the hostility of the executive power, impose upon me the duty to decline an honour which I am supposed to have obtained by intrigue. I desire order and the maintenance of a wise, great, and enlightened Republic, and, since I involuntarily favour disorder, I tender my resignation, not without regret, into your hands.

"Tranquillity, I trust, will now be restored, and enable me to return to France as the humblest of citizens, but also as one of the most devoted to the repose and prosperity of his country.

"CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Some days afterwards he heard that the electors of Corsica had chosen him almost unanimously; and he wrote another letter to the President of the Assembly:—

"London, July 8, 1848.

"M. LE PRESIDENT,

"I have just heard that the electors of Corsica have chosen me as their representative to the National Assembly, notwithstanding the letter of resignation which I had placed in the hands of your predecessor.

"I am deeply sensible of their mark of esteem and confidence; but the same reasons which compelled me to refuse the demands of the departments of the Seine, the Yonne, and of Charente Inferieur, still exist, and impose upon me the necessity of another sacrifice.

"Without renouncing the idea of the honour of being one day a representative of the people, I consider it to be my duty to wait before returning to the bosom of my native country, till my presence in France may not in any way serve as a pretext for the enemies of the Republic. I wish that my disinterestedness should prove the sincerity of my patriotism; *I wish that those who charge me with ambition should be convinced of their error.*

"Have the goodness, M. le President, to inform the Assembly of my resignation, and of my regret at not being able yet to participate in its labours, and of my ardent wishes for the happiness of the Republic.

"Receive, &c.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

'The new elections were fixed for the 17th of September, and on the 28th of August the Prince writes as follows to General Piat:—

"London, 28th August, 1848.

"GENERAL,

"You ask me if I should accept the post of representative of the people if I were to be re-elected; I reply, without hesitation, 'Yes!'

"Now that it has been demonstrated, without gainsaying that my election in four departments at once was not the result of intrigue, and that I have kept myself a stranger to all manifestations and every political manœuvre, I should consider myself to be wanting in my duty if I should not respond to the call of my fellow-citizens.

"My name can now no longer be made a pretext for commotions. I am anxious, therefore, to re-enter France, and to take my seat amongst the representatives of the people, who desire to organize the Republic upon a broad

governments which have passed away impossible there is but one thing to do, and that is to do better than they; for you know, general, we have really not destroyed the past until we have replaced it by something else.

"Accept, &c.,

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

The result of the elections was, that the Prince was returned for the department of the Seine (Paris), by 110,752 votes; for that of Yonne by 42,086 votes; as well as by the Moselle, Charente Inferieur, Corsica, all by large majorities. He elected to sit for Paris, his native city.

On the 26th of September the nephew of the Emperor made his appearance in the Chamber of the Assembly, which exhibited a scene of considerable agitation; and having mounted the tribune, read the following speech from a paper in his hand:—

"Citizen representatives,

"I cannot longer remain silent after the calumnies directed against me. I feel it incumbent on me to declare openly, on the first day I am allowed to sit in this hall, the real sentiments which animate and have always animated me. After being proscribed during thirty-three years, I have at last recovered a country and my rights of citizenship. The Republic has conferred on me that happiness. I offer it now my oath of gratitude and devotion, and the generous fellow-countrymen who sent me to this hall may rest certain that they will find me devoted to the double task which is common to us all, namely, to assure order and tranquillity, the first want of the country, and to *develope the democratical institutions which the people has a right to claim.* (Cheers.) During a long period I could only devote to my country the meditations of exile and

captivity. To-day a new career is open to me. Admit me in your ranks, dear colleagues, with the sentiment of affectionate sympathy which animates me. *My conduct you may be certain shall ever be guided by a respectful devotion to the law.* It will prove, to the confusion of those who have attempted to slander me, that no man is more devoted than I am, I repeat, to the defence of order and the consolidation of the Republic." (Loud marks of approbation.")

On the 11th October, in the course of the discussion of the articles in the Constitution relative to the Presidency, M. Anthony Thouret proposed the insertion of a proviso, to the effect, that no member of the families who had reigned over France should be elected President or Vice-president of the French Republic. M. Lacaze and others opposed the amendment, "because it would be a law of proscription, unworthy of a great people. The chief of the imperial family, against whom the amendment was particularly directed, had come forward, and from the tribune protested his devotedness to the Republic."

This smoothed the way for M. Louis Bonaparte, who, still shrouding his ultimate designs beneath the cloak of humility, said:—"that he was too grateful to the nation for restoring to him his rights as a citizen, to have any other ambition. It was not in his name, but that of 300,000 electors, that he protested against the appellation of 'Pretender,' which was continually flung in his face."

"These few words," says the report, "were followed by the greatest agitation;" and, ultimately, M. Thouret declared that, "*in consequence of what had been said* by M. Louis Bonaparte, he withdrew his amendment."

The Prince only spoke once more as a member of the Assembly, and he was called up to do so by some observa-

tions made in the course of the discussion (Oct. 25) upon certain Socialist banquets then taking place, from which it would appear that, notwithstanding the fair promises of his highness, men's minds were not altogether satisfied as to his possible future. This troublous incident is thus described iu the journals of the day:—

"M. Clement Thomas rose, and inveighed in the most violent terms against the Bonaparte family. He asked by what right Prince Louis Napoleon presented himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, and covered the country with emissaries recommending his candidature to the peasantry.

"M. Clement Thomas was at every instant interrupted by cries and murmurs, and M. Pierre Bonaparte, stepping forward, vehemently challenged him from the foot of the tribune. The greatest confusion ensued, and after M. Thomas had left the tribune, M. Jerome Bonaparte could not for a long time obtain a hearing.

"M. Jerome Bonaparte said, that he would not reply to M. Thomas, because in doing so he would consider himself wanting in the respect he owed the Assembly. M. Thomas had no right to mention the candidature of his cousin as he did, and he was certain that the Assembly reproved his conduct.

"M. Clement Thomas again ascended the tribune, and, amidst the greatest agitation, declared that Louis Napoleon was not a candidate for the Presidency, *but for the imperial dignity!*

"The sitting was subsequently suspended, and most of the members left the hall. The president himself vacated his seat, and proceeded to the Salle des Pas Perdus, where a warm altercation, followed by a challenge, took place between MM. Pierre Bonaparte and Clement Thomas."

On the following day Prince Louis Bonaparte ascended the tribune, and said—

"Citizen Repesentatives,

"The regrettable incident which occurred yesterday will not permit me to remain silent.

"I deeply deplore being obliged to speak again of myself, because it is painful to me to see the Assembly constantly engaged with questions of a personal nature, when we have not a moment to lose for the discussion of the great interests of the country.

"I will not speak of my sentiments nor of my opinions; I have already manifested them to you; *and nobody has ever yet doubted my word.*

"As to my parliamentary conduct; in the same way that I would never pretend to call to account any of my colleagues for what they may have thought proper to do, so I will recognise the right of no man to bring me to account. This is an account which I owe to no one but my constituents. (Cheers.)

"Of what am I accused? Of having accepted, without having sought it, a candidature for the Presidency. (Movement.) Well, yes! I accept that candidature, by which I am honoured—I accept it, because the result of three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly reversing the decree of proscription against my family, authorize me to believe that France regards the name which I bear as one which may assist in the consolidation of society, which has been shaken to its foundation—(loud murmurs)—and to the stability and prosperity of the Republic. *How little do those who charge me with ambition know of my heart!* If a sense of imperative duty did not retain me here—if the sympathy of my fellow-citizens did not console me for the animosity of the attacks

of some, and even for the impetuosity of the defence of others, I should long have wished myself back in exile.

"I am reproached for my silence. It is not given to every one,—it is given to comparatively few, to bring to this place the eloquence of speech necessary to develop just and wholesome ideas. But is there no other way of serving one's country? What it is in want of, above all things, is deeds. What it wants is a government, firm, intelligent, and wise,—which will think more of healing the wounds of society than in avenging them (cheers); a government which shall put itself boldly in the front of sound ideas, in order to repel, with a thousand times more efficacy than could be done by means of bayonets, theories which are not founded upon experience and reason.

"I know there are some who wish to beset my path with snares and ambushes; but I shall not fall into them,—I shall always follow the line of conduct which I have traced out for myself, without troubling myself with anxieties, and without stopping: nothing will deprive me of my calmness —nothing will make me forget my duties. I have but one aim in view, and that is to merit the esteem of the Assembly, and, together with their esteem, that of all honest men, and the confidence of that magnanimous people which was treated so lightly yesterday (murmurs).

"I declare, therefore, to those who would wish to organize against me a system of provocation, that from henceforward I shall not reply to any attacks, nor to anything that may be done to excite me (oh, oh!) to speak, when I choose to remain silent; and strong in the approval of my conscience, I shall remain unshaken amidst all attacks, and impassible to calumny (cheers and murmurs)."

In the discussion which followed, the hero of the day was taken to task for the manner in which he had alluded to

his candidateship for the presidency from the tribune of the Assembly. It was at this sitting that the 10th December was fixed for that all-important event—the first and last election of the President of the French Republic under the constitution of 1848.

The Prince lost no time in putting out the following address to the people:—

"Fellow Citizens,

"In order to recall me from exile, you elected me a representative of the people. On the eve of your proceeding to the election of chief magistrate of the republic, my name presents itself to you as a symbol of order and security.

"These testimonies of a confidence so honourable are due, I am aware, much more to the name which I bear than to myself, who have as yet done nothing for my country;—but the more the memory of the Emperor protects me, and inspires your suffrages, the more I feel myself called upon to make known to you my sentiments and principles. There must not be anything equivocal in the relations between us.

"I am not an ambitious man, who dreams at one time of the Empire and of war; at another of the adoption of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, and in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages, and the will of the Assembly, may impose upon me.

"If I am elected President, I should not shrink from any danger, from any sacrifice, to defend society, which has been so audaciously attacked. I should devote myself wholly, without reserve (*arrière penser*), to the confirming of a republic, which has shown itself wise by its laws, honest in its intentions, great and powerful by its acts.

"*I pledge my honour to leave to my successor, at the end of four years, the executive powers strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished.*"*

"Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and I pledge beforehand, my co-operation with any strong and honest government which shall re-establish order in principles as well as in things; which shall efficiently protect our religion, our families, and our properties—the eternal basis of every social community; which shall attempt all practicable reform, assuage animosities, reconcile parties, and thus permit a country rendered anxious by circumstances, to count upon the morrow.

"To re-establish order is to restore confidence—to repair, by means of credit, the temporary depreciation of resources—to restore financial positions and revive commerce.

* Before issuing this manifesto, it appears that M. Louis Bonaparte submitted it to two of his supporters, M. Thiers and M. de Girardin. The incident is thus related by M. de la Guerrière in his *Portrait Politique*:—"*In the honesty and patriotism of his intentions* he had written the following sentence: 'I should consider it a point of honour to leave to my successor, at the end of four years, authority confirmed, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished.'—'What do you say?' cried M. Thiers; 'strike out that imprudent phrase. Enter into no engagements of the kind: promise nothing.'—The manifesto also contained these words:—'The Republic must be generous, and have faith in the future. I, who have known exile and captivity, invoke with my wishes the day when the country may be able, without danger, to reverse all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil wars.'—'Another imprudence,' exclaimed M. Thiers; 'talk of amnesty, when the blood of the battle of June is not wiped from the pavement; the bourgeoisie will be in arms at the idea; it is very well to be generous, but what we require now is skill.'—In a word, M. Thiers decided that Louis Napoleon's manifesto was destitute of common sense, and the next day he sent him another, composed by M. Merruan, a man of talent, the chief editor of the *Constitutionnel*, and now Secretary-General of the Prefecture of the Seine. M. Girardin next entered into the consultation: 'What is your opinion?' inquired the future President, placing before him the two manifestoes. 'I think,' answered the editor of *La*

"To protect the religion and the rights of families, is to ensure the freedom of public worship and education.

"To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the fruits of every man's labour; it is to guarantee the independence and the security of possession, an indispensable foundation for all civil liberties.

"As to the reforms which are possible, the following are those which appear to me to be the most urgent:—

"To adopt all those measures of economy, which, without occasioning disorder in the public service, will permit of a reduction of those taxes which press most heavily on the people—to encourage enterprises which, whilst they develop agricultural wealth, may, both in France and Algeria, give work to hands at present unoccupied—to provide for the relief of labourers in their old age, by means of provident institutions—to introduce into industrial laws modifications which may tend not to ruin the rich for the gain of the poor,

Presse, 'that one is true, like nature, and the other feeble, as a copy traced before a pane of glass. Be yourself: there is no better way.' But when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte mentioned the scruples of M. Thiers, with regard to the two phrases alluded to, M. Girardin replied in these terms: 'Prince, this is serious. Will you indeed *consider it a point of honour to leave to your successors, at the end of four years, an authority confirmed, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished?* Then retain the sentence: if not, strike it out at once.' Louis Napoleon did not strike out the phrase."

[Such is the account written in 1851; it corroborates what appeared in the papers Dec. 1848. The *Times* correspondent of that date writes:—"While on this subject I may state that, whatever its merits or demerits, the manifesto of Prince Louis Napoleon, published a week or two since, was every word of it his own. When he had written it he read it to MM. Thiers, Emile de Girardin, Molé, Veron, and one or two other of his friends, each of whom proposed an addition or subtraction, or an alteration. 'Gentlemen,' said the Prince, with much emotion, 'this is my child, my offspring. I am accused of incapacity. You are so kind as to say my bantling is creditable to me. Do allow me to be able to claim its exclusive parentage.'"]

but to establish the well-being of each upon the prosperity of all.

"To restrict within just limits the number of employments which shall depend upon the government, and which often convert a free people into a nation of beggars (*solliciteuse*).

"To avoid that deplorable tendency which leads the state to do that which individuals may do as well, and better, for themselves. The centralization of interests and enterprises is in the nature of despotism: the nature of a republic is to reject monopolies.

"Finally, to protect the liberty of the press from the two excesses which endanger it at present—that of arbitrary authority, on the one hand, and of its own licentiousness on the other.

"With war we can have no relief to our ills. Peace, therefore, would be the dearest object of my desire. France, at the time of her first revolution, was warlike, because others forced her to be so. Threatened with invasion, she replied by conquest. Now she is not threatened, she is free to concentrate all her resources to pacific measures of amelioration, without abandoning a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation ought to be silent, or never to speak in vain.

"To have regard for the national dignity is to have regard for the army, whose patriotism, so noble and so disinterested, has frequently been neglected. We ought, whilst we maintain the fundamental laws which are the strength of our military organization, to alleviate, and not aggravate, the burthen of the conscription. We ought to take care of the present and future interests, not only of the officers, but likewise of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and prepare a certain means of subsistence for men who have long served under our colours.

"The Republic ought to be generous, and have faith in its future prospects; and, for my part, I, who have suffered exile and captivity, appeal with all my warmest aspirations to that day when the country may, without danger, put a stop to all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil discords.

"Such, my dear fellow-citizens, are the ideas which I should bring to bear upon the functions of government if you were to call me to the Presidency of the Republic.

"The task is a difficult one—the mission immense. I know it. But I should not despair of accomplishing it; inviting to my aid, without distinction of party, all men who, by their high intelligence or their probity, have recommended themselves to public esteem.

"For indeed, when a man has the honour to be at the head of the French nation, there is an infallible way to succeed, and that is to desire to do so.

(Signed) "LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

CHAPTER V.

CITIZEN-PRESIDENT.

THE presidential election took place on the 10th December, 1848; the *name* Bonaparte acquired upwards of five millions of votes;* the *man* Cavaignac, who had courageously stood by France in the hour of her need—had protected her life

* The total number of votes polled was 7,349,000, of these

M. Louis Bonaparte obtained	5,434,226	suffrages
General Cavaignac	1,448,107	,,
M. Ledru-Rollin	370,119	,,
M. Raspail	36,900	,,
M. Lamartine	17,910	,,
General Changarnier	4,790	,,
Votes lost	12,600	,,

and property against the wild fury of mob-passions, and who had now for eight months wielded dictatorial power with a moderation and a stern equity of hand never excelled in the noblest days of Roman virtue—the MAN Cavaignac received not quite a million and a half of votes. And how nobly did he now conduct himself in this unmerited defeat. He had promised, for the sake of order, to hold the reins of government until the future President should be elected; and as soon as that event took place, he prepared at once to surrender the unlimited powers with which he had been entrusted, and even hastened the inauguration of his successor, apprehensive, from information which had reached the government, that "demonstrations calculated to provoke insurrection were meditated, both by the socialists and by those ultra-Napoleonists who dream of the restoration of the Empire."

On the 20th of November, at the sitting of the Assembly, M. Rosseau, the reporter of the committee upon the presidential election, having stated the numbers polled for the several candidates, and declared M. Louis Bonaparte to have been duly elected, concluded by calling upon the Assembly to proclaim the President, and exclaimed, "Have confidence—God protects France!"

General Cavaignac then ascended the tribune, and said, "I have the honour of informing the National Assembly that the members of the cabinet have just sent me their collective resignation, and I now come forward to surrender the powers with which it had invested me. You will understand, better than I can express, the sentiments of gratitude which the recollection of the confidence placed in me by the Assembly, and of its kindness for me, will leave in my heart."

This short address was received with deafening cries of

M. Marrast, the president of the Assembly, then rose and said—

"In the name of the French People.

"Whereas Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Paris, possesses all the qualifications of eligibility required by the 44th article of the constitution; whereas the ballot gave him the absolute majority of suffrages for the presidency: by virtue of the powers conferred on the Assembly by the 47th and 48th articles of the constitution, I proclaim him President of the French Republic from this day until the second Sunday of May, 1852, and I now invite him to ascend the tribune, and take the oath required by the constitution."

M. Louis Napoleon, who had hitherto been seated near M. Odillon Barrot, then rose and advanced towards the tribune. He was dressed in black; on his left breast was a star set with diamonds, and under his coat he wore the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour. Having mounted the tribune, the President read to him the oath of fidelity to the constitution:—

"IN PRESENCE OF GOD, AND BEFORE THE FRENCH PEOPLE, REPRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, I SWEAR TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE, AND TO FULFIL ALL THE DUTIES WHICH THE CONSTITUTION IMPOSES ON ME."

The solemnity and importance attached to this oath may be judged from the fact that it was the only political oath maintained by the new constitution. So much perjury had resulted from the old system of oath-pledging that it was resolved, in the interests of morality, to abandon them all, with this single exception. This sole remaining con-

stitutional oath M. Louis Bonaparte took, only to break it, and to exhibit to the world an example of apostasy and dishonour in the highest place of power. "*Je le jure!*" he said, at the same time holding up his right hand; and, not content with taking the oath, he "asked leave to address a few words to the Assembly."

"The suffrages of the nation, and his personal sentiments," he said, "commanded his future conduct, and imposed upon him duties which he would fulfil *as a man of honour. He would treat as enemies of the country whoever should attempt to subvert the constitution, and between him and the Assembly would exist the most perfect harmony of views.* He would exert himself to place society on its real basis, and to relieve the sufferings of a people who had borne such generous and intelligent testimony. He would endeavour to restore to the government the moral force of which it stood in need, and to maintain peace and order. He had *called around him men distinguished for talent and patriotism,* who, notwithstanding the differences of their political origin, would assist him in consolidating the new institutions of the country. He then eulogized the becoming conduct and loyalty of which General Cavaignac had given so many and such signal proofs, and pledged himself strenuously to labour to accomplish the great mission of founding the Republic, without recurring to reactionary or Utopian means; and, with the assistance of God, he trusted to achieve useful if not great things."

"This speech," say the journals of the day, "was received with unanimous cries of '*Vive la République!*' and M. Louis Bonaparte, having descended from the tribune, went up to the seat of General Cavaignac and cordially shook him by the hand. The new President was then met by M. Odillon Barrot and his friends of the right, who escorted him out of the hall."

It seems like a dream to read these brief but teeming sentences, and to contrast the picture they present with the reality of what has since occurred. Every promise, every vow, made upon that occasion has been successively and flagrantly broken, and all with premeditated design to subvert the constitution, by virtue of which he was placed in power, and whose minister he was.

The citizen President was no sooner firmly seated in power—indeed, he was scarcely established in the Elysée Bourbon—when he began to divest himself of the ragged disguise in which for so many years he had concealed the native blackness of his heart from his "*chères concitoyens.*" But he did not all at once effect this transformation —he did not suddenly reveal the hideous features of his moral character. France he knew had, in the course of the agonies of sixty years of revolution, become familiarized with monstrous examples of political turpitude and atrocity, but she was not yet prepared for a Louis Napoleon *tout entier*. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* And citizen Bonaparte had three years before him to go through the whole cycle of a criminal career, beginning with perjury, and ending with treason, assassination, and rapine. But we anticipate.

The "men distinguished for talent and patriotism," whom he had called around him, soon began to discover the amount of respect which their new master attached to those attributes, usually aspired to by public men; indeed he did not long delay to apprize them that he would not allow them either the responsibilities or that show of conscientious integrity which etiquette ascribes to high official functionaries.

His first dictatorial act was in a matter personal to himself, and in which his honour—that honour "which nobody ever yet doubted"—was deeply concerned. Within

a week of being sworn into office he applied to M. Leon de Malleville, minister of the interior, to abstract from the archives of his department, and hand over to the President, all the papers and evidence relating to the Strasburg and Bologne affairs, which included, it was supposed, several curious letters written by the police agents against the present President of the Republic;" and also "*three* letters,* which he (M. Louis Bonaparte) had addressed to Louis Philippe after the affair of Strasburg." This extraordinary demand M. de Malleville refused to obey; he "refused to be a purloiner of public documents," as he afterwards said in his explanations to the Assembly. Thereupon the President sent him a letter, which, for its insolence of tone and the extravagant pretensions it sets up, is without parallel in the annals of diplomacy.

"Elysée, December 28, 1848.

"M. LE MINISTER,

"I asked the prefect of police if he did not occasionally receive reports on diplomatic affairs? He replied in the affirmative, and he added that he had addressed to you, yesterday, copies of a despatch from Italy. Those despatches, you will understand, ought to be directly forwarded to me, and I must express to you my displeasure at this delay in their communication.

"I request you, likewise, to send me the sixteen boxes I had before demanded. I must have them on Thursday.

* What were these *three* letters about? The Prince only mentions one in his letter to his mother. What was there in this correspondence which he was ashamed of, and wished to bury in the tomb of his own heart? All this mystification tends to confirm our suspicion as to the fact of a promise having been made to remain in America for ten years, as asserted by the government of Louis Philippe—a promise flagrantly broken. But subsequent crimes have rendered this petty fraud comparatively insignificant.—EDITOR.

They contain documents relative to the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne. I do not intend, either, that the Minister of the Interior should prepare the articles personal to myself. This was not the case under Louis Philippe, and should not be the practice now.

"Besides, I have not received for some days any telegraphic despatches. On the whole, I perceive that the ministers I have named wish to treat me as if the famous constitution of Sièyes was in vigour, but I will not suffer it.

"Receive, M. le Ministre, the assurance of my sentiments of high distinction.

(Signed) "L. N. BONAPARTE."

The result was, that M. de Malleville resigned. Why the whole ministry did not go out with him is equally to be wondered at and regretted. It is now apparent that a timely courageous demonstration, on the part either of ministry or assembly, might have turned the usurper in his mad career; at least have led to the discovery of his designs when there was yet time to defeat and punish them. Whatever the cause of their forbearance, the ministry of M. Odillon Barrot remained in office until the end of October, when they were ignominiously dismissed by the President, who announced the event to the Assembly in the following message, which may be looked upon as a significant programme of his future policy:—

"In order to strengthen the Republic, menaced by anarchy from so many sides—to insure order more efficiently than has been done up to this day—to maintain abroad the name of France at the height of her renown—men are needed, who, animated by a patriotic devotedness, comprehend the necessity of a direction single and firm,

and of a clearly defined policy, which does not compromise power by any irresolution; men whose minds are as much filled with the conviction of my peculiar responsibility as of their own, men of action as well as words.

"For nearly a year I have given many proofs of self-denial, in order that there might be no misunderstanding with regard to my real sentiments. Without rancour against any individuality, or against any party, I have allowed men of the most contrary opinions to arrive at power; but without obtaining the happy result which I expected from that union. In place of effecting a fusion of different shades of opinion, I only arrived at a neutralization of forces.

"The unity of views and intentions was interfered with, and the spirit of conciliation taken for weakness. Scarcely had the dangers of the street been got over, when the old parties were seen again to elevate their colours, revive their rivalries, and alarm the country by disseminating disquietude.

"In the midst of this confusion, *France, uneasy because she sees no guidance, seeks the hand, the* WILL, *of the elected of the* 10*th of December.* But that will cannot be felt unless there be entire community of ideas, of views, and of convictions, between the President and his ministers; and unless the Assembly itself join in the thought of the nation as expressed in the election of the executive power.

"*A whole system triumphed on the* 10*th of December; for the name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself.* It means at home, order, authority, religion, and the welfare of the people; abroad, national dignity. It is this policy, inaugurated by my election, that I wish to make triumph, with the support of the Assembly and that of the people. I wish to merit the confidence of the people by maintaining the constitution to which I have sworn. I wish to inspire in the country, by my loyalty, my perse-

verance, and my firmness, a confidence such that affairs may resume their course, and that faith may be had in the future.

"The letter of a constitution has certainly a great influence on the destiny of the country, but the manner in which it is executed has perhaps even more. The longer or shorter duration of power contributes powerfully to the stability of things; but it is also by displaying ideas and principles that a government can succeed in persuading society to reassure itself."

It should be stated that the immediate cause of the break up of Louis Bonaparte's first and most respectable ministry was the manner in which the Roman expedition had been received by the country and the Assembly, and had been treated by the ministry, who, he fancied, did not go heart and soul in seconding his personal policy, and exhibited some reluctance to flatter his enormous personal vanity. It is notorious that the intermeddling policy in Italy, where the arms of republican France were brought to re-establish an *effete* ecclesiastical despotism—a policy which disgusted all men of free and independent ideas, not only in France but throughout Europe—was undertaken by the President as a means of ingratiating himself personally with the *parti prêtre;* we will not say with the church, but with those who make religion and the church a trade and field of profit. This was his immediate purpose; what his ultimate purpose may be, Italy and Europe have yet to learn.

The Odillon Barrot ministry once dismissed, the President resolved to hold himself for ever free from the control and supervision of "men distinguished for talent and patriotism," men who might still cherish some latent hopes of "consolidating the new institutions of the country." From this time commenced that system of puppet ministration, in which

neither genius, experience, nor patriotism, neither honesty nor personal honour, could interfere to check or qualify the absolute will of a selfish and self-minded traitor. To go through the ministerial history of the subsequent periods would be a humiliating and unprofitable task. Step by step it exhibits a descent into an abyss of dark dishonour, of shameless tergiversation, which none but the presiding genius "of the elect of the 10th of December" could have conceived the public service of "a great nation, with glorious souvenirs," capable of. "In three years, M. Bonaparte has had at least eighty or ninety ministers (the cabinet being generally composed of ten members), and to not one of these has he given an unreserved confidence, but only to the men appointed at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of December—conspirators, who were the accomplices in his most flagitious perjuries, and his foulest treasons. From Barrot and Tocqueville down to Faucher, de Thorigny, and Daviel, he 'used' every man of them 'up' with a stanchless selfishness known only to the heartless political intriguer, or to the most reckless of political gamblers."

In his domestic policy the first acts were to abolish universal suffrage, and to shackle the press; to suppress associations of all kinds—in a word, to put a stop to the expression of public opinion—that public opinion which, in his days of exile and misfortune, he had courted with remarkable servility. Thus released from disagreeable scrutiny, he went on with the game which he had all along proposed to himself.

The church party having been propitiated, and military ardour gratified by the bombardment of Rome, the systematic debauching of the soldiers was commenced; champagne, sausages, and cigars—which the taxpayers of France had afterwards to pay for,— were distributed amongst whole

armies of troops, on the plains of St. Maur and Satory, as a foretaste of the sweets of a bivouack under a Napoleon among the ruins of a Republic; and cries of "Vive Napoleon," or "Vive l'Empereur," were the grateful return from many a greasy mouth, reeking with tobacco-juice and lees of wine. These disgraceful proceedings, the details of which we will not now recapitulate, disgusted all Europe, and justly alarmed the constitutional party in France. This alarm was the more justifiable, as the constitution had jealously provided (Art. 50), that the President should never have any personal command of the army; in spite of which it was that Louis Bonaparte assumed a general officer's uniform, (which he had no title to, having no rank in the French service, and being only a captain of artillery in the Swiss,) and surrounded himself with an *état-major*, *aides-de-camps*, and *officiers d'ordonnance*, —reviewed troops, distributed orders and honours with exactly the same forms that the military Emperor and constitutional sovereigns used to employ—and in everything (except his unseemly familiarities with his bottle companions in the ranks) deported himself as a general-in-chief of the army.

Then came the ostentatious progresses through the provinces, the feastings, and the speechifying, in which "the consolidation of the new institutions of the country" was forgotten in the perpetual recurrence of a "great name," and the policy and institutions of a "great ancestor," the elements of which had in reality been scattered and destroyed in the convulsions of three successive revolutions. Can anybody with the commonest powers of perception reflect upon these proceedings, in which the brief allotted period of service of the head of the State was wasted in extravagant conviviality, and apparently meaningless verbiage, and doubt the end to

These displays were commenced whilst the Assembly was in vacation; and when, upon their re-assembling, they called for some explanations in regard to such extraordinary and apparently unjustifiable proceedings, they were put off with a few evasive words from the Minister of War, and it was coolly suggested to them to attend to their business, which was that of ratifying "the will of the elect of the 10th of December," and supplying his pecuniary wants. The charge of factious conduct on the part of the Assembly has been so often repeated by unthinking people, and has been made the excuse for so much flagrant wickedness on the part of the chief of the executive, that it will be well to inquire calmly into it. The following considerations upon this point are chiefly taken, with great abridgment, and some modifications, from an able article, evidently from the hand of a well-known public writer, which has recently appeared:*

"All parties in all countries are prone to call their rivals a *faction;* and no doubt the National Assembly of France was divided into factions: there were the Legitimist faction, and the Orleanist faction, and the Montagnard faction, and the Socialist faction, and the Bonapartist faction; but what we totally deny is, that the individual views of any of those factions, or the occasional coalitions amongst them, endangered in the slightest degree the *President's personal position*, or the constitutional authority of his government, or afforded the slightest pretence for the midnight mutary violence by which the Assembly was dissolved, and the *élite* of its members imprisoned like felons. On the contrary, into whatever parties it might be internally divided, not one of its *collective* acts can, by any latitude of expression, be called factious; nay, as we shall now show, the real reproach against it is an improvident reluctance to

* "Quarterly Review" for January, 1852.

impair the authority of an ambitious and aggressive government by measures which prudence and self-preservation must have otherwise suggested. We firmly believe that there was not one man in that Assembly, from the *Duke de Broglie* to *Citizen Nadaud*, who had the slightest wish to disturb the *constitutional position* of the President of the Republic!

"For, *see what that position was*—a question which we do not wonder that the President and his accomplices should blink, as it annihilates the main—indeed, the sole—pretence of his usurpation. By the constitution, Louis Napoleon's Presidency would LEGALLY EXPIRE *in March*, 1852, and by that same constitution HE *was not re-eligible*. What possible object, therefore, could any party in the Assembly have in disturbing a power which it had supported for three years, cordially at first, and substantially to the last, and which was now on the point of *expiring by due course of law?*

"But had *faction* and *conspiracy* nothing to do *for* Bonaparte? Have they done nothing? On the contrary, had they not everything to do, and have they not done everything? Was there not a Bonapartist conspiracy from the first, an usurping faction, which had all along the design of overleaping the legal limit affixed by the constitution to the Presidential office?"

Nothing proves the conciliatory character of the Assembly, as a body, more undeniably than the manner in which, though justly jealous of the imperial banquets and imperial progresses amongst the troops and the provinces, they abstained from cutting them short by refusing the supplies necessary to pay for them. They had still some faith in the man's word and his oath; made allowance for a hereditary vanity; and thought it best to jog on to the end of the chapter—the chapter limited by the constitution—

without insisting upon a rigid adherence to justice and public honesty, which must inevitably have consigned the first President of the French Republic, at the end of his term of office, to a debtors' gaol.

The constitution, formed on the general principle of the American Republic, had contemplated, on a real principle of equality, a President *without a court.* It provided (Art. 62) that 'he should be lodged at the public expense, and that he should receive a salary of 600,000 francs (24,000*l.*) a year.' This sum the Assembly—liberally though unconstitutionally—consented to double by an additional vote of 600,000 francs, under the good-natured pretext of *frais de representation,* and it added 150,000 francs (6000) for charities, &c., making, with some other small additions, his salary 1,625,000 francs, besides all the expenses of his palace, lighted, warmed, furnished, decorated, and served, being above a million of francs more than the constitution contemplated. But even this was soon discovered to be very insufficient for *Monseigneur le Prince Président,* surrounded by a gaudy *état-major* of courtiers, civil and military—maintaining a *quasi* imperial *train de maison*—collecting at state banquets of fifty covers an obsequious native court, and such stray foreigners of name or note as he hoped to dazzle with his splendour, or propitiate by his cajoleries—and giving collations of roast fowls and champagne to *twenty thousand* men at St. Maur, and a week after to *thirty thousand* at Satory.

Preparatory, therefore, to these magnificent displays, in June 1850, the President had persuaded his ministry to ask of the Assembly a large supplementary addition to those official allowances—no less than 1,400,000 francs. The Assembly saw pretty clearly that they were asked to furnish a stick to break their own head, but still—moderate or prudent, timid or conciliatory, or anything you will, except

factions—they voted the allowance, chiefly on the persuasion of General Changarnier, who, by that recommendation, showed himself a more generous adversary than a prudent political leader; for if the Assembly had shut up the President within the four walls of his salary, he and his imperial schemes would have soon jumped out of the windows, and the sober portion of the country would have applauded their representatives for the joint merit of economy and legality.

When, however, by and by, after the seizure of the journals—after the reviews of St. Maur and Satory—after reiterated insults and provocations to the Assembly—the President again, in the February of 1851, made another demand for 1,800,000 francs, and it was avowed that he expected his annual income to be permanently fixed at 3,425,000 francs (about 140,000*l.*)—above five times the sum established by the constitution—and when it was openly stated in debate by the President's advocates that these sums were to forward *ulterior views*—the Assembly, unless they had been absolute idiots or traitors, could not have consented to what would have been a mark of approbation for the past, and the means of aggression for the future; they accordingly negatived that vote—the single check, as we recollect, which, under such frequent provocations and such imminent danger, that over-patient body ever interposed to the greedy and insolent encroachments of the President.

We have now to consider the relative position of the President and the Assembly as affected by another question—that of the future fate of the constitution. The constitution prohibited the re-election of the President;—the President was inwardly determined to continue in office after the expiration of his term; and if he could not do so by fair

—continued and profuse lying,—was the only means by which he could mask his operations, when he found that they were not in unison with the feelings of the other constituted powers of the state. The Assembly opened session on the 11th November, 1850, and the President next day sent a message, which was considered so frank and explicit, as to dispel all pretence for alarm or uneasiness. Surely the force of falsehood can no further go than in the whole of the truculent farce which ensued. The President in this document declared, that he was *bound by his oath to keep within the strict limits of the constitution*, to which he would steadily adhere. If there was a wish for the revision of the constitution, that wish must be addressed to the legislative power; and as he was the agent of the people, he should always conform to their desires when expressed in a legal manner. — He added: "The uncertainty of the future excites fears on one hand, hopes on the other. Every one ought to sacrifice his particular wishes, and occupy himself only with what may conduce to the happiness of the country. If you decide that a revision of the constitution ought to take place, a constituent assembly will occupy itself with the fundamental laws of the country, and will fix the attributes of the executive power. If not, the people will again express its will in 1852. *That which now occupies me is not to know who is to govern France in* 1852; *I will employ the time which remains to me, so that the transition shall be made without any disturbance.*"

The year 1851 was inaugurated with complicated difficulties. The incongruous compound of heterogeneous politics, calling itself the "party of order," displayed inherent weakness and manifold contradictions. Interminable intrigues, drivelling disputes, petty plots, and contemptible conspiracies, abounded. The affair of the spy Allais, who was convicted of making false and calumnious denuncia-

tions, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, with a fine, developed details discreditable to all parties. The system of espionage would have disgraced even an Austrian *bureau*. M. Yon, the commissary of police of the Legislative Chamber, was forced to resign. Out of this scandal a misunderstanding arose between M. Dupin, the president of the Chamber, and the President of the Republic. On the occasion of the new year the dissension was apparent, for the Prince interrupted M. Dupin, in the midst of the customary flowery address of congratulation, dilating on the mutual "good understanding" between the Assembly and the President of the Republic, and of the attachment of the members to his person, by exclaiming, "I must believe it, M. le President, because you say it." In his reply, the Prince addressed M. Dupin in the following manner, rendered not a little curious by recent occurrences:—

"You and I, each in the limits of our attributes, must endeavour to enforce respect for the laws of the country, and the authority which is given to us by the constitution, without encroachment by the one power or the other. I do not insist upon the prorogation of my powers, but I do insist, when I shall restore to the people the power which I have received from it, to restore it intact and respected. My conviction is, that France wishes for peace and order, and *it would blame the one of the two powers* which would attack the other."

Other causes of dissension ensued, and another ministerial crisis occurred in the second week of January, after a pointed refusal had been given to allow the minister of war a few hours to search for documents, in reply to a question from M. Napoleon Bonaparte, the representative, as to certain alleged unconstitutional standing orders for the guidance of the army in cases of insurrection. General Changarnier emphatically denied that such orders had

ever been issued by him, as insinuated by the minister of war. The President of the Republic displayed firmness in this crisis, by boldly dismissing Changarnier from the command of the army, and forming a new cabinet.

Louis Napoleon, it must be here remarked, made no secret of his positive intention to get rid, *per fas aut nefas*, of the article in the constitution forbidding his own re-election. His cabinet was then composed of MM. Baroche, Fould, Rouher, Parrieu (in the former ministry), Drouyn de Lhuys, General Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, M. Ducos, M. Magne, and M. Bonjean. The Assembly having passed a vote of non-confidence in the ministry by 417 to 278, the new cabinet resigned, and, for the second time within ten days, France was without a government.

The attempt to form an administration proved unavailing: and the President, on the 24th of January, sent a message to the Assembly, announcing that he had formed a "ministry of transition," composed of special men, not belonging to any faction of the Assembly, and determined to devote themselves to the business of the country, without reference to party." In this state document posterity will have to pass judgment on the following passages, as compared with the proclamations of December 2nd.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

"Public opinion, confiding in the wisdom of the Assembly and the government, has not been alarmed at recent incidents. Nevertheless, France begins to suffer from the want of union, which she deplores. My duty is, to do all that depends on me to prevent disagreeable results. The union of the two powers is indispensable to the repose of the country; but, as the constitution has rendered them inde-

pendent, the only condition of this union is a reciprocal confidence. Penetrated with this sentiment, I shall always respect the rights of the Assembly, while maintaining intact the prerogative of the power I hold from the people.

"France wishes, above all, for repose, and she expects from those whom she has invested with her confidence conciliation without weakness, and tranquil progress and impassibility, while they respect the laws."

The names "unknown to fame" which composed this transition ministry were MM. Bremen, de Germiny, de Royer, Magne, Waisse, Schneider, and Rear-Admiral Vaillant, many of whom were not even members of the Assembly. One of the first acts of the President, after this change, was to induce his "transitionists" to propose a new Dotation Bill, in the shape of an additional grant of 1,800,000 francs. The Chamber rejected this bill by a majority of 396 over 294, the report of the committee justly remarking, that the "Presidency was not royalty; that the President was only the first citizen, and head of the executive power." Furthermore, the report insinuated that this grant might be used for illegal political purposes. The next day (February 9) the *Moniteur* announced that the President refused to accept the subscriptions commenced in anticipation of the rejection of the bill, cordially thanking the donors for their imposing act of sympathy, which was taken by the Parisians as a new evidence of "noble sentiment" and disinterestedness on the part of the elect of the 10th of December.

He solved the difficult problem of forming a Cabinet, with Baroche at its head, only in April, after many fruitless negotiations. M. de St. Beave's motion of a want of confidence was rejected by 327 against 275; and the Assembly,

therefore, proved that it was not disposed to continue a factious opposition to the President.

The two great questions now before the public were the hackneyed ones of the revision of the constitution, and the prolongation of the President's powers. The Legislative Assembly, on the 28th of May, entered upon the third and last year of its existence: from that date the constitution admitted of any motion for its revision, and the struggle between parties became more furious. To the success in the revision Louis Napoleon looked for the prolongation of his power; the Legitimists, on the other hand, suspected that the Republic might be upset with the revision, and Henri Cinq be placed on the throne; the Orleanists looked forward, on their part, to the advent of the Comte de Paris. In the meanwhile a great number of petitions, particularly in favour of the President, were poured in, praying for the revision. Louis Napoleon, at the opening of the Dijon railway, threw down a gauntlet of defiance to the Legislative Assembly, which was a most unfortunate one for him. His position was promising before that address; but the feud between him and the Assembly now became irreconcilable, and every calm observer of events felt that a catastrophe was inevitable. The discussion on the question of revision began on Monday, July 14th. The most brilliant displays of oratory ever heard in the tribune were listened to with profound attention and emotion in the crowded galleries. A fearful crisis was felt to be at hand. M. Dufaure, M. de Falloux, M. Berryer, General Cavaignac, M. Michel (de Bourges), M. Victor Hugo, and M. Odillon-Barrot, were the chief speakers. On the division, 446 were in favour of the revision, and against it only 278, thus leaving a majority of 168 in favour of the motion; but according to the 11th article of the constitution, three-fourths of the number of voters would only

constitute a legal majority, and as there were 724 voters, it required 543 members to carry the proposition. The "revision" was therefore lost. The Reds and the Republican left hailed the result as a great triumph. A short ministerial crisis took place after the vote, arising out of attacks of the Assembly on the minister of the interior; but the cabinet was prevailed upon by the President to remain in office.

We now approach the closing scene of this strange eventful drama. With a reconstructed ministry of incapables the President met the Assembly, on the opening of its last session, with a long message (Nov. 6), which opened with a reference to a pretended vast demagogical conspiracy organizing throughout France and Europe. "Your patriotism and courage," said the President, "with which I shall endeavour to keep pace, will, I am sure, save France from the dangers wherewith she is threatened." But the vital portion of the message was that in reference to the restoration of universal suffrage, upon which the Prince now fixed his hopes of re-election. This measure, however, like that for the revision of the constitution, was lost; and with it the last hope of an *accommodement* between the President and the Assembly.

Prior to this decision, namely, on Sunday, November the 9th, Louis Napoleon had a grand military demonstration: all the officers of the regiments forming the garrison of Paris were presented to him at the Elysée; he harangued them to the effect that if the gravity of circumstances should cause him to make an appeal to their devotedness, he was sure *they would not fail him*, for he would ask from them nothing not in accordance with his *right, with military honour*, and with the interests of the country, because he had placed at their head *men in whom* he had full confidence; and because, if *the day of danger* should come, he would not, like the govern-

ments that had preceded him, cry, "March—I follow you!" but "*I march—follow me!*" So alarmed were the ministers at this speech, which can now no longer be regarded as extraordinary, that they introduced the words, "recognised by the constitution," instead of those of "*my right.*" At the time, this address was looked upon as singular, inasmuch as the President, by the constitution, could not even command a corporal's guard.

The last effort of the Assembly was one which contemplated measures of self-defence, in case—which was an imminent probability—there should be an attempt to suppress or coerce them with armed force. In contemplation of such an event, the constitution declared (Art. 32)

"The National Assembly fixes the amount of military force necessary for its own security, and disposes of it."

As there appeared to be some ambiguity in the practical bearing of this provision, it was proposed by the *questeurs*, a committee of four members charged with the police of the Assembly, to pass a distinct enactment on the subject. This proposition, however, was rejected, by a majority of 408 to 300; so little disposed to factious, or even the semblance of factious proceedings, were, up to this moment, the Assembly as a body; so little suspicious of the treason of which they were about to be the victims.

Can any one now doubt that, from the first moment of his election, the sole thought of the President, the sole aim of all his manœuvres, was usurpation? From the first hour of his accession, all he did or tried to do—all his shifts, his shufflings, and his struggles with the Assembly, with his ministers, with the magistracy, the army, and different classes of the people—were only so many steps, covert or open, stealthy or striding, towards the usurpation accomplished, with the luck which so often attends the first burst of audacity, on the 2nd of December.

"*I will treat as enemies of the country whoever should attempt to subvert the constitution; and between me and the Assembly shall exist the most perfect harmony of views!*" These promises were about now to be put to the test.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COUP D'ETAT.

Down to Tuesday the 2nd of December, no remarkable occurrence had taken place in addition to those already mentioned. On the morning of that day, the inhabitants of Paris awoke to find the city occupied by troops, and a decree by the President posted on every wall, announcing the dissolution of the National Assembly and of the Council of State, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, and the establishment of the "state of siege" throughout the first military division. It was further announced that "the French people were convoked in its elective colleges from the 14th to the 21st of December." There were also proclamations, addressed to the people and the army. The address to the people contained the outline of a new constitution: "Persuaded," said the President, "that the instability of the government and the preponderance of a single assembly are permanent causes of trouble and disorder. I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental basis of a constitution which assemblies will develope afterwards:—1. A responsible head, named for ten years. 2. Ministers dependent on the Executive Power alone. 3. A council of state, formed of the most eminent men, preparing the laws and supporting the discussion of them before the legislative body. 4. A legislative body discussing and voting laws, named by universal suffrage,

without *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election. 5. A second assembly, formed of all the illustrious of the country, a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties. The system created by the First Consul at the commencement of the century has already given to France repose and prosperity; and it would again guarantee them to it. Such is my profound conviction. If you share in it, declare it by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government with strength, monarchical or republican, borrowed from I know not what past, or from some chimerical future, reply negatively. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with a knowledge of what you are doing, in knowing well for whom and for what. If I do not obtain the majority of your suffrages, I will then call for the meeting of a new assembly, and I will give up the charge which I have received from you. But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol—that is to say, France regenerated by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor—is still your own, proclaim it by consecrating the powers which I ask from you. Then France and Europe will be preserved from anarchy, obstacles will be removed, rivalries will have disappeared, for all will respect, in the decision of the people, the decree of Providence. Given at the Palace of the Elysée, this second day of December, 1851."

The events of the preceding night became gradually known to the astonished citizens. The President had held a brilliant reception at the Elysée in the evening, when he appeared more than usually gay. At an early hour in the morning a number of the leading members of the Assembly, among whom were Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Bedeau, Leflô, and Lamoricière, and Messrs. Thiers, Roger du Nord, Baze, Baune, Greppo, Miot, Nadaud, Lagrange,

and Valerien,—were arrested in their beds and conveyed to prison. The President's proclamations, printed at a private press in the palace, were posted on the walls, and the city was occupied by troops, before daylight. A line of infantry extended from the Porte Royale along the Quay d'Orsay, cavalry occupied the Place de la Concorde; and at all the bridges were stationed batteries of field artillery. The gardens of the Tuileries were closed; and troops surrounded the Louvre, and occupied the faubourgs. Meanwhile the representatives of the people, hearing that some of their colleagues had been arrested, hastened in great numbers to the hall of the Assembly.

The only statement as yet given of the motives or details of these events, as viewed by the constitutionalists, is a very able and important document, drawn up by a member of the Assembly, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, which appeared in the *Times* of Thursday, the 11th of December, and which, but for its great length, would have been reproduced here *in extenso*. After a masterly recapitulation of the great facts already stated, the writer narrates in a singularly picturesque manner the actual violences with which the 2nd December opened —the audacious proclamations—the arrest of leading deputies and the constitutional generals, &c. The writer then proceeds to relate—

"As an actual witness, the things I saw with my eyes and heard with my ears.

"When the representatives of the people learned, on waking that morning, that several of their colleagues were arrested, they ran to the Assembly. The doors were guarded by the Chasseurs de Vincennes, a corps of troops recently returned from Africa, and long accustomed to the violences of Algerine dominion, who, moreover, were

stimulated by a *donation of five francs distributed to every soldier who was in Paris that day.* The representatives nevertheless presented themselves to go in, having at their head one of their vice-presidents, M. Daru. This gentleman was violently struck by the soldiers, and the representatives who accompanied him were driven back at the point of the bayonet. Three of them, MM. de Talhouet, Etienne, Duparc, were slightly wounded. Several others had their clothes pierced.

"Driven from the doors of the Assembly, the deputies retired to the Mairie of the 10th arrondissement. They were already assembled to the number of about three hundred, when the troops arrived, blocked up the approaches, and prevented a greater number of representatives from entering the apartment, though no one was at that time prevented from leaving it. Who, then, were these representatives assembled at the mairie of the 10th arrondissement, and what did they do there? Every shade of opinion was represented in this extemporaneous Assembly, but eight-tenths of its members belonged to the different conservative parties which had constituted the majority. This Assembly was presided over by two of its vice-presidents, M. Benoist d'Azy and M. Vitet. M. Daru was arrested in his own house; the fourth vice-president, the illustrious General Bedeau, had been seized that morning in his bed, and handcuffed like a robber. As for the president, M. Dupin, he was absent, which surprised no one, as his cowardice was known. Besides its vice-presidents, the assembly was accompanied by its secretaries, its ushers, and even its shorthand-writer, who will preserve for posterity the records of this last and memorable sitting. The Assembly, thus constituted, began by voting a decree in the following terms:—

"'In pursuance of Article 68 of the constitution, viz.—

"'*The President of the Republic, the ministers, the agents, and depositaries of public authority, are responsible, each in what concerns themselves respectively, for all the acts of the government and the administration. Any measure by which the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or places obstacles in the exercise of its powers, is a crime of high treason. By this act merely the President is deprived of all authority, the citizens are bound to withhold their obedience, the executive power passes in full right to the National Assembly. The judges of the High Court of Justice will meet immediately, under pain of forfeiture; they will convoke the juries in the place which they will select, to proceed to the judgment of the President and his accomplices; they will nominate the magistrates charged to fulfil the duties of public ministers;*—

"' And seeing that the National Assembly is prevented by violence from exercising its powers, it decrees as follows, viz.—

"'*Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is deprived of all authority as President of the Republic.* The citizens are enjoined to withhold their obedience. The Executive power has passed in full right to the National Assembly. The judges of the High Court of Justice are enjoined to meet immediately, under pain of forfeiture, to proceed to the judgment of the President and his accomplices; consequently all the officers and functionaries of power and of public authority are bound to obey all requisitions made in the name of the National Assembly, under pain of forfeiture and of high treason. Done and decreed unanimously in public sitting, this 2nd of December, 1851.

"Benoist d'Azy, President; Vitet, Vice-President;
Moulin and Chapot, Secretaries."

Here follows a list of 230 signatures, beginning alphabetically with D'Albert, Duke de Luynes, and ending with Eugène Sue, the radical novelist, and including the most distinguished men of all classes and parties that the Assembly comprised or that France can show. The narrator goes on:—

"After having voted this first decree, another was unanimously passed, naming General Oudinot commander of the public forces; and M. Tamisier was joined with him as chief of the staff.

"These decrees had scarcely been signed by all the members present, and deposited in a place of safety, when a band of soldiers, headed by their officers, sword in hand, appeared at the door, without, however, daring to enter the apartment. The Assembly awaited them in perfect silence. The President alone raised his voice, read the decrees which had just been passed to the soldiers, and ordered them to retire. The poor fellows, ashamed of the part they were compelled to play, hesitated. The officers, pale and undecided, declared they should go for further orders. They retired, contenting themselves with blockading the passages leading to the apartment. The Assembly, not being able to go out, ordered the windows to be opened, and caused the decrees to be read to the people and the troops in the street below, especially that decree which, in pursuance of the 68th article of the constitution, pronounced the deposition and impeachment of Louis Napoleon. Soon, however, the soldiers re-appeared at the door, preceded this time by two *Commissaires de Police*. These men, amid the unbroken silence of the Assembly, summoned the representatives to disperse. The President ordered them to retire themselves. One was agitated, and faltered; the other broke out in invectives. The President said to

sentatives of law and of right. We will not disperse. Seize us, and convey us to prison.' 'All, all!' exclaimed the members of the Assembly. After much hesitation, the *Commissaires de Police* caused the two Presidents to be seized by the collar. The whole body then rose, and arm-in-arm, two-and-two, they followed the Presidents, and all were marched off through the streets without knowing whither they were going. Care had been taken to circulate a report among the crowd and the troops that a meeting of Socialist and Red Republican deputies had been arrested. But when the people beheld among those who were thus dragged through the mud of Paris on foot, like a gang of malefactors, men the most illustrious by their talents and their virtues, surrounded by the bayonets of the line, a shout was raised, '*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*' The representatives were attended by these shouts until they reached the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, where they were shut up. Almost all the men known to France and to Europe, who formed the majority of the Legislative Assembly, were gathered together in this place. Few were wanting except those who, like M. Molé, had not been suffered to reach their colleagues. There were present, among others, the Duke de Broglie, who had come, though ill; the father of the house, the venerable Keratry, whose physical strength was inferior to his moral courage, and whom it was necessary to seat on a straw chair in the barrack-yard; Odillon-Barrot, Dufaure, Berryer, Rémusat, Duvergier de Hauranne, Gustave de Beaumont, de Tocqueville, de Falloux, Lanjuinais, Admiral Lainé, and Admiral Cécille, Generals Oudinot and Lauriston, the Duke de Luynes, the Duke de Montebello; twelve ex-ministers, who had served under Louis Napoleon himself; eight members of the Institute; all men who had struggled for

three years to defend society, and to resist the demagogic faction. When two hours had elapsed, this assemblage was driven into barrack-rooms upstairs, where most of them spent the night, without fire, and almost without food, stretched upon the boards. It only remained to carry off to prison these honourable men, guilty of no crime but the defence of the laws of their country. For this purpose the most distressing and ignominious means were selected. The cellular vans in which *forçats* are conveyed to the *bagne* were brought up. In these vehicles were shut up the men who had served and honoured their country, and they were conveyed like three bands of criminals, some to the fortress of Mont Valerien, some to the Prison Mazas in Paris, and the remainder to Vincennes. The indignation of the public compelled the government two days afterwards to release the greater number of them; some are still in confinement, unable to obtain either their liberty or their trial. The treatment inflicted on the generals arrested in the morning of the 2nd December was still more disgraceful. Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Changarnier, —the conquerors of Africa,—were shut up in these infamous cellular vans, which are always inconvenient, and become almost intolerable on a lengthened journey. In this manner they were conveyed to Ham."

Then follows a summary of the prostrate condition to which the press and the personal liberty of French citizens were instantly reduced. He adds:—

"One word more, to record a fact which does honour to the magistracy of France. The army refused to submit to the decree of the captive Assembly impeaching the President of the Republic; but the High Court of Justice obeyed it. These five judges, sitting in the midst of Paris enslaved, and in the face of martial law, dared to assemble at the Palace of Justice, and to issue process commencing

criminal proceedings against Louis Napoleon in the following memorable edict:—

"THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—

Considering the 68th article of the constitution; considering that printed placards commencing with the words 'the President of the Republic,' and bearing at the end the signatures of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and De Morny, minister of the interior, which placards announce, among other things, the dissolution of the National Assembly, have this day been affixed to the walls of Paris; that this fact of the dissolution of the Assembly by the President of the Republic would fall under the case provided for by the 68th article of the constitution, and render the convocation of the High Court of Justice imperative—by the terms of that article declares that the High Court is constituted, and names M. Renouard, counsellor of the Court of Cassation, to fill the duties of public accuser, and to fill those of Greffier M. Bernard, Greffier in Chief of the Court of Cassation; and, to proceed further in pursuance of the terms of the said 68th article of the constitution, adjourns until to-morrow, the 3rd of December, at the hour of noon.'

"After this textual extract from the Minutes of the High Court of Justice there is the following entry:—

"'1. A *procès-verbal* stating the arrival of a commissaire de police, who called upon the High Court to separate.

"'2. A *procès-verbal* of a second sitting held on the morrow, 3rd day of December (when the Assembly was in prison), at which M. Renouard accepts the functions of public prosecutor, charged to proceed against Louis Napoleon; after which the High Court, being no longer able to it, adjourned to a day to be fixed hereafter.'"

While the legislative element of the constitution was thus

destroyed, measures were taken to disarm the power of the press. All the offices of the journals were occupied by the military, and none of the journals, except the government organs, were allowed to appear. During the whole of this day the people remained quiet and apparently indifferent, and there was so little alarm that even the jewellers' shops remained open as usual.

On the following morning, Wednesday, the 3rd, it became publicly known that the President had dismissed his Ministers, on the ground that he was unwilling to compromise them by implicating them in his acts; and that he had appointed a new Ministry of which the principal members were, M. de Morny,* Interior; Fould, Finance; Rouher,

* A new cabinet was appointed, of which the guiding and governing spirit was a brother of M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, M. De Morny. [His father is said to be an ancient aide-de-camp of the Emperor, now a general in the French service, who was employed as ambassador by Louis Philippe.] On the career of this person it will be necessary to say a word. A pupil of the school of the *Etat Major,* he obtained a *sous lieutenant's* commission in 1832, and proceeded to Africa, where he made the campaign of Mascara and of Constantine. Of the bravery, coolness, and energy of M. De Morny there can be no doubt whatever. He was wounded under the walls of Constantine, and was honourably mentioned in affairs, for which he received the reward dearest to a French soldier's heart—the *croix d'honneur.* In the military service, M. De Morny remained till 1838, when he left it to engage in a commercial speculation—the manufacture of beetroot sugar, which he had commenced on a large scale in Auvergne. The delegates of the sugar interest soon appointed him their secretary, with a view to defend the interests of the trade. The superior manner in which he explained and enforced their views in a clever pamphlet caused him to be ultimately elected president of the society. In 1842, he first became a member of the Chamber, and frequently spoke in a manner to excite attention, from his coolness and *aplomb.* But although a certain ability and energy cannot be denied to M. De Morny, no one supposed him to be specially cut out for a parliamentary life, or for a great minister of state. To every man acquainted with Parisian society in the five years—from 1843 to 1848—it was well known that M. De Morny was more deeply engaged on the turf, at the jockey club, at the gambling-table, and in the

Justice; Magne, Public Works; Le Rouche, Marine; Casabianca, Commerce; St. Arnaud, War; Fortoul, Public Instruction; Turgot, Foreign Affairs. A decree was promulgated regulating the proposed election. It convoked the people in their districts, for the 14th instant, to accept or reject "the following plébéscite:"—"The French people wills the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegates to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution on the basis proposed in his proclamation of the 2nd December." All Frenchmen aged twenty-seven, and enjoying their civil rights, were called on to vote. The period of voting to be the eight days ending on the 21st instant. The Minister of War addressed a circular to the generals of the army and the chiefs of corps, ordering that the soldiers were to vote for the election of a President within forty-eight hours from the receipt of the circular. A provisional Consultative Commission, in lieu of the abolished Council of State, was nominated; embracing Messieurs Baroche, Drouyn de l'Huys, Admiral Cécille, MM. Montalembert, Lucien Murat, and seventy-five other distinguished members of the late National Assembly.

The tranquillity which had hitherto prevailed was first

foyers of the opera, than in parliamentary business. His coolness, courage, and quick faculties, no one doubted. He was an excellent judge of horseflesh, understood *ecarté* well, and could criticise an opera or ballet with accurate science; but no one believed him to know anything about, or to care anything for, parliamentary government. It was for this reason, as much as for the brotherhood in blood (both being born of the same mother), that M. Bonaparte chose this daring and conscienceless counsellor as his principal minister. The new chief of the home office had graduated in tenderness and humanity in Africa; had studied the doctrine of chances in the jockey club and in the betting-rooms. He was, therefore, prepared to play double and quits—to go for what the French call a *martingale*, and to stand the hazard of a desperate cast of the political dye.—*Fraser's Magazine.*

interrupted on this day. A member of the Mountain, M. Baudin, appeared on horseback in the Rue St. Antoine, followed by several other members of the same party, and endeavoured to excite the workmen to rise. He succeeded in getting together a small body, who threw up two slight barricades. Troops were instantly marched against them, and, after a brief skirmish, the barricades were taken, Baudin and another representative being killed on the spot, and several of their followers wounded. Decrees were immediately put forth by the prefect of police and the minister of war, declaring that every person taken in the act of erecting or defending a barricade, or bearing arms, should suffer according to the most rigorous laws of war. Groups were to be dispersed by the armed force and without previous notice; and the circulation of public carriages was prohibited. During Wednesday night, several representatives of the Mountain passed through the streets, attempting to address the people; but they were everywhere prevented. The body of one of the representatives, shot at the barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine, was put on a litter and carried through several streets. When it came down the Boulevards, causing great excitement in its course, the bearers were met by troops, and turned into a bye-street. Here there was such resistance that the troops charged, and fired; and two of the men carrying the corpse were killed. Proclamations signed by Michel of Bourges, Soelcher, and others, calling on the people to fight and offering to lead them, were posted in a multitude of places, but were speedily observed and removed.

Thursday, the 3rd, opened gloomily. From an early hour of the morning the quarter of the Faubourg St. Antoine was astir, and temporary barricades of the slightest materials were thrown up here and there, and abandoned

the wish of the populace to harass. The alarm began to spread, and the shops in the neighbourhood of the disturbed quarter remained closed. Barricades of a more formidable character were thrown up at the Porte St. Denis, Porte St. Martin, Rues Baubourg, Transnonian, St. Mery, and St. Martin—amounting in all to more than one hundred—before information could be forwarded to the troops. Before twelve o'clock the aspect of affairs became so serious that all the small posts of soldiers were withdrawn, to prevent their being surprised and disarmed by the rioters, and shortly afterwards three or four regiments of cavalry and as many of infantry, with six battalions of artillery, were marched upon the disaffected quarter, and fierce and determined conflicts commenced at the barricades. It was rumoured that shots were fired from Tortoni's coffee-house upon the troops, and it was immediately attacked by the soldiery. The same plea was urged for attacking M. Sallandrouze's carpet manufactory, which was riddled with cannon, and at least thirty of the workmen killed. Charges of large bodies of lancers were made every five minutes to clear the Boulevards. No quarter was given to the insurgents, and a number of persons taken between two barricades in the Rue Chapon were shot on the spot.

Before two o'clock there were 30,000 troops of all arms on the Boulevards, and the most peremptory orders were issued by the officers that the windows of the houses should be kept closed, and that no persons should show themselves in the balconies or they would be fired at. Volleys were fired at windows, and several persons were killed. The large barrier at the Porte St. Denis was not taken till after two hours' hard fighting, and the loss of from fifty to a hundred lives. The Mairie of the fifth arrondissement was besieged and taken, and forty of the National Guards

were deprived of their arms. At this time the populace appeared to be entire masters of the quarters St. Denis and St. Martin, and all the houses at the angles of the Boulevards were filled with men armed with swords and muskets. Some regiments of the line and Chasseurs de Vincennes were at length brought up, and the insurgents were driven off at all points. At the Porte St. Martin the greatest loss of life appears to have taken place; the defenders of the barricade at St. Denis having, when they fled from it, been caught between two fires, and after the barricade was taken some hundreds of dead and wounded were found behind it. In the middle of the day a formidable attempt was made by the insurgents, moving from different quarters, to get possession of the Bank and the Post-office; but the large force stationed in the Rue de Pagevin having deployed into line, the populace, after firing a few volleys, retreated. During the greater part of the day the bank was partially blockaded, as by some accident the communication with the main body of the troops was not kept up, and the one hundred and fifty soldiers stationed there were without provisions, the barricades erected in the neighbourhood cutting off their communications and supplies. At four o'clock, however, the barricades were carried, and the garrison relieved. At eight o'clock in the evening tranquillity had been completely restored, the fighting had ceased on all sides, the insurgents would appear to have been completely disheartened by their want of success, and the harassed troops were permitted to repose after their bloody victory.

From the ample details given by the correspondents of the principal London papers, we extract a few passages which will give an idea of the scenes of this lamentable day. The greatest slaughter took place on the Boulevard Montmartre and Boulevard des Italiens. "The people,"

says the correspondent of the *Daily News*, "were idling about without any special object—most from curiosity—none, it would seem, with any hostile intention. The soldiers themselves were conversing freely with the populace, and the greatest good-humour prevailed. On a sudden, some person from a side-street fired a pistol—from a window, it is believed. This was the signal for a general firing on the part of the troops, without the slightest warning or preparation, and a rattling and deadly discharge was opened upon the quivering and retreating mass. Round after round poured upon them with fatal precision. Any of your readers who have heard bullets whizzing about their ears, and seen them chipping the stone pavement and stone walls, and flying into houses amidst the clatter of broken glass, may form some notion of the panic of the unarmed mob. It is certain that very few fell with their wounds in front. My informant was certainly not prepared to make any such sacrifice. As he made the best of his way from the scene, men were falling around him on all sides—ones, twos, threes—little groups falling in heaps, and clasped together in dying agonies. Leaping over their corpses, with that terrible instinct of self-preservation which knows no pity, my friend succeeded in gaining the shelter of a shop, followed, I may almost say, by a bullet, which missed him by a hair's-breadth. Then came the scene of desolation when all was over—the carrying of the wounded to the hospitals, of the dead to——Heaven knows where. The sad, sullen aspect of the soldiery, when their work was done, had in it something portentous; and many a scared, spirit-broken *ouvrier*, who ventured to take the Boulevard on his way home, might be seen regarding these symptoms with mingled hope and fear. Some of the soldiers who had taken part in the attack were subsequently met by the gentleman of whom I

have spoken, in a wine-shop. According to their own account, they had as little anticipated the order to fire on the people themselves, against whom they professed not to have the slightest ill-will; but the order was given, and it was their habit to obey, and *voilà tout.*"

It appears from various accounts, that such of the people as did fight were almost everywhere gentlemen or shopkeepers, never workmen. There is also evidence that the earliest builders of the barricades were police-agents—in order to provoke that popular antagonism to the government which was to justify the extreme exercise of the military power. One police-agent thus employed was shot before he escaped, and made the dying confession to his mother. While passing opposite to the Rue Vivienne, the soldiers fired several times on the passers by, who were for the most part persons belonging to the Bourse, coming from their business. These unhappy men took refuge, as well as they could, behind door-ways; whenever they showed themselves and tried to get away, the soldiers fired upon them again. Two young men had been to visit a female friend. After quitting her house, they reached the Boulevard at the moment when the soldiers were about to fire. Their first impulse was to rush towards the bell of a neighbouring house-door; but as five other persons followed their example, the porter refused to open the door. All the seven threw themselves on the ground: the younger of these two men lay under his elder brother. The soldiers fired; and, out of these seven persons, two only arose from the ground: one of these was the younger of the two brothers—the other, a woman. The elder brother, wounded by a ball, and having one of his arteries torn, lay bleeding and in agony. His younger brother threw himself on the body, and clasped it in a distraction of sorrow. When the soldiers came up, in their onward

march, he implored them to leave him near his dying brother. But they drove him away with the butt-ends of their muskets, saying, "Get away with you! don't you see that he has not two minutes to live?"

In the official accounts published by the government, it is stated that, on the side of the people, whether insurgents or spectators, the killed were 800; on the side of the army, one officer and seventeen men were killed, and seventeen officers and 167 privates wounded. But unofficial accounts worthy of credit place the deaths of the people at nearly 2000. Besides this loss of life, the destruction of property was immense.

On Friday, the 5th, there was no renewal of fighting, but several unprovoked outrages were committed by the soldiers. In the morning a body of 50 or 60 men, having the appearance of respectable bourgeois, assembled in the Boulevard Poissonniere; as they passed a body of troops, an officer recognised, or pretended to recognise, one of them as an insurgent of the previous day. He was arrested and made no resistance, but the party from whom he was taken cried, "Vive la Republique!" on which the soldiers fired and laid thirty of them dead. Near the Madeleine, a troop of lancers rode down a number of men, women, and children, who were promenading in their own neighbourhood without apprehension of any violence. No weapons were used, but many were dangerously wounded from being trodden on by horses. But we will here close the story of barbarities unparalleled in modern history; and for which a fearful retribution is still owing.

One of the President's first measures was the suppression of the newspapers. The only journals allowed to appear were the *Moniteur*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Patrie*—all government or governmental papers, and the *Débats* and a half-sheet impression of the *Assemblée*. The offices of the

National, Opinion Publique, Messager, République, Ordre, Siècle, and *La Presse,* were all occupied by soldiers. Some of these papers have since re-appeared, abstaining from all notice of political events. On Thursday, the President issued a decree modifying the provisions of the previous decree respecting the suffrage. It was now declared that all Frenchmen were called to vote who were aged twenty-one years and in the possession of their civil and political rights; and that the suffrage should take place by secret ballot on the 20th and 21st of December. But the suffrages of the army had already begun to be taken by open voting. The votes of the army were—for, 243,854; against, 16,384; abstaining, 845. When the *coup d'état* was known in the provinces, disturbances broke out in many places, but were speedily suppressed with ferocious cruelty by military force.

The result of the vote for the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, as President of the French Republic, according to the "Plébiscite" of Dec. 2, was according to the official report, 7,439,219 in the affirmative, and 640,737 in the negative. The votes of Algeria were not published, mainly because their result was unfavourable. It was afterwards found that, out of 68,000, more than 50,000 abstained, 5735 voted for the President, and 6527 against him. On the evening of the 31st of December the Consultative Commission proceeded to the Elysée, to present to M. Bonaparte the result of the votes. The President received them surrounded by his Ministers and aides-de-camp. M. Baroche, the Vice-President of the Commission, announced the numbers of the votes as above quoted: and then addressed "Monsieur le Président" with a speech, assuring him that France confided in his courage, his elevated good sense, and his love: no government ever rested on a basis more extensive, or had an origin more legitimate and

worthy of the respect of nations. The President made a reply, in which he said, that upwards of seven millions of votes had absolved him, by justifying an act which could have no other object than to save France, and perhaps Europe, from years of trouble and anarchy. "If I congratulate myself," he said, "on this immense adhesion, it is not from pride, but gives me the strength to speak and act as becomes the head of a great nation." Cries of "Vive Napoléon!" "Vive le Président!" were raised. The members of the Commission pressed round M. Bonaparte to offer him their congratulations. The Corps Diplomatique were then presented by the Apostolic Nuncio.

The Archbishop of Paris and his clergy offered their congratulations and good wishes for the success of "the high mission God had confided to the President." M. Bonaparte returned thanks in a short speech. The two Consistories of the Reformed Church, one of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg, and the Central Israelite Consistory, presented their congratulations.

The *Moniteur* of the 1st January contained a decree by which the imperial eagle is "restored to the army, as the emblem of its hundred victories." The same day Louis Napoleon was installed in Nôtre Dame; and the day after he took possession of the palace of the Tuileries.

The *Moniteur* of the 3rd published a decree ordering that all coins in gold, silver, and bronze, shall henceforth bear on the face the effigy of the President of the Republic, with the words "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte," and on the reverse the words "République Française," in the middle of a border of oak and laurel leaves, together with the value of the piece and the year of its fabrication. On the outer edge the five-franc and twenty-franc pieces are to have the motto "Dieu protège la France."

On the 12th appeared a decree for the dissolution of the national guard throughout France, and its re-organization upon a basis more dependent on the state. Sixty-six ex-representatives were banished from all the French territories, as a "measure of general safety;" and eighteen (including Lamoriciere, Changarnier, Bedeau, Thiers, and Emile de Girardin), were sentenced to temporary banishment. Five were transported to Cayenne; and the total number of political prisoners to be sent to certain death in that pestilential colony, situate within five degrees of the equator, was at this period 2500.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW CONSTITUTION.—1852.

THE following Proclamation was published in the *Moniteur*, of the 16th January:—

FRENCHMEN,

In my Proclamation of the 2nd of December, when I loyally explained to you what, according to my ideas, were the vital conditions of government in France, I had not the pretension, so common in these days, of substituting a personal theory for the experience of centuries. On the contrary, I sought in the past the examples that might best be followed, what men had given them, and what benefits had resulted.

I have thought it reasonable to prefer the precepts of genius to the specious doctrines of men of abstract ideas. I have taken as models the political institutions which already, at the commencement of this century, under

analogous circumstances, have strengthened tottering society, and raised France to a lofty degree of prosperity and grandeur.

I have taken as models those institutions, which, instead of vanishing at the first breath of popular agitation, were only overturned by the might of all Europe coalesced against us.

In one word, I said to myself, since France makes progress during the last fifty years, in virtue alone of the administrative, military, judicial, religious, and financial organization of the Consulate and the Empire, why should we not also adopt the political institutions of that epoch? Created by the same thought, they must bear the same character of nationality and practical utility.

In effect, as I recalled to mind in my proclamation, it is essential to aver that our present state of society is nought else than France regenerate by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor. Nothing remains of the old *régime* but great *souvenirs* and great benefits; all that was organized under it was destroyed by the revolution, and all that since the revolution has been organized, and that still exists, has been the work of Napoleon.

We no longer possess provinces, or states, or parliaments, or intendants, or farmers-general, or various customs, or feudal rights, or privileged classes holding exclusive possession of civil and military employments, or different religious jurisdictions.

To all these things, so incompatible with its spirit, the Revolution applied a thorough reform; but it founded nothing definite. The First Consul, alone, re-established unity, hierarchy, and the true principles of government. They are still in vigour.

Thus the *administration* of France, intrusted to prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors, who substitute unity in the place

of directing commissions (the *decision* of affairs, on the contrary, being confided to councils—from that of the commune to that of the department); thus the magistracy, rendered firm by the immovability of the judges, and by the hierarchy of the tribunals—justice rendered more easy by the clear definition of attributions, from those of the justice of the peace up to those of the Court of Cassation —all this is still standing.

In the same manner our admirable financial system, the Bank of France, the establishment of the Budget, the Court of Accounts, the organization of the police and our military statutes, date from the above-mentioned epoch.

For the last fifty years it is the Code Napoléon that has adjusted the reciprocal interests of citizens; it is still the concordat that regulates the relations of the State with the Church.

Lastly, the greater portion of the measures which concern the progress of industry, of commerce, of literature, of science, and of the arts, from the statutes of the Théâtre Français to those of the Institute of France, from the institution of "*prud'hommes*" to the creation of the Legion of Honour, have been fixed by the decrees of that time.

It may, then, be affirmed that the frame of our social edifice is the work of the Emperor—which has stood firm —resisting his fall and the shocks of three revolutions.

Wherefore, since they have the same origin, should not his political institutions have the same chance of duration?

My own conviction has been formed for a long time; and therefore it was that I submitted to your judgment the principal basis of a constitution borrowed from that of the year VIII. Approved of by you they are to become the foundation of our political constitution.

Let us now examine its spirit.

In our country—for the last 800 years monarchical—the central power has always existed by increasing—royalty destroyed the great vassals—the revolutions themselves caused to disappear the obstacles which opposed the rapid and uniform exercise of authority. In this country of centralization public opinion has invariably referred everything, good and evil, to the chief of the government; so that, to write at the head of a charter that the chief is irresponsible is to lie (*mentir*) to public feeling. It is to endeavour to establish a fiction which has three times disappeared at the sound of revolution.

The present constitution, on the contrary, proclaims that the chief whom you have elected is responsible to you. That he has the right of appeal to your sovereign judgment, in order that in grave (*solennelles*) circumstances you may always be able to continue your confidence in him or to withdraw it.

Being responsible, his actions must be free, and without hinderance. Hence arises the obligation of his having ministers who may be the honoured and powerful auxiliaries of his thought, but who no longer form a responsible council composed of jointly responsible members (*membres solidaires*), a daily obstacle to the special influence of the chief of the state—a council, the expression of a policy emanating from the Chambers, and for that very reason exposed to frequent changes, which render impossible a continuous policy (*esprit de suite*), or the application of a regular system.

Nevertheless, in proportion to the loftiness of position in which a man is placed, and in proportion to his independence and to the confidence that the people place in him, is his need of enlightened and conscientious counsel. Hence the creation of a Council of State, for the future the real (*véritable*) Council of the Government, the first

men, elaborating projects of law in special committees, then discussing them with closed doors, and without oratorical ostentations in general assembly, next presenting them to the acceptation of the legislative body.

Thus the Government (*pouvoir*) is free in its movements and enlightened in its progress.

Now, what will be the control exercised over the Assemblies?

A Chamber which bears the title of the "Legislative Body" votes the laws and the taxes. It is elected by universal suffrage, without the ballot (*sans scrutin de liste*). The people choosing each candidate singly can the more easily appreciate his merit.

The Chamber is composed of about 260 members—a first guarantee of the calmness of its deliberations; for too often it has been seen that in assemblies the mobility and ardour of passions increase in proportion to the number of members.

The account of the deliberations which is to inform the nation of its affairs is no longer, as formerly, abandoned to the party spirit of each journal. An official journal, drawn up under the *surveillance* of the president of the chamber, will alone be authorized.

The Legislative body freely discusses the laws, adopts or rejects them, but does not introduce those unforeseen amendments which often derange the whole economy of a system and the *ensemble* of the primitive project; and, for still stronger reasons, it does not possess that parliamentary initiative which was the source of such grave abuse, and which permitted every deputy to substitute himself at every turn, in place of the Government, and to present projects, however unstudied or shallow.

The Chamber being no longer in presence of the ministers, and projects of laws being advocated by the orators of the Council of State, time will not be lost in vain inter-

pellations, in frivolous accusations, and in passionate struggles, whose sole object was to upset ministries in order to replace them.

Thus, then, the deliberations of the Legislative body will be independent, but the cause of sterile agitations will have been suppressed and salutary delays introduced into any modification of the law. The deputies (*mandataires*) of the nation will maturely accomplish things of importance.

Another assembly bears the name of Senate. It will be composed of those elements which in every country create a legitimate influence; such as an illustrious name, wealth, talent, and services rendered to the country.

The Senate is not—what the Chamber of Peers was—a pale reflection of the Chamber of Deputies, repeating, at a few days' interval, the same discussions in another tone. It is the depository of the fundamental compact, and of the public liberties, compatible with the constitution, and it is solely with regard to the great principles on which our society is based that it examines all laws, and that it proposes new ones to the executive power. It intervenes either to resolve any grave difficulty which mgiht arise during the absence of the Legislative body, or to explain the text of the constitution, and to secure whatever may be necessary to its progress. It has the right to annul any illegal or arbitrary act, and thus enjoying the consideration which attaches to a body exclusively occupied with the examination of great interests or the application of great principles, it fills in the State the independent, salutary, and conservative office of the ancient parliaments.

The Senate will not be, like the Chamber of Peers, transformed into a court of justice. It will preserve its character of Supreme Moderator; for disrepute always falls on political bodies when the sanctuary of legislation

judge is too often questioned, and it loses all *prestige* with public opinion, which sometimes goes so far as to accuse it of being the instrument of passion or of hatred.

A High Court of Justice, chosen from among the high magistracy, and having, as a jury, members of the Councils-General of all France, will alone repress all attempts against the Chief of State and the public safety.

The Emperor said to the Council of State, "A constitution is the work of time. It is impossible to leave in it too large a margin for ameliorations." Accordingly, the present constitution has only settled that which it was impossible to leave uncertain. It has not shut up within insurmountable barriers the destinies of a great people. It has left for change a margin sufficiently large to allow in great crises of other means of safety than the disastrous expedient of revolution.

The Senate can, in concert with the government, modify all that is not fundamental in the constitution, but as to any modifications of the fundamental bases sanctioned by your suffrages, they can only become definitive after having received your ratification.

Thus, the people remains master of its destiny. Nothing fundamental is effected without its will.

Such are the ideas, such the principles that you have authorized me to apply. May this constitution give to our country calm and prosperous days—may it prevent the return of those intestine struggles, in which victory, however legitimate, is always dearly bought. May the sanction which you have given to my efforts be blessed by Heaven. Then peace will be assured at home and abroad, my ardent hopes will be fulfilled, my mission will be accomplished.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Palace of the Tuileries, Jan. 14, 1852.

Then follows the text of the

New Constitution.

The President of the Republic, considering that the French people has been called to pronounce on the following resolution, viz.,—"The people wishes the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and gives him the necessary powers to make a Constitution on the basis established in his proclamation of the 2nd of December;" considering that the bases proposed for the acceptance of the people were—

1. A responsible chief named for ten years.
2. Ministers dependent on the executive power alone.
3. A Council of State formed of the most distinguished men, preparing the laws and maintaining the discussion on them in the legislative corps.
4. A Legislative Corps, discussing and voting the laws named by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election.
5. A Second Assembly, formed of all the distinguished men of the country, a balancing power, guardian of the fundamental pact and of the public interests; and considering that the people have answered affirmatively by 7,500,000 suffrages, he promulgates the Constitution, the tenour of which is as follows:—

SECTION I.

Art. 1. The Constitution recognises, confirms, and guarantees the great principles proclaimed in 1789, and which form the bases of the public rights of the French people.

SECTION II.—FORMS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Art. 2. The government of the French Republic is intrusted to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, actual President of the Republic, for ten years.

Art. 3. The President of the Republic governs by means of the Ministers, the Council of State, the Senate, and the Legislative body.

Art. 4. The Legislative power is exercised collectively by the President of the Republic, the Senate, and the Legislative body.

SECTION III.—OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Art. 5. The President of the Republic is responsible to the French people, to whom he has always a right to appeal.

Art. 6. The President of the Republic is the Chief of the State. He commands the land and sea forces, declares war, concludes treaties of peace, political and commercial alliances, and makes the rules and decrees for the execution of the laws.

Art. 7. Justice is rendered in his name.

Art. 8. He alone has the initiative of the laws.

Art. 9. He has the right to pardon.

Art. 10. He sanctions and promulgates the laws and the *Senatus-Consultes*.

Art. 11. He presents the state of affairs of the Republic every year to the Senate and Legislative body by a message.

Art. 12. He has a right to declare the state of siege in one or several departments, on the condition of referring to

the Senate with the shortest delay. The consequences of the state of siege are regulated by the law.

Art. 13. The ministers depend solely on the Chief of the State. Each is responsible only as far as the acts of the Government regard him. There is no solidarity between them. They can only be impeached (*mis en accusation*) by the Senate.

Art. 14. The ministers, members of the Senate, the Legislative body, and the Council of State, the officers of the land and sea forces, the magistrates, and the public functionaries, take the following oath:—

"I swear obedience to the Constitution, and fidelity to the President.

Art. 15. A *Senatus-Consulte* fixes the sum allowed annually to the President of the Republic for the entire duration of his functions.

Art. 16. Should the President of the Republic die before the expiration of his office (*mandat*), the Senate convokes the nation to proceed to a new election.

Art. 17. The Chief of the State has a right by a secret act deposited in the archives of the State to point out to the people the name of the citizen he recommends in the interest of France to the confidence of the people and to its suffrages.

Art. 18. Until the election of the new President of the Republic, the President of the Senate governs with the concurrence of the Ministers in office, who form themselves into a Government Council, and deliberate by a majority of votes.

SECTION IV.—OF THE SENATE.

Art. 19. The number of the Senators cannot exceed 150. It is fixed at 80 for the first year.

Marshals, Admirals; 2nd, of the citizens whom the President of the Republic deems fit to elevate to the dignity of Senator.

Art. 21. The Senators are not removable, and are for life.

Art. 22. The functions of Senator are gratuitous; nevertheless the President of the Republic may accord the Senators, by reason of the services rendered, and of their position as respects fortune, a personal dotation, which shall not exceed 30,000f. yearly.

Art. 23. The President and Vice-Presidents of the Senate are named by the President of the Republic, and chosen amongst the Senators. They are named for one year. The salary of the President of the Senate is fixed by a decree.

Art. 24. The President of the Republic convokes and prorogues the Senate. He fixes the duration of its session by a decree. The sittings of the Senate are not public.

Art. 25. The Senate is the guardian of the fundamental pact, and of the public liberties. No law can be published before being submitted to it.

Art. 26. The Senate opposes the publication—1st, of laws which may be contrary to or affect the Constitution, religion, morals, the liberty of worship, the liberty of persons, equality of the citizens before the laws, inviolability of property, and the principle of the *inamovibilité* of the magistracy; 2nd, of those which may endanger the safety of the territory.

Art. 27. The Senate regulates by a *Senatus-Consulte*—1. The Constitution of the colonies and of Algeria; 2. All that has not been provided for by the Constitution, and which is necessary to its maintenance; 3. The signification of articles of the Constitution which may give rise to various interpretations.

Art. 28. These *Senatus-Consulte* shall be submitted to the sanction of the President of the Republic, and promulgated by him.

Art. 29. The Senate maintains or annuls all the acts which may be submitted to it as unconstitutional by the Government, or denounced for the same cause in petitions from the citizens.

Art. 30. The Senate can, in a report addressed to the President of the Republic, fix the bases of projects of law of great national interest.

Art. 31. It can also propose modifications to the Constitution. If the proposition is adopted by the Executive Power, it is stated so by a *Senatus-Consulte*.

Art. 32. Nevertheless all modifications of the fundamental bases of the Constitution shall be submitted to universal suffrage, such as they have been enunciated in the proclamation of the 2nd of December, and adopted by the French people.

Art. 33. In case of the dissolution of the legislative corps, and till another convocation, the Senate on the proposition of the President of the Republic provides by measures of urgency for all that is necessary for carrying on the government.

SECTION V.—OF THE LEGISLATIVE CORPS.

Art. 34. The election has the population for basis.

Art. 35. There will be one deputy to the Legislative corps for every 35,000 electors.

Art. 36. The deputies are elected by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste*.

Art. 37. They do not receive any salary.

Art. 38. They are named for six years.

Art. 39. The legislative corps discusses and votes the projects of law and the imposts.

Art. 40. Every amendment adopted by the commission charged with the examination of a project of law shall be sent, without discussion, to the Council of State by the president of the Legislative corps. If the amendment be not adopted by the Council of State it cannot be submitted to the deliberation of the Legislative corps.

Art. 41. The ordinary sitting of the Legislative corps lasts three months; its sittings are public, but the demand of five members is sufficient for its resolving itself into a secret committee.

Art. 42. The account of the proceedings of the sitting of the Legislative corps given by the journals, or any other channel of publication, shall consist only of the reproduction of the minutes (*procès verbal*) drawn out at the close of each sitting by the care of the president of the Legislative corps.

Art. 43. The president and vice-presidents of the Legislative corps are named by the President of the Republic for one year; they are chosen from amongst the deputies. The salary of the president of the Legislative corps is fixed by a decree.

Art. 44. The ministers cannot be members of the Legislative corps.

Art. 45. The right of petition is exercised as regards the Senate. No petition can be addressed to the Legislative corps.

Art. 46. The President of the Republic convokes, adjourns, prorogues, and dissolves the Legislative corps. In case of dissolution, the President of the Republic is bound to convoke a new one within the term of six months.

SECTION VI.—OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Art. 47. The number of the Councillors of State in ordinary service is from 40 to 50.

Art. 48. The Councillors of State are named by the President of the Republic, and are liable to removal by him.

Art. 49. The Council of State is presided over by the President of the Republic, and in his absence by the person whom he indicates as vice-president of the Council of State.

Art. 50. The Council of State is charged, under the direction of the President of the Republic, to draw up projects of law and regulations of public administration, and to obviate the difficulties that may arise in matters of administration.

Art. 51. It maintains, in the name of the Government, the discussion of the projects of law before the Senate and the Legislative corps. The Councillors of State charged to speak in the name of the Government are appointed by the President of the Republic.

Art. 52. The salary of each Councillor of State is 25,000f.

Art. 53. The ministers have rank, right of sitting, and a deliberative voice in the Council of State.

SECTION VII.—OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

Art. 54. A High Court of Justice judges without appeal, or recourse to cassation, all persons who shall be sent before it as accused of crimes, attempts, or plots against the President of the Republic, and against the internal and external safety of the State. It cannot be convened but in virtue of a decree of the President of the Republic.

Art. 55. A *Senatus-Consulte* shall determine the organization of that High Court.

SECTION VIII.—GENERAL AND TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

Art. 56. The provisions of the codes, rules, and regulations now existing, which are not opposed to the present Constitution, remain in vigour until they be legally abrogated.

Art. 57. A law shall determine the municipal organization. The mayor shall be named by the Executive Power, and need not be a member of the Municipal Council.

Art. 58. The present Constitution shall be in vigour to date from the day when the great powers of the State organized by it shall be constituted. The decrees issued by the President of the Republic to commence with the 2nd of December to the present period, shall have all the force of law.

Done at the Palace of the Tuileries the 14th of January 1852.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Seen and signed with the Great Seal,

The Keeper of the Seals,

E. ROUHER.

[The contrast between this so-called "constitution," and the project of a constitution compiled by M. Louis Bonaparte, in 1832, is too striking to need remark. The project in question forms part of the first work published by the Prince, and therefore immediately follows the present memoir.]

POLITICAL REVERIES.

IDEAS OF A CONSTITUTION.

1832.

The following Political Reveries were written in 1832. M. de Chateaubriand being then in Switzerland, the Prince submitted his work to him, and that great writer was pleased to make some annotations upon it, which have unfortunately been mislaid. One of these consisted in substituting the word *nation* for *people*.—*Note to the French text in Temblaire's Edition.*

POLITICAL REVERIES.

"The people, in whom is the sovereign power, ought to do by itself all that it can; and that which it cannot do well, it should do through its ministers."—MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Lois*, lib. ii. cap. 2.

THE epoch in which we live is calculated alike to develop the faculties of mankind, and to encourage every feeling of self-respect. The liberty of the press affording to everyone the opportunity of making known his opinions, we now write what formerly we should have had to content ourselves with thinking, and the persuasion of the advent of a better future stimulates the faculties of all, however humble individually. One of the reasons which induce men of patriotic sentiment to write, is an ardent desire to ameliorate the condition of mankind; for, at present, if we cast a glance at the destinies of the various nations of the world, the spirit recoils with horror, and we feel impelled to raise a voice in defence of the rights of reason and of humanity. For, indeed, what do we on all hands behold? The welfare of all sacrificed, not to the wants, but to the caprice of a few. Everywhere two parties are seen in face of one another;—the one pressing forward towards the future in pursuit of the general good, the other clinging to the past for the sake of maintaining the abuses which it has bequeathed. There we behold a despot who rules by means of oppression, here an elect of the people who

obtains his ends by means of corruption; there an enslaved nation who perish in the struggle for independence, here a free people who languish because they are being defrauded of the fruits of their victory.

In societies which have not been subject to the effects of a revolution, it is easy to understand that Power should resist innovations, and jealously hem itself round with privileges; but in a society which has undergone a revolution, where the people have overthrown an odious authority to make room for national glory and liberty, here to behold the vanquished party reaping the fruits of the popular triumph, stifling popular enthusiasm, and reconstructing the whole fabric which the people in its wrath had destroyed, —this is a state of things which passes comprehension, and which holds out an important lesson for posterity. It is not so difficult to acquire liberty as to preserve it; and how are we to preserve it when those who ought to defend it are unceasing in their attacks against it? In our day it is not brute force alone which dominates, not alone treason which destroys, but a doctrinal spirit which undermines every germ of popular vitality. It is this spirit, which, little heedful of the honour of France, has abandoned all to the dread of anarchy which there were no grounds to apprehend, or of a war from which we had nothing to fear. It is a very false notion of expediency which sacrifices a thousand real advantages in dread of an inconvenience, either altogether imaginary and groundless, or at least of slight importance.* Such a principle would at length deprive one of the use of fire, because it destroys, and of water because men are drowned in it. Ah! wherefore has the splendid revolution of July,—the principle of it,—been undone by men, who, afraid to plant the tree of liberty in their native soil, endeavour only to engraft some of its branches upon a

throne which has become rotten by the lapse of ages, and which civilization will not longer tolerate?

The general uneasiness which we remark throughout Europe at the present time results from the very slight confidence which the people have in their rulers. These all have made promises, but not one has kept them. The requirements which civilization begets are making themselves felt and acknowledged in every country of the world; everywhere we find the people demanding them, kings refusing them. Force alone, therefore, can decide between them. Woe to those sovereigns whose interests are not bound up with those of their people: woe, when the glory of the one does not entail glory to the other; when the maintenance of the one is to the detriment of the other; and when they cannot have mutual dependence upon their promises and their oaths. Kings defend their thrones as part of their personal property. Every concession is, to their eyes, a robbery; every reform the commencement of a revolution.

As for the despots who govern sword in hand, and who acknowledge no other law than their own caprice, these, at least, do not degrade the human race; they oppress without demoralizing. Tyranny stimulates the energies of mankind, but weak governments which seek arbitrary rule under a mask of liberty, who can only corrupt a nation whom they would crush if they were able, who are unjust to the weak, and humble to the strong,—these governments lead to the dissolution of the bonds of society, for they beguile with promises; whilst the sovereigns of the other class to whom we have just referred, awaken the spirit of resistance by their deeds of blood and cruelty.

"*Every government is composed of two distinct elements,* its nature *and its* principle. *Its nature is that which makes it such as it is; its principle is that which directs*

*its actions:—the former comprehends what relates to the structural identity of a government, the latter the human passions which give it action."**

It follows upon this, that a government can be a strong one only in the case where its principles are in harmony with its nature. Thus it was that the nature of the government of the Republic consisted in the desire to establish the reign of equality and liberty, and the passions by which it was actuated were a love of the native country, and an impulse to exterminate all its enemies. The nature of the Empire was to consolidate a throne based on the principles of the Revolution, to heal all the wounds of France, to regenerate the people; the passions in that government were, love of the native land, love of glory, love of honour. The nature of the Restoration consisted in a restricted liberty, in order to make men forget the glory of the past; and its passions, in the re-establishment of the ancient privileges of classes, and a tendency to arbitrary power. The nature of the Royalty of 1830 consisted in a revival of the glories of France, the sovereignty of the people, and the reign of merit; its passions were timidity, selfishness, and cowardice.

The agitation which prevails in all parts of the world, the love of liberty which has taken possession of the minds of all men, the energy which a feeling of confidence in a good cause has begot in all hearts,—all these indications of an imperious will cannot but lead us eventually to a happy result. Yes: the day will come, and, perhaps, is not far off, when public virtue will triumph over intrigue, when merit will be stronger than prejudice, when glory will crown liberty. To the attainment of this end, every one in his dreams has devised various means; for my part, I

* Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*.

think that we can only arrive at the desired result, by a re-combination of the two popular causes of the day, that of Napoleon II., and that of the Republic. The son of the great man, the first Napoleon, is the sole representative of the highest amount of glory, as the Republic is the embodiment of the greatest amount of natural liberty. Under the name of Napoleon, men need have no dread of a return of the Reign of Terror; under the name of the Republic they need apprehend no return to absolute power.

Frenchmen!—let us not be unjust, let us be grateful to him who, coming from amongst the ranks of the people, did everything for its well-being—who spread abroad the lights of intelligence, and secured the independence of the country. If, one of these days, the people of France should become free, it is to Napoleon that they will owe it. He it was who habituated men to virtuous actions, the only sure basis of a republic. Do not reproach him for his dictatorial power—it was that which led to freedom, just as the iron share which breaks the clods, prepares the fertility of the soil. It was he who brought civilization to the world, from the Tagus even to the Vistula; it was he who implanted in the mind of France the principles of the Republic—equality before the laws, the superior claims of merit, the prosperity of commerce and industry, the enfranchisement of all nations; those were the objects with which he led us onward. Youth of France! why that ardour which glows within your veins; why that love of liberty and of glory which makes you the firm props and the future hope of the common country? It is because the dawn of your lives was lighted with the sun of Austerlitz—because love of country was the first sentiment of which you were cognisant, and because the solid instruction which you acquired under the wings of victory implanted early in your breasts the

noble passions which cause the heart to pulsate with generous enthusiasm. The misfortune of the reign of the Emperor Napoleon was, that he was not able to reap all that he had sowed—that, having delivered France, he was not able to leave her free.

But men are often unjust towards those who have done them the most good; they lavish their enthusiasm upon persons, and neglect facts. "Sylla, a headstrong man, leads the Romans boisterously to liberty; Augustus, a wily tyrant, conducts them by gentle means to servitude. During the period that the Republic under Sylla was recovering its strength, every one was crying out against tyranny; and whilst under Augustus tyranny was strengthening itself, nothing was spoken of but liberty."

There can be no doubt that what is now wanted are immutable laws which shall ensure the permanent well-being and liberty of the country; but let us not forget that there are moments of crisis from which the country may not come out triumphant unless through the genius of a Napoleon, or the firm purpose of a Convention; for it requires a strong hand to destroy the despotism of servitude through the agency of the despotism of liberty, and to save the country by the same means which otherwise would have subjugated it. Each epoch has its imperious wants; every social convulsion demands a different remedy. "It is thus that the laws of which the natural effect was to make the Romans a great nation, became oppressive to them when they had arrived at greatness."*

The more numerous the active intelligences which develop themselves in a country, the more men there are who are capable of dictating to others, and institutions must

* Montesquieu—*Grandeur et Décadence des Romains.*

become more and more republican:—so with us is it that we are advancing with rapid strides towards the reign of capacity.

It is after reflecting upon the results towards which civilization is now leading us, that I have sketched the Constitution subjoined to these observations, the principal part of which is drawn from the Constitutions of '91 and '93. Having hitherto chiefly occupied myself with military affairs, and being in nowise versed in legislative matters, I hope that my friends, for whose hands only I have written it, will peruse with indulgence this imperfect essay, in which I have set forth the ideas which my reason approves, which my heart feels, but which experience has not yet matured.

The first wants of a nation are *independence, liberty, stability, the supremacy of merit,* and *the enjoyments of life equally diffused.* The best form of government would be that under which every abuse of power might in any case be corrected; under which, without social disturbance, without effusion of blood, not only the laws, but the head of the state might be susceptible of change; for one generation has no right to subject to its laws generations to come.

In order that the independence of a nation be secure, it is necessary that the government be strong; and that the government be strong, it behoves that it should enjoy the confidence of the people, that it should be in a condition to maintain a numerous and well-disciplined army without exciting outcries against tyranny, and that it should be able to arm the whole nation without fear of being overthrown by it.

To be free, freedom being only a consequence of independence, it is necessary that the whole people, without distinction, should take part in the election of the representa-

tives of the nation; that the masses, which can never be corrupted, and which never flatter or dissemble, should be the constant source from which all power should emanate.

In order that the enjoyments of life be equally spread amongst all classes, it is necessary not only that taxation should be diminished, but also that the government should wear an aspect of stability which shall tranquillize the minds of men, and warrant a dependence upon the future. The government will be stable when institutions are not exclusive; that is to say, when, without favouring any class, they are tolerant of all, and, above all, are in harmony with the requirements and the desires of the majority of the nation. *Then will merit be the only passport to success, and services rendered to the country the only ground for rewards.*

From the opinions which I here advance, it will be seen that my principles are entirely republican. And, indeed, what nobler theme can there be, than to dream of the empire of virtue, of the development of the human faculties, and of the progress of civilization? If, in my scheme of a constitution, I give preference to the monarchical form of government, it is because I consider that such a government would be best adapted for France; inasmuch as it would give more guarantees of tranquillity, greater strength, and greater liberty than any other.

If the Rhine were a sea,—if virtue were the sole motive of human actions,—if merit alone attained to authority,—then would I have a pure and simple Republic. But, surrounded as we are by formidable enemies, who have at their disposal millions of soldiers who might re-enact upon our soil an irruption of barbarians, I apprehend that a Republic would not be able to repulse foreign aggression and repress civil troubles, unless by having recourse to rigorous steps which would be prejudicial to liberty. As for public virtue, and

merit, we have frequently seen that under a Republic they have only been able to attain to a certain point; after which they become corrupted by ambition, or destroyed by jealousies. For this reason men of transcendent genius are often rejected on account of the distrust which they inspire; and intrigue then triumphs over merit, which might have rendered the country illustrious. I should wish to see established a government which should ensure all the advantages of a Republic, without having these inconveniences in its train; in a word, a constitution which should be strong without despotism, free without anarchy, independent without recourse to conquest.

The basis of such a constitution should be as follows:—

The three authorities in the state should be the people, the legislative body, and the Emperor.

The people should have the power of election, and of sanction.

The deliberative power should be in the legislative body.

The executive power should be in the Emperor.

The country would be happy as long as the spirit of harmony existed amongst these three powers—that is to say, so long as the opposite tendencies, which must always subsist in a free state, shall only be known as dissonances in music, which conduce to the general scheme of harmony.

Harmony between the governing authority and the governed can only exist in two ways;—as when the people suffer themselves to be ruled at the will and pleasure of a single individual, or when the chief of the state rules according to the will of all. In the first case we have a despotism; in the second we have liberty. The tranquillity obtained in the one case is the silence of the tomb; the tranquillity resulting in the other is the serenity of a bright atmosphere.

Under the constitution supposed, power must always rule according to the desires of the people, because the two legislative Chambers will be chosen directly by the whole community. In this there will be no distinction of rank or fortune: every citizen will take an equal share in the election of the deputies of the people. There will be no longer either an aristocracy of birth, nor an aristocracy of wealth, —there will be no other aristocracy but that of merit. The only condition necessary for the enjoyment of the elective franchise will be mature age, a condition which results at once from a consideration of the existence of a ripe capacity; since this is only developed with age. The second Chamber will be founded upon a similar basis: no one can be a senator unless he has rendered some eminent service to the country. These services having been recognised by the National Assembly, and the individuals themselves chosen by the electoral colleges, nothing will be left to the caprice of any one individual. In this way the nation will indeed be represented by two Chambers; the one of which will be composed of men whom the people have thought most worthy to discuss their interests, the other, of those whom the nation shall have recognised as having merited well of the country.

That form of government will prove stable which rests upon the feelings of a whole nation, because then no class is prohibited from participating in the general scheme, whilst the field to honour is open to all who have merit, without holding out prizes for the dangerous ambition of factious men; because, in a word, authority will have the powers necessary to defend, but not to trench upon, the rights of the people.

The sovereignty of the people will be guaranteed, because at the accession of each new Emperor the sanction of the

people will be required. If the popular sanction is refused the two Chambers will propose another sovereign in his place. As the people will not have the right of election, but only that of approval, this law will not present the inconveniences of an elective monarchy, which have always been a source of dissension; it will, on the other hand, be a security against political convulsions. We shall then no longer see the earth deluged with blood, the world shaken by the fall of a single man;—the laws, as they follow public opinion, will hold in check the passions of all, and be in advance of the public acquirements.

I am happy in the reflection that the ideas which I have just put forth are more or less in unison with those which are professed by the most energetic party in France, that portion of society which never allows itself to be corrupted by power, and which sends, whether to the national tribune or to the field of honour, heroes or statesmen, according to the requirements and the dangers of the country.

This large portion of the nation are patriots, and the patriots of our day are for the most part republicans. At the same time, although each one forms to himself a beau-ideal of a government, thinking that such or such a form is most appropriate for France, the consequence of the establishment of the principles of liberty is to acknowledge that presiding over all partial convictions there is a supreme judge, which is the People. This is the point at which all good Frenchmen, of whatever party they may be, ought to meet; all good Frenchmen who would rather behold the common country in well-being than the triumph of their particular doctrines. Let those of the Carlist party who do not make common cause with the betrayers and enemies of France, but who participate in the generous sentiments of Chateaubriand —let those amongst the Orleanist party who have not been

accomplices in the murders committed in Poland, in Italy, and upon patriot Frenchmen—let all Republicans and Napoleonists unite before the altar of the country to ascertain the will of the people. Then shall we present before Europe the imposing spectacle of a great people forming their own constitution without falling into any excess, and marching on to liberty without disorder. And then if Foreign powers, which wish to divide France amongst them, were to make war upon us, they would behold a free people arousing itself like a giant amidst the pigmies who would fain have attacked it.

We hear talk of eternal wars, of interminable struggles, and yet it would be an easy matter for the sovereigns of the world to consolidate an everlasting peace. Let them consult the mutual relations and the habits of the diverse nations amongst themselves; let them grant the nationality the institutions which they demand, and they will have arrived at the secret of a true political balance. Then will all nations be brothers, and they will embrace one another in the presence of tyranny dethroned, of a world refreshed and consoled, and of a contented humanity.

CONSTITUTION.

Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of Citizens.

X (the name of the sovereign) by the will of the people Emperor of the French Republic.

The French people, convinced that the only causes of misfortunes and of unhappiness in the world, are to be found in the forgetting and neglecting of the natural rights of man, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration those sacred and inalienable rights, in order that all citizens, being thereby enabled at all times to compare the acts

of government with the ends contemplated in all social institutions, may never allow themselves to be oppressed and degraded by acts of tyranny; and to the end that the people may constantly have before their eyes the basis of their liberty and of their happiness, the magistrate the rule of his duty, and the legislature the object of its mission.

Therefore they proclaim, in presence of God, the following declaration of the rights of man, and of citizens:—

Art. 1. The object of social institutions is to ensure the common welfare.

— 2. The rights of all are equality, liberty, the security of persons and property.

— 3. All men are equal by nature, and before the law.

— 4. All citizens are equally admissible to public employments. A free people know no other grounds of preference in their elections than the virtue and talents of the individuals.

— 5. The right of expressing their thoughts and opinions, whether through the medium of the press, or in any other manner; as well as the rights of peaceably assembling, and of the free exercise of divine worship, cannot be interdicted.

— 6. No one may be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by the law, and according to the form prescribed by it. Every citizen summoned or arrested by the authority of the law, ought to obey instantly; he would render himself culpable by offering resistance.

— 7. Every procedure adopted against a man, except in the cases, and according to the forms which the law provides, is arbitrary and tyrannical; and he against whom it is attempted to be executed by means of violence, has the right to resist with force.

— 8. Every man being presumed to be innocent until he has been found guilty, if it be considered indispensable to arrest him intermediately, every act of rigour which is not absolutely necessary to secure his person, should in such case be severely repressed by law.

— 9. No one ought to be judged or punished until after having been heard or legally cited, and then only in virtue of a law promulgated anteriorly to the offence. Any law which would pretend to punish offences committed before its enactment, would be an act of tyranny; to give a retroactive effect to a law would be a crime.

— 10. The right of property is that which pertains to every citizen to enjoy and dispose of according to his free will, as well his property and his income, as the fruit of his labour and of his industry.

— 11. No sort of labour, of agricultural enterprise, or of commerce, can be prohibited to the industry of citizens.

— 12. Public relief to the distressed is a sacred obligation on the part of society. Society is bound to afford subsistence to distressed citizens, either by procuring them work, or by ensuring the means of existence to those who are incapable of labour.

— 13. The sovereignty of the state resides in the people; —it is one, indivisible, imprescribable, and inalienable.

— 14. A nation has always the right to revise, to reform, and to change its constitution. One generation has no right to subject to laws of its making generations to come.

OF THE EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP.

The French Republic is one and indivisible. Its European territory is distributed in departments and communal arrondissements.

Every man born and resident in France, who being twenty-one years of age, shall have caused himself to be inscribed on the civil registry of his arrondissement, and who has since then resided during a year within the territory of the Republic, is a French citizen.

A stranger will become a French citizen, in the case, when after having attained the age of twenty-one, and having declared his intention of establishing himself in France, he shall have resided in it during ten consecutive years.

The quality of French citizen is lost; 1st, by naturalization in a foreign state; 2ndly, by accepting office or pay under a foreign government; 3rdly, by affiliation into any foreign corporation which would pre-suppose a distinction of birth; 4thly, by condemnation to disabling or disgraceful punishments (*peine afflictives et infamantes*).

The exercise of the right of citizenship in France becomes suspended; 1st, by insolvency, when the immediate heir of the detaining creditor has a clear title to the succession to the estate of the insolvent, in whole or in part; 2ndly, by the condition of domestic hired servitude, as attached to the person or to the household; 3rdly, by judicial interdict, by lying under accusation, or contumacy.

The citizens of each arrondissement denote by their suffrages those amongst themselves whom they consider to be most fit to conduct the public affairs.

OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

The sovereignty of the people is one, indivisible, inalienable, and imprescribable. It appertains to the nation; no section of the people, nor any individual, can assume the exercise of its functions.

The nation, from which alone emanate all the powers of the state, can only exercise them by delegation. The French constitution is representative in principle. The representatives of the nation are the legislative body, and the Emperor.

The legislative authority is delegated to two national assemblies, composed of representatives, the one temporary, the other for life, freely chosen by the people; and it is exercised by them, with the sanction of the Emperor, in the mode which will be hereinafter prescribed.

The government is monarchical. The executive power is delegated to the Emperor, to be exercised under his authority by ministers and other responsible agents, in the manner hereinafter expressed.

The judicial authority is delegated to the judges chosen from time to time by the people.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

The person of the Emperor is inviolable so long as he does not break his oaths. His ministers are responsible for all offences committed by them against the national security, and the constitution, for any attempt against the property or the liberty of individuals, and for all misappropriation of funds destined for the expenditure of their departments.

The Executive power vests in the Emperor alone.

The Emperor is the supreme head of the state; he commands the national forces both on land and sea; declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce; nominates the functionaries in all the branches of the public service which are reserved to him by law, and makes the necessary regulations and ordonnances for carrying out the execution of the laws, without in any

case having the power either to suspend the laws or to dispense with their execution.

The legislative power is exercised collectively by the Emperor, the Senate, and the Chamber of the Tribunes of the People.

The right of proposing laws appertains severally to the Emperor, to the Senate, and to the Chamber of the Tribunes of the People.

Nevertheless, every law of taxation must in the first instance be agreed to by the Chamber of the Tribunes of the People.

Every law must be discussed, and voted freely by the majority of the two Chambers severally.

If a project of law has been rejected by one of the three legislative powers, it may not be brought forward again during the same session.

The Emperor alone sanctions and promulgates the laws

The civil list is fixed for the entire duration of each reign, by the first legislative body which shall assemble after the accession of a new Emperor.

The accession of the Emperor to the throne shall be sanctioned by the people, collected in primitive assemblies.

If the son or nearest surviving relation of the last Emperor is not agreeable to the nation (*ne convient pas à la nation*), the two Chambers shall propose a new Emperor, and this proposal shall pass to the ratification of the people.

Citizens who, upon the death of a sovereign, should take up arms to impose a nomination of whatever kind upon the state, shall be declared traitors to their country, and put beyond the pale of the law.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

The legislative body is composed of two Chambers,—the Senate, and the Chamber of the Tribunes of the People.

OF THE SENATE.

The Senate is an essential portion of the legislative power. It is convoked by the Emperor at the same time as the Chamber of Tribunes of the People. The sessions of the one Chamber commence and finish at the same periods as those of the other.

In order to be a senator it is necessary that the individual shall have rendered some eminent service to the country, and that this service have been acknowledged by the Chamber of the Tribunes of the People.

The electoral colleges convoked by the Emperor have alone the right of proposing senators for the ratification of the Tribunes, of the Senate, and of the Emperor.

The dignity of senatorship is irremovable, and conferred for life. The number of senators will extend to three hundred.

The President of the Senate is elected by that body at the opening of each session.

No prince of the imperial family can be a senator by right of birth.

The sittings both of the Senate and of the Chamber of Tribunes of the People are public.

The Senate takes cognizance of the crimes
treason, and of attempts against the security
which shall be defined by law.

No senator can be arrested except by the authority of the senate, nor tried by any other authority than it in criminal matters.

OF THE CHAMBER OF THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

The Chamber of Tribunes shall be composed by the electoral colleges, the organization of which shall be defined by law.

The tribunes shall be elected for five years.

Every citizen shall be an elector at the age of twenty-five years.

Every citizen is eligible at the age of thirty years.

The presidents of the electoral colleges shall be chosen by the electors.

The half at least of the tribunes in each department shall be chosen from amongst those persons, being eligible, who reside in it.

The President of the Chamber of Tribunes is elected by it at the opening of each session.

The sittings of the Chamber are public; but the demand of five members will be sufficient to cause it to form itself into secret committee.

The Chamber will divide itself into bureaux to discuss the projects of law which have been presented by the Emperor.

No impost can be established nor collected, unless it has been consented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the Emperor.

The assessed taxes can only be voted for one year. The indirect taxes may be enacted for several years.

The Emperor convokes the two Chambers every year; he prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the tribunes; but in this case he must convoke a new one within three months.

No act of personal restraint can be put upon a tribune

during the continuance of the session, nor for six weeks before and after.

No tribune can be prosecuted or arrested on a criminal charge during the continuance of a session, excepting when taken in the act, until after the permission of the Chamber is granted to do so.

No petition can be made or presented to either of the Chambers except in writing. The law forbids their being brought by petitioners in person to the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS.

The ministers are not senators by right, but they will have the right to sit in either Chamber, and to be heard whenever they demand it.

The Chamber of the Tribunes of the People has the right to accuse the ministers, and to bring them before the Senate, which alone has the authority to try them.

No minister may be a banker, nor be allowed to speculate in the funds.

The responsibility of ministers will be determined by law.

OF THE JUDICIAL POWER

The judicial power can in no case be exercised by the legislative body, nor by the Emperor.

Justice will be rendered gratuitously by judges elected for a term by the people, and instituted into their functions by letters patent of the Emperor, who will not have the power of refusing them. They shall not be dismissed except for offences after due conviction, nor suspended except after being held to answer an accusation. The public accuser shall be nominated by the people.

The citizens shall not be deprived of the judges which

the law assigns them, by virtue of any commission, nor under any pretences to, or revocations of, authority other than those prescribed by the law.

In criminal matters, no citizen can be tried except after accusation admitted by a jury, or after decree of the legislative body, in the cases where to it belongs the duty of prosecuting. After the charge has been admitted to lie, the fact shall be investigated and decided upon by a jury. The accused shall have the right to challenge twenty jurors, without assigning any grounds. The jury which decides upon the fact at issue must consist of not less than twelve men. The application of the law shall be decided upon by the judge. The accusation shall be made in public, and the accused may not be refused the assistance of counsel. A man who has been once acquitted by a lawful jury may not be arrested nor accused again on account of the same fact.

No one, in cases where his detention is authorized by law, can be taken to, or detained in, any other than the places legally and publicly provided as places of detention, or of justice, or as gaols.

No keeper of a prison, or gaoler, can receive or detain any one except in virtue of some warrant, being an ordonnance for the capture of the body, or a decree of accusation, or of judgment, nor before such warrant, &c., shall have been transcribed into his register.

Every keeper of a prison, or gaoler, is held responsible, without power of dispensation under any order to the contrary, to present the person of the prisoner to the civil functionary having authority over the house of detention in question, every time he shall require him so to do.

There will be one High Court of Appeal (*de Cassation*) for the purposes of the entire Republic, established in

connexion with the legislative body. It will have the power of pronouncing final judgment.

The writs of execution upon judgments of the tribunals shall be drawn in this wise :—" X (the name of the Emperor) by the will of the people, Emperor of the French Republic, to all, &c. Welcome : The Tribunal of ——— has pronounced the following judgment (here shall be copied the judgment, in which shall be inserted the name of the judges) :—We, therefore, command and enjoin all bailiffs, in virtue hereof, to carry the said judgment into execution, and our commissioners in the tribunals to second its authority ; and all commanders and officers of the public force to lend assistance by force whenever they shall be legally required. In faith of which the present judgment has been signed by the president of the tribunal, and by the clerk thereof."

OF THE PUBLIC FORCE.

The public force is instituted to defend the state against external enemies, and to secure at home the maintenance of order and the execution of the laws. It is composed of the land forces, the navy, and the national guard.

It being a sacred duty with all citizens to serve their country, the conscription is re-established as the most liberal and the most imperious of civil institutions.

The organization of the national guard will be determined by law.

No agent of the public force can enter into the house of a citizen, except in the execution of the sentences of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided by the law.

If disturbances should extend over a whole department, the Emperor will give, upon the responsibility of his ministers, the orders necessary for accomplishing the execution of

the laws and the re-establishment of order, but with the consequent duty of informing the legislative body of the circumstance if it be assembled, and of convoking it if it is in vacation.

The public force is essentially obedient: no portion of the army has the power of deliberation.

OF THE RELATIONS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC WITH FOREIGN STATES.

The French nation is the friend and natural ally of free nations. It does not meddle in the government of other nations; neither does it suffer that other nations should meddle with its own government.

It affords asylum to strangers banished from their native country in the cause of liberty.

It cannot make peace with an enemy which occupies French territory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

The caution money for periodical publications is abolished.

The order of the Legion of Honour is retained, but it will only be conferred in cases where the merit of the individual is certified by a commission established for this purpose.

SWITZERLAND,

POLITICAL AND MILITARY.

EXILE.

1833.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE the publication of M. Louis Bonaparte's *Considerations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse*, a great struggle has occurred between the Catholic and Protestant Cantons, which threatened for a time to destroy the integrity of the Confederation. The result of a short armed conflict, however, was, on the contrary, to establish the Federal principle still more completely than it existed before, and to prescribe a permanent seat of government in the Canton of Berne, instead of a government residing alternately, for two years each, at Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne.

It may be proper to add a brief sketch of the Swiss Constitution in its present form, as ratified by the Federal Diet, 12th Sept. 1848 :—

The *Federal Assembly* consists of two parts—the National Council and the Senate, or Council of the States.

The National Council is named by the Cantons, upon the principle that every 20,000 inhabitants should be represented by one member, and when there is an excess of more than 10,000 the Canton elects an additional member; the nomination is for three successive years. Every Canton, and when a Canton is divided, each half Canton has a right to one representative at least.

The Senate, or Council of the States, is composed of 44 members, two for each Canton, or one for each half Canton.

Federal Council.—The Federal Assembly chooses from amongst all Swiss citizens who are eligible for the National Council, the Federal Council, which is composed of seven members, and remains in office for three years. The president and the vice-president of the Confederation (as well of the Federal Council) are chosen annually in a united sitting of the two supreme authorities, and are not re-eligible till after the expiring of a twelvemonth intervening.

The Confederation alone, represented by the two Councils, has the right of declaring war, of making peace, and of concluding treaties and alliances, more especially treaties relating to commerce and custom duties. Thus all the official relations between the Cantons and foreign powers are matters at the disposition of the entire Confederation. The post-office, and the regulation of roads through the Swiss territory, are likewise considered as part of the affairs of the Confederation.

The Constitution also provides for a Federal Central Bureau, and a Federal Tribunal, of which the members are nominated for three years, by the Federal Assembly. This tribunal decides in disputed matters of a civil nature between the Cantons, between the Cantons and the Confederation; and also between the Confederation or the Cantons on the one hand and individuals on the other.

SWITZERLAND,

POLITICAL AND MILITARY.

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INTRODUCTION.

I COMMEND to the indulgence of my readers these reflections, which I submit to their judgment. If, in speaking of Switzerland, I have been unable to prevent the frequent recurrence of my thoughts to France, I trust my digressions will be pardoned; for the interest wherewith a free nation inspires me, necessarily augments my love for my own country.

Arenemberg, 6 *July*, 1833.

THE progress of civilization is felt amid the Alps, and the shock given by the revolution of July is materially accelerating the happy results. Thus we find Switzerland constituting herself an independent nation, and bursting the fetters which, since 1815, had impeded the progress of her social development. Happy the nation that, by its own energy, has thrown off the yoke of the foreigner! Happy the people that can give laws to itself! Honour to the nation that, remembering its own former slavery, sym-

pathizes with the ills it has itself once suffered, and extends a helping hand to the victims of foreign persecution!

Switzerland is the only corner of Europe where the sovereignty of the people is still in vigour; we have before us, at the present moment, an illustration of this, in the measure for a Federal compact which has been submitted to the acceptation of the people. It is this compact which I am desirous briefly to examine.

Before the revolution of '89, Switzerland, according to the contemporary writers, was more oppressed by the aristocracy than were the nations who lived under monarchies. The privileges and abuses of power were at their climax. There were sovereign cantons and subject cantons; dominant towns and dominated districts. The subject cantons were governed by bailiffs (Landvogt), whose power was altogether arbitrary. In '98, the French, when they entered the Helvetic territory, abolished all the cantonal sovereignties, and formed one sole central power, analogous with that of France. There can be no doubt that the French carried into Switzerland, together with the scourge of war, maxim and practical changes destined one day to reconstitute her strength; but the ills of the moment had so irritated the population that they preferred her political imperfection to a liberty that presented itself in the hideous form of arbitrary rule and violence. To us, children of the revolution, it seems astonishing that Switzerland, a republic, should have, like other nations, a yoke to reject and rights to achieve. The explanation is, that the word republic is not a designation of principles, but merely a form of government. It is not a principle, because it does not invariably guarantee liberty and equality. *Republic*, in its general acceptation, only signifies the government of many. For do not our reading and observation, hitherto, exhibit to

us in well-nigh every republic, the people subject to a tyrannical aristocracy, invested with revolting privileges? Rome, with a government similar to that of England, had an enlightened aristocracy; but she enriched the people of the privileged city with the spoils and the rights of which she divested the other nations of the ancient world. In Italy, the republics were despotic. The laws of Venice were written in blood; and as a wise and democratic republic may be the best of governments, so a tyrannical republic is the worst of all, for it is easier to throw off the yoke of one man than that of many.

In 1801, amid so many and so various events, Napoleon, First Consul, was the only ruler who directed his attention to Switzerland. It was his desire that the guardians of the Alps should construct their own political position; and in the treaty of Lunéville (9th February, 1801), he had secured to them *the right of framing for themselves the government which they deemed best suited to them.* But all the cantons were in a ferment; some for the seignorial rights they desired to retain, others for the liberty they desired to attain. Nothing like union existed; everywhere local interest and particular privileges prevailed over the general interest and over equality. Ultimately, the Swiss, unable to come to any conclusion amongst themselves, were compelled to the cruel necessity of recurring to foreign intervention. The people, now more enlightened, feel that they should entrust to no one the care of arranging their affairs; they may find masters, but not mediators. Within three years, the Swiss essayed four or five constitutions; and amidst all these struggles, the aristocratic principle made its way, more and more menacing. The Helvetic government sought the mediation of Napoleon; he accorded it in these words: "For three years you have been disputing together, you

knew not about what. If you are left to yourselves, you will go on killing one another for three years more, with no better result. Your past history, indeed, demonstrates that your intestine wars have never been terminated, except by the intervention of France. It is true I had resolved to take no further part in your affairs. I, however, recal that resolution. I will be the mediator between your dissensions; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak."

At the voice of the chief of the French and Cisalpine republic, the sword was laid aside by the various combatants; and, from all parts of Switzerland, deputies proceeded to Paris for the purpose of drawing up a constitution under the auspices of France. Napoleon discussed with them the interests of each canton in particular, and pointed out that Nature had made their country to be a federal state; that to oppose her decree would be the act of a madman, and that he himself desired, for the smaller cantons, democracy in its fullest extent. "You wish," said he, "to abolish the *Landsgemeinen* (popular assemblies); but, in that case, you must cease to speak of democracy. It is these forms of government which distinguish you. Reflect deeply on the importance of having characteristic features; it is that quality which saves you from confounding yourselves with other states, and becoming incorporate with them." As to elections, he desired that they should be direct, and not exercised by electoral bodies. The *grabeau*, or right of the electors, as against their representatives, or the officers appointed by them, appeared to him a necessary precaution, but only with reference to those officials whose places were held for life. The Act of Mediation was at length signed; and, besides the pacification of intestine disturbances, it conferred great advantages on Switzerland.

It secured the sovereignty of the people; it abolished all superiority in one canton over another; there were no longer any subjects in Switzerland; all men there were citizens. The Act of Mediation, then, was a benefit to Switzerland, because it cicatrized her wounds and secured her liberties. But let us admit no illusion: why did the emperor leave the central power without force or vigour? Because he did not desire that Switzerland should be in a position to impede his projects; he desired that she should be physically happy, but also, for awhile, politically null; and herein his conduct towards this country was quite conformable with that which he adopted towards all other countries under his influence. Everywhere he installed mere governments of transition between the old ideas and the new. Everywhere you may remark, in that which he established, two distinct elements—a provisional basis having the external aspect of stability: the basis provisional, because he felt that Europe sought to be regenerated; the external aspect that of stability, because he desired to mislead his enemies as to his grand projects, and in order that he might not be accused of aiming at the empire of the world. Therefore it was that he surmounted with an imperial diadem her republican laurels; therefore it was that he placed his brothers on thrones.

A great man has not the narrow views and the weaknesses which the vulgar attribute to him: if he had them, he would no longer be a great man. It was not, then, to make his family crowned heads that he made his brothers kings, but that those brothers might be, in their respective kingdoms, the pillars of a new edifice. He made them kings, in order to give men the idea of stability, and that he himself might not be charged with ambition. He made his brothers kings, because they alone could reconcile

the idea of a change with the appearance of irremovability—because they alone could be subject to his will, though kings—because they alone could console themselves for the loss of a kingdom in becoming once more French princes. My father, in Holland, was a striking illustration of this theory. If the Emperor Napoleon had nominated a French general to the throne instead of his brother, in 1810, the Dutch would have made war against France. My father, on the contrary, conceiving himself unable to reconcile the interests of the people whom he had been called to govern with those of France, chose rather to lose his kingdom than to act against his conscience or against his brother. History presents few examples of such noble disinterestedness, of such magnanimous probity.

If we examine throughout the conduct of Napoleon, we shall find throughout the same symptoms of progress, the same appearances of stability. They constitute the basis of his history. But, it will be asked, what was to be the term of this provisional state? The defeat of the Russians, the depression of the English system. Had he conquered, we should have seen the duchy of Warsaw converted into a nationality of Poland, Westphalia converted into a German nationality, the viceroyalty of Italy converted into an Italian nationality. In France a liberal would have replaced the dictatorial rule; everywhere stability, liberty, independence would have superseded incomplete nationalities and transitory institutions. But let us revert to Switzerland.

Up to 1814, Switzerland enjoyed perfect tranquillity. She was happy in French alliance; she contributed regiments of the line, which gathered their share of laurels in the ranks of the Grand Army; but the reverses of Napoleon re-awakened in all directions the old pretensions

of the privilege-party; Switzerland, deceived by her chiefs, prostrated herself at the feet of the foreign sovereigns to whom she opened her gates. In like manner as the Confederation of the Rhine abandoned its protector, Switzerland abandoned her mediator. The cohorts of the north passed in triumphant procession close by the fields of Sempach and of Morgarten. The trace they left behind was the violation of the liberties which Napoleon had secured to Switzerland. The aristocracy resumed the upper hand in the great cantons; the people lost their rights, and union was enfeebled. In particular cantons the elections were monopolized by electoral colleges, wherein the large proprietors on the one hand, and a third of the great and petty councillors on the other, had alone the right to act and speak. Ay: it was in the name of liberty that the sovereigns dethroned Napoleon, but their victory was none the less the triumph of the aristocratic system over the democratic party, of legitimacy over popular sovereignty, of privilege and oppression over equality and independence. 1815 was in Switzerland, as in the other countries of Europe, the period of a liberticide reaction.

After the lapse of fifteen years, France, in July, bethought herself of all she had lost, of all she had yet to gain. She rose: and the clash she made in breaking asunder the chains with which it was sought to manacle her, aroused the peoples, with a sudden start, from their long sleep: as to the kings, since '89 they had never once closed their eyes. Each nation cast a mournful glance over France, and put its hands upon its wounds. The sons of William Tell had also rights to assert. They said to one another: The Swiss Confederation is a republic, but it is not free; it seems to govern itself, but it is the spirit of the Holy Alliance which guides it. The elections are not

general; nowhere can a man express his thoughts freely through the press. Switzerland is a Republic, yet publicity is nowhere guaranteed, whether in the council of justice, or in the deliberations of the Diet, or in those of the legislative councils; she forms but one sole state, and yet every canton is a small people apart, daily tending more and more to separate itself from the great family; she would fain maintain her independence were she attacked, yet her army from its vicious organization has no point of union, no chiefs whom she thoroughly knows, no standard around which the children of one same country instinctively rally. All these abuses the Swiss resolved to repress by common accord; they overthrew in 1830 and 1831 every obstacle that impeded their movement of progress, and we now see them constituting themselves their own constitution with a firmness and perseverance befitting a free people.*

Before speaking of the federative system, I would say that, as a general proposition, it is impossible to characterize any one system as good for all peoples, and that to seek to apply the same governmental form indiscriminately to all involves an idea wholly false and pernicious. Each nation has its particular manners, habits, language, religion, each has its particular character, each a special and differing interest, dependent upon its geographical position or its statistics. There may be maxims good for all people; there is no system good for all. Thus it is, that what constituted the salvation of France, the centralization of power

* It is necessary to remark, that if the Revolution has operated successively in each canton, except in the purely democratic cantons, the federal compact has hitherto undergone no change. The question now agitated has reference, therefore, only to general interests. The cantons of the Tessin, of Vaud, of Lucerne, and of Zurich, had already commenced the reform of their constitutions in the earlier months of the year 1830, before the great week of July.

during the Republic and the Empire, constituted the misfortune of Switzerland. She could not reconcile herself to a unity which seemed to her tyrannical, and which her geographical position rendered doubly insupportable, and yet she desired to be governed by the same maxims, that is to say, to be republican, independent, and free.

Not only is it the case that one system cannot suit all peoples, but laws themselves must be modified with the course of generations, and with circumstances, more or less difficult, as they arise. The Emperor Napoleon, whose intentions will be viewed with greater and still greater admiration, the more his actions, his principles, and his tendencies are scrutinized with closer impartiality, said to the council of state :* "We must not, in the institution of a new government, bind ourselves to special laws; constitutions are the work of time: we cannot leave too broad a path open for ameliorations," Montesquieu tells us. It is an experience we have always noted, that good laws, by which a small republic has become great, become a burden to it, in its aggrandizement, because they were such that their natural effect was to make a great people, not to govern it." And thus it is that, at the present time, the tyranny of the Convention could not possibly recur; it is thus that the arbitrary will of the empire would be impracticable.

According to the necessities of the moment, men turn their thoughts either towards the past, or towards the example of a foreign people. If they limited themselves to imitating only in their neighbours, the institutions that were suitable to them, they would follow therein only the laws of wisdom; but too often when men copy, they adopt even defects. In 1815, in France, men dreamed of nothing

* Sitting of the 1st December, 1803.

but the English Government; at the present day, they only think of the American Government, although we are neither English nor Americans. We are not English, because, since '89, we have had no aristocracy; because we are not surrounded by a sea, which of itself would protect our independence; because we have not the same manners, nor the same climate, nor the same character, nor, consequently, the same qualities and the same defects. The wants, then, are different. No more are we Americans, because we are 32,000,000 of men living on 20,000 square leagues, whilst the United States of America have only 10,000,000 men on an extent of 280,000 square leagues: because America is a new country, where the territory to be explored is immense, where all men's faculties tend to commerce and agriculture; and there are none of those industrial communities whose precarious existence is a subject of anxiety and difficulty with every government. There are no fierce factions, who, forgetting that they are children of one and the same country, hate each other mortally, and incessantly agitate the government, in order to replace it by another more consonant with their opinions and their interests. Lastly, they have not around them restless and formidable neighbours, who make their frontiers bristle with the bayonet the moment that the word *liberty* has echoed in their ears.

The federal system, then, may suit America and Switzerland, and render those countries happy without our being necessitated thence to deduce the conclusion that the same form of government would give to us the same prosperity. Already Switzerland, which more nearly resembles us, complains of the system; she feels that her strength is paralyzed, and that she does not count, as she might count, in the scales of Europe. But let her not complain too bitterly of her nullity; to that, perhaps, she owed her safety in 1815.

Up to the present time, it has been some pressing danger, it has been the necessity of uniting against a common enemy, that has induced different states to a confederation. Thus it was with Switzerland, with Holland, with America; but no legislator has ever thought of instituting, as the principle of his laws, a germ of disunion. The federal system may, it is true, combine different nations, but it divides a nation which had previously formed a compact whole; it kills the very spirit of nationality. And Germany is also divided into federal states, which have their federal Diet, and their troops united into one army. But do they form a nation? Why do men vaunt the cruel policy of Louis XI. and of Richelieu? It is that they abased the grand vassals who, each commanding a province, formed amongst themselves a confederation, and broke up the force of the state. There must be, in a great country, a centre to constitute the principle of prosperity, as the heart is the principle of life in the human frame.

Schokke, the celebrated Swiss writer, thus describes the spirit which reigned in the cantons:—"They were always found," says he, "careless of the glory and prosperity of the confederation, only looking to the advantage of their little territory, and favouring the interests of strangers against their own confederates." How would it be in a nation where such infinite ambitions are in movement, where so many interests are in antagonism, where so many passions are in agitation, where so many prejudices are ever afloat? It would be the commencement of the ruin and dismemberment of France. Divide a great state, and each portion would seek to rise to the detriment of the rest; each province would be the focus of new interests, of new pretensions; would be always tending to separate itself from the centre. In the same way that men associated together, ever let the special take precedence of the general interest, so, if

France were divided into provinces, the provincial interest would predominate over the common interest, and one may well calculate on the probability that each province, setting up its own standard, would become the head of a new league, and would seek to impose laws on the rest of the country. Let us rather honour this decree of the Convention, which, comprehending how essential union is to a government, declared the Republic ONE AND INDIVISIBLE; let us honour the able ministers who, by dividing France into departments, terminated all provincial distinctions. There were now no longer Burgundians nor Normans; there were only Frenchmen, all subject to the same law, all enjoying the same benefits. We have no need to seek a model in foreign countries; that which we require in France, is a government in accordance with our wants, our nature, and our condition of existence. Our wants are equality and liberty; our nature is to be the ardent promoters of civilization; our condition of existence is to be strong, in order that we may be able to defend our independence. Thus, then, to be free, independent, and strong, we must have a national power; that is to say, a power all the elements of which are tempered by, are in and of the people—the sole source of all that is great and generous. As to Switzerland, composed of different nations, she has been accustomed, for ages past, to the federal system. Nature herself laid the foundation of that system, in separating the cantons by chains of mountains, by defiles, by lakes, and by rivers. She is not, like France, at the head of nations, the object of fear and jealousy to the kings, the object of hope and consolation to their subjects. What the Swiss now desire, is more unity in the federal government, so as to simplify the machinery of the administration, and to be in a better position to resist an invasion. But, alas! the Swiss themselves are not in accord. The majority of the cantons which they called

aristocratic, have gone through their cantonal revolution, and these desire a federal change. The other petty cantons, called democratic, refuse to participate in the common alliance, for they designate as liberty, the abuses that have been left them, and the privileges they exercise. Their narrow views not extending beyond the limits of their canton, they forget the common interest, and by the unhappy effects of a system which ever tends to isolation, they consider themselves rather the allies of the other cantons, than the children of the same country.

Let us now take a view of the position of Switzerland, and of the special constitutions of the cantons.

The Helvetic Constitution is a union of republics all differing the one from the other. The necessity for common defence has brought them together, and, by degrees, has united them by ties more or less potent. Its population is limited, but industrious, hospitable and haughty, possessing courage without pride. It numbers two millions.

There are twenty-two cantons. These formerly reckoned as the aristocratic cantons, — Bâle, Berne, Fribourg, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Soleure, Zurich. The petty or democratic cantons are Appenzell, Glaris, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Uri, Zug. The new cantons are Argovia, Saint Gall, Grisons, Tessin, Thurgovia, Vaud, Neûchatel, Vallais, Geneva. It is almost impossible to make an exact summary of the constitutions which govern the different cantons; there are, perhaps, no two of them ruled in the same manner. Almost universally, however, the people has the sovereign power; in no two is it exercised in the same manner. In the great cantons, the government is confided to one or two chief magistrates, called *landamann*, or *avoyer*, or *burgomaster*. He forms, with the petty council over whom he presides, the executive power. The great council, who nominate the petty council, is the deliberative

assembly; it is elected, except at Geneva, directly by the people of each canton. This great council imposes taxes, revises the administration of the canton, and the decrees of the Diet, and nominates the deputies.

In the petty cantons, the *landsgemeinden*, or popular assemblies, are still in vigour. Once a year, or every two years, according to the cantons, all the men, from the age of sixteen, meet together in a large plain. Their number varies, according to the population, from 3000 to 10,000. The *landamann* and the councillors are elevated on a kind of platform, from which they address the people, who reply affirmatively or negatively, by raising the hand. The majority decides. In some cantons they all come armed, yet there is never any fighting. They approve or reject measures proposed; they appoint the *landamann* and the other officers; they nominate their deputies to the Diet, determine treaties of alliance, and make peace or war. The canton is again divided into circles, which have also their *landsgemeinden*. These other assemblies nominate their president, their judges, and a council of sixty members. The worthy mountaineers are deficient in the first elements of education; and though all the power is in their hands, they obey a small number of families. These ought, at least, to profit by their influence to make the people understand that their interest is not confined to their own canton, and that the well-being and strength of a part depend on the well-being and strength of the whole. Up to the present time, they have misconceived their true interests. At the risk of impeding all beneficial resolves, they give their deputies in the Diet but very limited powers, and regard as the chief of privileges the power of sanctioning all the decrees of the federal assembly. It is precisely the reverse of what is the case in France. There, by the effect of a too great centralization, power

obliges people, for instance, to ask authorization at Paris before they rebuild a bridge, or construct a fountain. In this case it is the centre which causes everything to flow to it, to the detriment of the surrounding parts; in the other it is the surrounding parts which fetter the action and reaction of the centre. These two abuses are alike pernicious; but it is possible, as it seems to me, to remedy the one without making France a federative state, and the other, without establishing in Switzerland a sole central authority. As a general proposition, Switzerland has the abuses of the system opposed to that of the monarchic states: thus, with them, the officials are appointed so often, that they have scarcely time to acquire a knowledge of business. This is the reverse of the abuse which makes, among other nations, posts hereditary.

Each Swiss canton has a code of its own. There are even some of them that have no code at all. With these, custom takes the place of law. Who would suppose that there are cantons where the criminal code is still barbarous; where they force a confession from the mouth of the accused by torture, or by blows; where they condemn men to death for a theft; where they prolong the agony of a criminal by suspending him from the gibbet? As to a jury, there is nothing of the sort in the country. There are places where, on the occasion of great crimes, they constitute commissions or special tribunals, who remove the accused from their natural judges.*

Publicity in criminal matters is more or less in use in the different cantons. It exists nowhere, however, in its entirety, except at Geneva.

The Diet consists of the deputies of all the cantons. Each canton sends two deputies, but only one vote. The

* See Franscini,—*Statistique de la Suisse, augmentée par Hagenaur*, page 256.

Diet, during its absence, is replaced by the Council of State of the canton in which it sits. This Council bears the name of *Vorort*.

There are three towns where the Diet sits alternately for two years at a time in each;—Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne;—and there are three *Vororts*, or Directory Councils, each during similar periods in authority.

The sittings of the Diet have not hitherto been public. It is only since 1831 that all the deliberations of the legislative councils have been so.

Switzerland is now divided into two parties: one, and that the party of movement, feels all the disadvantages of the federative system, and tends to a central power; the other prefers its old governmental routine, and concentrates itself in cantonal sovereignty.

All that I have here summed up leads me to think that Switzerland needs a stronger central power, without changing its federative state; and in the same way that men, in passing from the state of nature to the social state, have renounced some of their natural rights, in order that society may guarantee to them the entire enjoyment of all the rest; so, the cantons should renounce some of their rights, in order that the federal power may guarantee to them intact the interests which are common to all.

There are, for the whole Helvetic Confederation, two purely distinct interests: the one is the general interest, the other is the local interest. All that appertains to the general interest should, therefore, be performed by the federal authorities; all that is of local interest should be done by the cantonal power. All that is needed, then, consists in drawing a just and precise distinction between

* This and many others of the conditions explained in these pages have been altered by the new Constitution of 1848, of which a slight sketch is given in the note prefixed to the present work, p. 188.—Ed.

these two interests. The general interest comprehends the defence of the country; the laws of commerce, the laws of the press, a uniform civil and criminal code, a uniform system of weights and measures, a financial system to meet the federal expenses. Every Swiss must desire the independence of his country; but this is a mere chimera, if it is not upheld by a strongly organized military system. The laws of commerce should be uniform, because it is to the interest of all to remove the obstacles which fetter communication, impede speculation, and obstruct the development of industry.

Every citizen of a republic should desire to be free; but liberty is a vain word, if men may not express freely in writing their thoughts and their opinions. If publicity were restrained in one canton, it would transfer its intelligence and its advantages to another, and the canton which had expelled it would be none the more safe from its attacks. The liberty of the press, then, ought to be general.

There should be a uniform civil code, securing to the citizens of the same country the same rights and the same justice. Is it natural that a proprietor, for instance, who has his lands on the confines of two cantons, should have two law-suits, which should be prosecuted by different laws, and meet with opposite decisions? The criminal code should be uniform; for a man cannot rightly be condemned in one canton for an offence which passes unpunished in another.

The local interest comprehends the election of the members of the grand and petty councils, the levy of imposts to meet the expenses of the administration of the canton, the election of the judges.

Such, it seems to me, should be the attributes of the federal power, and of the cantonal power. It is, indeed, eminently essential to draw between these two authorities

a precise line of demarcation. I come to the consideration of the new compact.

The new federal treaty has great advantages over the constitution of 1815; it comes near to the Act of Mediation, with the changes which the progress of civilization and the difference of circumstances would necessarily induce. But what is of high importance, and is, perhaps, not so generally felt as it should be by the Swiss, is, that this act is the first emanation for a long time past of their sovereignty; it is their own work, free from all foreign influence.

The first advantage of the Swiss project is the fundamental law which fixes, at twelve years, the epoch of the revision of the federal compact.

Here, indeed, is a guarantee for the national sovereignty. Without such laws, the sovereignty of the people is but an empty sound, which rulers employ to deceive the credulous, and which timid subjects repeat to appease their consciences, that told them to construct upon solid foundations the institutions of their country.

In the Senatus-Consultum of the year XII. which established the duties of the Bonaparte family towards the French people, this principle was recognised; for the obligation of an appeal to the people after a certain time, was solemnly established.

It is said that in a great country the elective system may be the source of infinite disorders; but everything has its good and its evil side.

The enemies to popular sovereignty will tell you: the elective system has everywhere been productive of trouble and confusion; at Rome, it divided the republic between Marius and Sylla, between Cæsar and Pompey; Germany was set in a blaze at the election of the emperors; Christendom was agitated by the choice of popes; we

have seen three apostles of St. Peter disputing his inheritance; Poland has been covered with blood at the election of its kings; whilst, in France, the hereditary system has for three centuries surmounted all dissensions.

Others will reply:—The elective system governed Rome for 450 years, when Rome was the mistress of the world, the focus of civilization. The hereditary system did not stay the revolutions, which have banished a Vasa once, the Stuarts twice, and the Bourbons thrice. If the hereditary system has prevented the *wars of elections*, such as those of Poland and Germany, it has substituted the *wars of successions*, such as those of the red and the white roses, the war for the throne of Spain—that of Maria Theresa; and, moreover, this principle, often oppressive, has given rise to the only legitimate wars—that is to say, the wars for independence.

It is true, that stability alone constitutes the happiness of a people; without confidence in the future there is no vital spirit in society, no commerce, no beneficial enterprise; the masses suffer from the stagnation of all the elements of prosperity, which are stayed by the fear of an impending convulsion. But what are the means of acquiring this stability? Is it by binding ourselves to the past as to an immutable basis, and by fettering the future as though it were already within our power? Is it not as fallacious to regard the present as superior to all that has gone before, as to consider it above all that may come hereafter? You cannot say to a nation, Your happiness is there; it is fixed within insurmountable limits; all progress would then be a fault, any reverting to the past a crime.

Nature is not stationary. Institutions grow old, whilst the human race is ever renewing itself. The one is the frail work of man, the other that of the Divinity. Corruption may work its way into the first, the second is incor-

ruptible. It is the celestial spirit, the spirit of perfection, which impels us onward.

The principle of every institution is generally good, because it is based on the wants of the moment; it degenerates so soon as these wants are changed, so soon as the effect which it was to produce is accomplished.

There are, in moments of transition from one point of progress to another, necessities for change in order to destroy abuses and to reconstruct the laws in conformity with the wants of the day.

If irremovable barriers prevent civilization from spreading forth, progress is retarded; but the transition, instead of being gentle and easy, will be marked by an explosion, which will overturn the social edifice, and will be all the more potent the longer time it has occupied, and the greater its efforts have been to issue forth into light.

But, in these moments of transition, who shall determine upon the new necessities for changes? who shall decide between the different forms of government?—The people—the people, who are the most just, and the strongest party of all; the people, who hate excess equally with slavery; the people, who are beyond corruption, and who always instinctively comprehend what it is they need.

But can the people exercise their power indefinitely? ought they not to limit themselves to the approving or rejecting the proposals made by the enlightened part of the nation, that which already represents their interests? If the people were not to limit themselves to the right of sanction, but chose indifferently among such an infinity of individuals and codes its rulers and its laws, troubles would be incessantly arising; for to choose is to possess the right of the initiative. Now, the initiative can only be given to a deliberative power, and numerous masses cannot deliberate.

Thus, then, to reconcile at once popular sovereignty with the principle of order, it becomes necessary in elections that the enlightened bodies having that special mission should merely propose, and that the people should only accept or reject their proposals. I return to my consideration of the compact.

Under this project, Switzerland would have the immense advantage of having the federal authority always sitting at Lucerne.* It would no longer have that nomade government, which, changing its abode every two years, transfers its federal penates now from Lucerne to Berne, now from Berne to Zurich.

In the absence of the Diet, there would be a Swiss landamann to assume its authority, and who would be re-elected every four years directly by the people. The four councillors, who, conjointly with him, would govern the confederation, would be more firmly fixed than they were before, and would accordingly become better acquainted with business. Each of these councillors would have a special department, and would, moreover, be responsible for his acts. He would thus give guarantees, which previously were altogether wanting.

We may regard, as an improvement, the liberty given to the inhabitants of all the cantons to establish themselves anywhere in Switzerland. This essential liberty was secured in the Act of Mediation.

A federal court, for the administration of justice in federal matters, is also a new advantage obtained.

There are, then, in the new compact, three powers,—the diet, the deliberative power and the supreme power; the federal council, the executive power; and the federal court, the judicial power.

* Such was the hope of the Roman-catholic party, who formed the Sunderbund; but they were disappointed. Berne is the permanent central seat of the Federal government.—Ed.

The decrees of the diet will no longer require the ratification of the cantons as to alliances and treaties with foreign countries, as to the calling out the military contingent, or as to the budget. That ratification led to so much delay and inconvenience in the administration, that a pressing evil might have spread over the whole of Switzerland before measures could be taken to combat it. But this ratification is still requisite for non-political treaties with foreign countries, for the creation and suppression of federal employments at home, and of diplomatical functions abroad, &c.

The system of weights and measures is uniform throughout Switzerland. This reform will favour commerce, and render communications less difficult.

The monetary system is beneficial, being in exact conformity with the French and German money.

I have spoken of the leading advantages of the new compact,—let me be permitted to offer some objections. It may be advanced with justice, that if the project has not answered the expectations of the liberal party, the reason is, that the commission charged with the compilation of the compact based their system on a false principle, for they expressed themselves thus:—"There was no other way than to proceed by a valuation, which leaves us the hope that, in the matter of centralization, some will be content with rather less than they wish, others will accord rather more than they like. The sole chance of success consisted in not fully satisfying any one."*

Nothing, assuredly, is more in conformity with the maxims of the doctrinaires. That which distinguishes this sect, is, that in all countries it ever substitutes its theories and its wishes for the reality. Thus, in a funda-

* See the Report of the Commission of the Diet to the twenty-two Cantons, page 12.

mental revolution, it only sees a popular revolt; in the wants of the people, mere revolutionary plots; in the men who desire the honour and liberty of their country, mere ambitious knaves. Even when its views are beneficent, as in the present case, it is still that which ought to be which it substitutes in its thought for that which is. Thus it imagines that two opposite parties will each give up its pretensions for the sake of union. This would, undoubtedly, be in conformity with reason, but it is inconsistent with all experience. Unfortunately, in politics, as in religion, we too often prefer him who is diametrically antagonistic to our principles, to the schismatic who differs from us only by imperceptible shades.

Institutions should favour all parties, but the spirit which dictates them should be based on one sole principle. Ay: it is energy, it is profound conviction, that alone triumphs. In order to be worthy to create enthusiasm, you must have principles, must choose your banner, and conquer or die with it. Happy he who follows the right path under the national flag.

It were to be desired that the members of the federal assembly should have more extensive powers, so that the ratification of the cantons should be unnecessary except in matters touching the fundamental law. The Diet being the deliberative power, and, as it were, the executive power, should provide for the immediate execution of its decisions; for the executive power ought always to be prompt and strong. Besides, of what avail a deliberative assembly, whose members cannot vote according to their conviction? Eloquence and the verification of facts are in such case futile; for of what use is it to convince a deputy if he is restrained from acting upon his conviction by his instructions?

Publicity in criminal proceedings ought to be guaranteed.

The Diet should establish the liberty of the press in all the cantons, as part and parcel of the public law.

The new compact does not base its system on the number of the inhabitants. It gives to the great and to the small cantons indifferently, a single deliberative voice in the Diet. It departs in this point from the Act of mediation, which increased the number of deputies according to the population. Is it just, in fact, that, in the same assembly, one deputy should represent the interests of 300,000 souls, whilst another represents only the interests of 11,000? Is it just that the canton which, in time of war, furnishes but 400 soldiers, should have the same power to decide on peace or war as that which furnishes 11,000 men? In the United States of America, the number of provincial deputies increases in proportion to the differing proportions of the population. It is, in fact, the only way to arrive at the true representation of the will of the people.

If the federal compact adopted by the majority of the cantons is rejected by a few, will these cantons which should refuse the federal alliance, separate themselves from the confederation? Will they put the state in peril by their selfishness? Will they give the enemies of liberty the opportunity of saying that the elective principle carries with it a germ of disorganization? No! Let us hope that they will appreciate the advantage of forming an indivisible nation, and that they will not so sacrifice the destinies of their country; that they will yield to evidence, and, by degrees, will join the others.

But to prevent the unhappy results that might arise from a refusal of adhesion to the wish of the majority, the new compact should sanction the principle that the Swiss Confederation is indissoluble, and that popular sovereignty being the basis of its government, the minority ought to submit to the majority. This principle is the essential foundation, not only of every popular government, but also

of every deliberative assembly, and of every assemblage of men discussing their own interests.

If it were not so, if the larger number were not the stronger, or if the smaller were not wise enough to yield to the general wish, the sovereignty of the people would be no longer possible, for perfect agreement exists nowhere. If liberty were not strong enough to govern itself, if it could not subdue dissensions, it would prepare the way for the invasion of a tyrannical authority, or of a foreign power. This is what Switzerland will have to encounter if she does not infuse enough strength into her majority to control the minority. If the federal compact, established by all the representatives of Switzerland, accepted by the majority of the cantons, is not adopted by all; if the petty cantons separate themselves from the mother-country, if the towns engage in hostility with the rural districts, troubles will arise on all sides. And there will be soon found some *friendly* power which, in its *solicitude* for the happiness of Switzerland, and its love for the *repose* of Europe, will march with its battalions to bring all men to agreement, by establishing that so vaunted order which is not the tranquillity arising from satisfied interests, but the mournful silence of the tomb.

The taxes in Switzerland are very light, and, moreover, the mode of levying them presents throughout the greatest difficulty, for everywhere the protection of the industrial class is the rule.

Every financial system ought henceforth to be reduced to this problem; to relieve the poor classes. This philanthropic maxim is recognised by all good men; the means alone are the subject of dispute among economists.

And if pecuniary privileges can exist at all, should they not rather exist for those who want the necessaries of life, than for those who enjoy its superfluities?

In Switzerland, scarcely any other than indirect taxes exist.

Under a wise government, and where the leader takes care that the public revenues are not wasted, great economy may be effected without obstructing the various branches of the administration. The budget of Napoleon, notwithstanding the war, never exceeded six or seven hundred millions. In 1814, alone, it reached 1,076,800,000 francs, and he met this enormous expense without borrowing.* He said that a budget of 600,000,000 ought to be sufficient for France in time of peace; yet, at the present time, notwithstanding peace, the budget is 1,160,053,658 francs, or 400,000,000 more than it was under Napoleon, and 500,000,000 more than it ought to be in time of peace.

That taxes may not be a grievance, it is necessary that all should have confidence in the stability of the government; without this, the king, the ministers, and the other functionaries, uncertain of their position, only consider their employment a means of enriching themselves and of providing against future contingencies. Switzerland, fortunately for her, is not in this dilemma; she believes, with good reason, in the stability of her republic, and not only is there no state office which yields enough to enrich the holder, but generally it does not suffice to maintain him. This is an evil, for, in this case, the functionaries can only

* The Emperor is often accused of having introduced new taxes; he can at most be accused of having shifted them. He established the *droits-reunis*, that he might abolish the vexatious tolls at the barriers, and reduced the land-tax by several millions. The force of circumstances, the perpetual wars, obliged him to resort to these extreme measures, all which would have, in great measure, been laid aside with the return of peace. This system, it is true, was very unpopular; but it was much better than burdening the State with debts by means of loans which ruin the nation, or recurring to such expedients as the false coinage of Frederic the Great, or the assignats of the Republic.

be chosen among the wealthy classes. Here, again, is an aristocratic principle having its source in poverty.

It is certain that in almost all governments, power has unfortunately ever been in the hands of a single class. In a theocracy, it is in the hand of the priests; in a military government, in that of the generals; in an aristocratic monarchy, in that of the nobility; in a monarchy founded on the aristocracy of money, in that of the wealthy; lastly, even in a republic, authority is too frequently in the hands of a few families, such as those of the Golden Book of Venice, or in that of the lawyers, as is actually the case in the United States of America. During our French revolution, the power was also by turns in the hands of a single portion of the nation.*

We may, then, perhaps, lay it down with justice, that the government of Napoleon, the Emperor of the people, presents to us the first instance of a government where all classes were received, none excluded. Thus it is that we should understand equality; institutions should not be made for one class or for one party; they ought to give equal favour to all. I have briefly described the advantages and the disadvantages which have most struck me in the project of the federal compact; I have said nothing of the military system, because I wish to develop that subject in a separate chapter; the new compact, however, acknowledges the defects of the present military organization and admits the necessity of improving it.

* Mignet, in his *History of the Revolution of* '89, thus describes the successive triumphs of the different parties. "The privileged classes wished to establish their government against the court and the bourgeoisie by the maintenance of Orders and of the States-General: the bourgeoisie wished to establish theirs against the privileged class and against the multitude, by the Code of '91; and the multitude wished to establish theirs against all the rest, by the Constitution of '93. No one

The military system is essentially based on the system of neutrality. Now, we can be neutral only in two ways; either by arming to defend our territory if it were attacked, or in considering one's country as a carcass over which every one may walk with impunity. This last policy will, I hope, never be adopted by Switzerland. She must adopt, then, the armed neutrality. But this would oblige her to treat as enemies all who sought to approach her frontiers. Would this be a prudent system for a small state?

The neutrality of Switzerland can have no consistent force, unless France and Austria respect it. Now, in a general war, France and Austria would find it their interest to violate the Helvetic territory, for these two powers would have need of Switzerland to connect the operations of the armies in Germany and in Italy.

The true interest of Switzerland in such a case, then, is to choose for itself an ally. The choice is not difficult: Switzerland is the natural ally of France, because she covers a part of her frontiers.

The Emperor Napoleon said, "It is the interest of defence, which links France to Switzerland; it is the interest of attack which may render Switzerland important to the other powers. The first is a *permanent* interest, the last a capricious and transient interest." These few words explain, in a striking manner, the true position and the true interest of Switzerland.

With a great country, neutrality shields it from attack; for it is the interest of all not to bring on their backs one powerful enemy more. We have often seen that, for a state of the first rank, this system enables it to await the issue of the earlier conflicts, in order to place itself on the side of the conqueror. For a small state, the phantom of neutrality is only a chimæra, readily embraced, because it conceals the

dangers of a difficult position; but, in reality, not at all protecting independence.

Men rely on a treaty signed by all the powers; but the various states are never retained by the cold observance of treaties; it is the irresistible force of the moment which allies them or divides them.

In 1796, Venice ceased to exist, because she desired to remain neutral, instead of accepting the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which Napoleon offered her. Unable to maintain her passive part amidst such powerful enemies, if she had boldly allied herself with any one of them, on whatever side fortune declared, she would have been sure to become the prey of the conqueror. And why should a free people remain an indifferent spectator if there arise a determined struggle between the cause of liberty and that of slavery? Why should Switzerland remain inactive, when the triumph of one party would assure her independence, while the triumph of the other, on the other hand, would place her once more under a yoke of iron? Let us suppose for a moment that a new coalition of kings were made against France, and that the belligerent parties should even find it their interest to respect the Helvetic neutrality. If the coalition got the upper hand, what change would not the destinies of Switzerland undergo? she would succumb once more under the yoke of the aristocracy and of the foreign powers; she would perhaps be partitioned like Poland. If, on the contrary, France, avenging herself for Waterloo, should revive Jena, Austerlitz, the liberties of Switzerland, like those of Europe, would only receive a new confirmation. Her real interest, then, is to ally herself frankly with the party, whose success secures to her the maintenance of her liberties and of her independence.

I know that, unfortunately, happiness begets selfishness

by their institutions and their mountains, they may rest tranquil amid a general convulsion. Let them undeceive themselves: all Europe is held together by indissoluble links. France is at the head of the chain; and on the safety of Paris depends the safety of the liberties of the whole of Europe. Besides, selfishness profits neither individuals, nor nations, and it is a bad policy that abandons its friends, for fear of displeasing its enemies. Timid policy is the worst of all policies; for it gives courage to those whom we should intimidate.

However this may be, Switzerland is acknowledged neutral. Let us, then, examine the military system actually in use; we will then inquire what are the best means of improving it.

The actual military system is vicious, for there is no unity in the elements which compose it. Military affairs are entrusted to a commission which only meets twice a year; it consists of officers who are re-elected every two or three years, so that they can hardly acquire a knowledge of the wants of the administration, and the president of this commission is the president of the *vorort*, who is rarely a soldier. There is no general rule which fixes the age at which young men count in contingents, and the time they have to serve varies according to the cantons. There are no recognised chiefs; if war broke out, they would have to be nominated in haste, and they would be wholly unacquainted with the troops whom they would be called upon to command. Leaders of battalions, and those who fill the offices of generals of brigade and division are all alike called colonels. The only elementary form of the army is the battalion. In time of war alone, are these formed into brigades and divisions. All the officers, up to the rank of colonel, are appointed by the cantonal authorities, and generally undergo no examination. Instruction is of

course very much neglected, and does not follow the hierarchy of ranks. The military regulations of the cantons are altogether without uniformity. The contingents only assemble every four or five years. The present organization has not sufficiently simplified useless grades, and the baggage and waggon trains. The present regulation forms the battalions in two ranks. It seems to me that, especially for an army not regularly disciplined, this order is less advantageous than the forming in three ranks; it opposes less resistance, it is not so solid, it multiplies the manœuvres for the formation of squares; it offers less consistency of force in attack; with two ranks you are deprived of the advantage of being able to repair the losses of the first ranks from the third. A battalion in two ranks occupies one half more space in its front than if it were in three ranks, and is more difficult to manœuvre on ground so irregular as that of Switzerland. The extension of the line of battle, so far from being an advantage, may become an impediment.

Hitherto each canton has had its own particular flag; the new federal compact recognises only one general standard for all. This is a great improvement; for, independently of the intrinsic benefit of having one sole rallying signal, if the Swiss ran in common the same dangers, if, as at Nafels and at Simpach, they were to cover themselves with the same laurels, should they not also have one sole emblem, recalling to them their common courage and their common victory?

The project of military organization declares that there shall be formed a school *for the instruction of the superior officers.* This project is a problem which I cannot solve; for the commission does not understand by the schools contemplated schools of theory, where the officers shall devote themselves to the minute study of the art of war. It is

impossible to provide for the instruction of the superior grades otherwise than by securing that of the inferior grades. It would be as absurd to institute schools for colonels as it would be to establish seminaries for bishops; since, in either case, the implication would be that the individuals had attained the respective ranks without the merit necessary to the adequate fulfilment of their functions. Advancement is obtained by merit, by courage, and by seniority; it takes for granted previous instruction, acquired in schools or by private study. The simplest mode of providing, in Switzerland, a supply of competent officers, is to establish the rule that no person shall become an officer until he has undergone an examination. I will hereafter revert to this subject. At present I will submit some ideas I have formed on the subject of military organization. As, unhappily, I have not hitherto enjoyed the privilege of serving my country in the field, I am destitute of the experience communicated by practice; but I will support my theories by systems already adopted in foreign countries, or by examples derived from our own immortal campaigns, the study of which has ever been my most delightful occupation.

The organization which I propose tends to facilitate the assemblage of contingents, to habituate the troops to fatigue, to simplify the administration and equipment of the army, to abolish useless grades, to diminish expenditure in time of war, and to oblige the officers to acquire a certain amount of instruction previous to their appointment.

And, in fact, endurance of fatigue, lightness of *materiel*, and skill in the leaders, are prime necessities with a Swiss army, which has to supply the want of numbers by the rapidity of marches, and the inferiority of its artillery and cavalry by the character of its manœuvres and the choice of its positions.

It must supply its want of numbers by rapidity of marches, in endeavouring to surprise the enemy, to fall upon isolated divisions, to intercept convoys, to make sham attacks upon one wing in order to turn the other; to draw the enemy to a particular point, in order to separate the different corps by natural obstacles. The campaign of 1814 furnishes the example of this, by showing us what bravery, commanded by genius, can effect.

It will remedy the inferiority of its artillery and its cavalry by the character of its manœuvres and the choice of its positions, in assailing the heads of columns at the debouches of defiles, before they have had time to deploy, in selecting a rugged and covered ground, where the artillery can play with difficulty, and whither the cavalry cannot reach. The battles of Rivoli and Arcola in 1796 furnish a striking example of this. The Austrian army was divided into six columns; they were surprised at the debouche of the Tyrol, near Rivoli, by the French army. The latter, though far inferior in numbers, were enabled, by the skilful manœuvring of Napoleon, to fall upon the Austrian corps, who were not allowed time to deploy their artillery and cavalry, which, constituting the sixth column, was obliged to remain in *echelons*, in the road on the right bank of the Adige. The Austrian army was thus defeated without having been able to make the least use of its most effectual resources. The battle of Arcola was gained by the same manœuvres. Napoleon abandoned his positions at Caldiero, before Verona, where the enemy had the advantage in numbers and in ground; he turned them on his left, after having thrown a bridge over the Adige, attacked them unawares, and obliged them to accept battle on the raised roads across the marshes, where the artillery could not act, which the cavalry could not reach, and where the heads of the columns alone being engaged, superiority in

numbers was worse than useless. In fact, the example of all battles manifests that the result depends not on the number of troops present, but altogether on those that can be brought into action.

The great problem which Switzerland has to solve, is, in the first place, to have an imposing force that may be collected together at the shortest possible notice, in case of attack; secondly, to have the troops well disciplined, without the necessity of keeping up a standing army or permanent staff; and thirdly, to establish a system which, exercising the population, presents the most economical organization.

Upon this theory, nothing, in my opinion, would be better for Switzerland than to frame her system, as closely as the special circumstances in which she is placed will permit, on that of the Prussian Landwehr; for the Prussians have found means to have the greatest number of well-trained soldiers at the least possible expense.

But there will always be this difference between the two systems, that in Prussia the Landwehr is partly composed of soldiers who have passed three years consecutively in the army, while in Switzerland the Landwehr will be the army itself.

Without leaders there can be no great whole. In an army there must be but one sole will, one sole power, which can, on the instant, combine the detached corps; all the separate divisions must be in connexion with common centres, themselves dependent on one sole central force.

The federal power then should nominate a permanent staff, consisting of a general-in-chief, commanding all the federal troops, of a staff-colonel, of an inspector of infantry, an inspector of cavalry, and an inspector of artillery and engineers.

The general, upon receiving the Landamann's order to that effect, should assemble the army in such a place within the territory as he may deem most expedient.

The inspector of cavalry should superintend the instruction and equipment of the soldiers in each canton.

The inspector of cavalry should inspect the cavalry of each canton, and take care that the men are properly trained, and the requisite number of horses maintained.

The commandant of artillery should each year assemble a certain number of the officers of his corps to exercise them, and should see that the rules respecting materiel are exactly observed.

The commander of engineers should also assemble his officers, and have the inspection of all fortifications.

The military forces of Switzerland should be: the first contingent, the reserve contingent, and the landsturm.

The population being two millions, the levy of men from 20 to 40 years old would amount to at least 100,000.

By taking for the first contingent, the men from 20 to 32 years old, the result would be about 70,000. The reserve for the second contingent, consisting of the men between 32 and 40 years old, would be 30,000.

The landsturm would comprise all men between 17 and 50 years old.

The cantonal authorities should not have the power to appoint officers of any rank; all these should be nominated by the federal power.

Each canton should furnish, as is already done, a number of battalions or companies, to be determined according to its population.

Each battalion should consist of 1000 men.

It should be composed of four companies.

Each company should contain 250 men.

Captain	1
First Lieutenant	1
Second Lieutenants	2
Subalterns	20
Drummers	4
Soldiers	221
Total	250

There would then be for each battalion only twenty officers, instead of the twenty-four allowed by the present Swiss regulations.

Three or four battalions should compose a regiment, under the command of a colonel. The suggested variety in numbers is necessitated by the inequalities in population exhibited by the cantons; and it would not operate as a disadvantage, for it would give the commander-in-chief the opportunity of employing, according to the exigencies of the case, regiments of three, or regiments of four battalions, and it would deprive the enemy of the facility of determining with accuracy the force to which he was opposed by a mere enumeration of its regiments.

Each battalion should have, besides its captain, an adjutant, who should fulfil the office of paymaster, a surgeon, a drum-major, a quarter-master, and an armourer.

The last battalion of each regiment should consist of two companies of chasseurs, and of two companies of carabineers, representing the national weapon of Switzerland, and the weapon most effective in a mountainous country.

These two arms, chasseurs and carabineers, should be united in one battalion, because their service is almost alike. In open ground the chasseurs skirmish, and form as it were a curtain to mask the manœuvres of the corps they precede; if any shelter presents itself, the carabineers can aid them in this duty, but it is more especially in woods and among rocks that the services of the latter are of the greatest avail. It may be useful to bring together these

bodies of troops, because their service being altogether different from that of the ordinary infantry, it is advantageous that they should be under the immediate direction of a special chief, and that their management should be separate from that of the rest of the regiment, since they require more ammunition, more implements, and a more active superintendence.

The regiment of cavalry should be composed of four squadrons.

Each squadron should consist of—

Captain	1
First Lieutenants	2
Second Lieutenants	2
Subalterns	12
Trumpeters	2
Soldiers	128
Farrier	1
Total	148 men.

A company of artillery should serve a battery composed of eight pieces—six cannon and two howitzers.*

The company should be composed of:—

Officers	4
Subalterns	12
Corporals	16
Surgeon	1
Cannoneers	108
Artificers	2
Drivers	19
Total	162 men.

* The Prussians have seven-pound howitzers for six-pound batteries, and ten-pound howitzers for twelve-pound batteries. There is very slight difference between these pieces and the French howitzers of five inches seven-twelfths, and six inches. Their denomination is derived from the weight of a marble ball of the same calibre. The Swiss have adopted 12 and 24-pound howitzers, or howitzers of six and eight inches.

A complete battery of 6-pounders would thus amount to 160 men, and 114 horses.

A battery of 12-pounders, to 220 men and 166 horses; 6-pounders are drawn by six horses; 12-pounders by eight horses.

A battery of 6-pounders would consist of 15 carriages, 8 pieces and 7 carriages.

A battery of 12-pounders would consist of 21 carriages.

The carriages for a battery of 6 cannon and 2 howitzers of six inches, are two caissons for the cannons, two for the howitzers, two ammunition waggons, and a field forge. For a battery of 12, each piece would have its caisson.

The cannoneers driving their own pieces and caissons, the train would only serve for the parks of artillery, convoys, and baggage. Fifteen companies of artillery would form a brigade, and would be commanded by a colonel. Each brigade would be divided into three parties.

The engineers should be distributed into eight companies of sappers and two companies of pontooners.

The batteries, composed of eight pieces, should present the proportion of one-fourth of howitzers, in the total number, instead of one-third. This might be advantageous, for the firing of the howitzers is less prompt, and their materiel dearer and less practicable.*

And, after all, this involves no change in the proportion already adopted in Switzerland, where the batteries are composed of four pieces, three cannon and a howitzer; but by collecting a greater number of pieces, you may have a smaller number of caissons for them in the parks of reserve. Notwithstanding the inferiority of calibre, the Prussians have adopted for their field artillery, 6-pounders,

* It is, however, to be remarked, that if in Prussia the howitzers only constitute one-fourth of the pieces, the reason is that there are also batteries exclusively composed of howitzers.

instead of the French 8-pounders, because for the 6-pounders the chest of the fore-carriages is large enough to contain a sufficient ammunition for a battle. The caissons are in that case not under fire. Each 6-pounder carries seventy rounds in its magazine.

There is, then, a great analogy between the system of artillery, already in operation in Switzerland, and the Prussian system.

According to my plan, Switzerland would be distributed into military divisions, in number seven, the circuit of which might be formed as follows, calculating the contingent of each canton upon the figures adopted in the new compact.

The largest of these divisions would amount to more than 14,000 men; the smallest to about 7000 men.

Each division would form, as it were, an army of itself, comprising infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, in proportion to the resources of the canton. There would be no change in the strength of the present contingents, and the distribution would be as follows:—

First Division.

Contingent.	Men.	Distribution of the different Arms.	
Saint-Gall . .	5260	Inf. Three regiments, numbered 1, 2, 3, forming 9 battalions, each of 1000 men	9000
Appenzill . .	1944	Cav. A regiment, No. 1, forming 4 squadrons, each of 150 men . . .	600
Thurgovie . .	3040	Art. Two companies of two batteries, 1 of 6-pounders, 1 of 12-pounders—	
		Of 6-pounders . . 162 men Of 12-pounders . . 220 „	382
		A Company	100
		Train	162
	10,244		10,244

Second Division.

Contingent.	Men.	Distribution of the various Arms.	
Schaffhausen	932	Inf. Two regiments, numbered 4 and 5,	
Zurich . . .	7400	the fifth with 4 battalions . . .	7000
	8332	Cav. A regiment, No. 2	600
		Art. Two batteries, 1 of 6-pounders, 1 of 12-pounders	382
		Engineers. A Company	150
		Pontoneers. A Company	100
		Train	100
			8332

Third Division.

Bâle . . .	1836	Inf. Two regiments, No. 6 and 7, the	
Soleure . .	1808	7th with 4 battalions	7000
Argovie . . .	4820	Cav. A regiment, No. 3	600
	8464	Art. Two batteries, 1 of 6-pounders, 1 of 12-pounders	382
		Engineers. Two Companies	200
		Pontoneers. A Company	150
		Train	132
			8464

Fourth Division.

Berne . .	11,684	Inf. Three regiments, No. 8, 9, 10, the 10th with 4 battalions	10,000
		Cav. One regiment, No. 4	600
		Art. Three battalions, 2 of 6-pounders, 1 of 12-pounders	544
		Engineers. Two Companies	200
		Train	504
			11,684

Fifth Division.

Neuchatel .	1920	Inf. Four regiments, Nos. 11, 12, 13,	
Fribourg . .	2480	14, the 14th with 4 battalions . .	13,000
Vaud . . .	5928	Cav. One regiment, No. 5	600
Geneva . .	1760	Art. Two battalions of 6-pounders, 1 of	
Valais . . .	2560	12-pounders	342
	14,648	Engineers. Two Companies	200
		Train	406
			14,648

Sixth Division.

Contingent.	Men.	Distribution of the various Arms.	
Lucerne . .	3468	Inf. Two regiments, Nos. 15, 16; No. 16 having 4 battalions . . .	7000
Zug . . .	500	Art. Two battalions of 6-pounders . .	232
Schwitz . .	1204	Train	48
Glaris . . .	964		7372
Uri	472		
Unterwalden	764		
	7372		

Seventh Division.

Grisons . .	3200	Inf. Two regiments, Nos. 17, 18 . .	6000
Tessin . . .	3608	Art. Two battalions of 6-pounders . .	234
	6808	Engineers. Two Companies	200
		Train	384
			6808

Total of First Contingent . . . 67,516

Recapitulation.

Federal Force of the First Contingent.

Infantry.

18 regiments, 59 battalions, of which 18 are Carabineers and Chasseurs 59,000

Cavalry.

5 regiments, with four squadrons 3000

Artillery.

1 Brigade, consisting of—15 Companies; 15 batteries, 10 of 6-pounders and 5 of 12-pounders; 60 cannons (6-pounders); 20 howitzers (six inches); 30 cannon (12-pounders); 10 howitzers (eight inches) 2720

Engineers.	
10 Companies of 100 men	1000
Pontoneers.	
2 Companies of 150 men	300
Train for the military equipages	1496
Total	67,516

In a level country, the cavalry should be, according to received calculations, the infantry being taken as the unit, in the proportion of one-fourth or one-fifth; but on the higher mountains the proportions should not exceed one-twentieth; 3000 horses would thus be about the number required. The infantry being in number 59,000, the engineers 1000 strong, would be somewhat less than one-fortieth, which is the fixed proportion. The train is the only department below the mark, since the ordinary calculation is that the number of men for the military equipages is equal to one-thirtieth of the infantry. In the present instance, then, there would be required 400 men in addition, a number easily supplied.

Gribeauval's estimate was four pieces to every 1000 men; but under the Empire, the imperial equipage was 120 pieces to 40,000 men, or three pieces to every 1000 men.

The proportions in the Prussian artillery are nearly the same, being 96 pieces to a divisional corps of 31,000 men.

In the present case, then, there would be required, at the rate of three pieces to every 1000 men, 201 pieces. I have put down only 120; but I consider that, independently of these batteries, there would be formed a park of reserve, the materiel of which might be always kept together in one of the central cantons, in Berne, for example, or Lucerne.

It would be also very advantageous to establish a park

of mountain artillery, composed of pieces of a smaller calibre, with sledge carriages.*

It is seen that, in this scheme, the forces are distributed, as nearly as possible, according to the resources of the cantons. Thus, the sixth and seventh divisions, composed of small mountainous cantons, have no cavalry. Zurich

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* It may be interesting to the Swiss to have here placed before them the description of a mountain battery, such as it exists in France. The new decimal measures are used.

COMPOSITION OF A MOUNTAIN BATTERY.

PERSONNEL.

Captain-commandant	1
Lieutenants	3
Total officers	4

	Men.	Mules or Horses.
Quartermaster-General	1	1
Paymaster	1	1
Quartermasters	3	3
Brigadiers	6	6
Farriers	3	
Artillerymen	50	
Trumpeters	3	
Total of subaltern officers and artillerymen	67	11
Sadlers	3	

The battery is divided into three sections:—

Composition of one section.

	Men.	Mules or Horses.
Lieutenant	1	
Quartermaster	1	1
Brigadiers	2	2
Farrier	1	
Master-gunners	2	
Pointers	2	
Servants	4	
Victuallers	4	
Trumpeter	1	
Gunners (reserve)	4	
	22	3

[*Conclusion on next page.*

and Argan furnish pontoneers recruited from among the boatmen of the Aar and the Reuss. The more industrial cantons will supply the companies of engineers. The baggage train has no relation to the artillery; it consists

MATERIAL.

	Guns and Carriages.	Mules.	Drivers.
Howitzers of twelve pounds	6	6	6
Carriages	8	8	8
Ammunition chests	60	30	15
Farriers' and sadlers' chests	12	6	3
Money chests	6	3	
Mules for the shot-bags	0	12	15
Other mules	0	9	
	92	74	47

WEIGHT.

	Kilogrammes.[1]	
The howitzer	97·50	
The carriage with its two wheels	64·50	
The two wheels	46·50	
The two ammunition chests	100·00	
The howitzer, loaded with 0·18 of powder	4·08	4·75
The drag, &c.	0·48	
The load of powder	0·27	

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS OF THE CARRIAGE

Total length of the axle tree	0 m.[2] 960
Height of the wheel	0 m. 970
Height of the axis of the howitzer pointed horizontally above the ground	0 m. 703
Separation of the bands behind the trunions	0 m. 180
Total length of the carriage	1 m. 50

The centre of gravity of the howitzer is at 0 m. 06, behind the axis; that of the carriage with the wheels at 0 m. 108, behind the axle-tree; that of the carriage without wheels at 0 m. 277, behind the axle-tree.

[1] A kilogramme is equivalent to rather more than two pounds avoirdupois.

[2] Metre, a measure of length, equal to 39·33-100 English inches.—Ed.

merely of the men and horses requisite for the transport of the baggage and ammunition wagons.

The federal power will appoint to each regiment a colonel, an adjutant, major, a lieutenant-colonel, acting as major. Each division will be commanded by a divisional-colonel, elected by the federal power, and who will have under his command, a commissary-general, a baggage-master, a staff-colonel, and two aides-de-camps. This colonel will always exercise inspection over his division, and, on an order from the general-in-chief, will be bound to assemble his troops; and the cantonal authorities will be precluded from refusing their co-operation from the moment the divisional-colonel has communicated to them a copy of the general-in-chief's order. The colonels of regiments will receive the order from the divisional-colonel to assemble their regiments at the same time that the military council of each canton shall order the commanders of battalions to collect their men.

Thus, the troops may be collected in a very short time at the place appointed by the divisional colonel.

The divisional colonel may not absent himself from his division without giving due notice to the general-in-chief, who will thereupon appoint a deputy.

No officer of infantry, cavalry, artillery, or engineers, nominated by the federal power, shall receive his grade until he has passed through an examination, the details of which shall be determined by a programme.

Switzerland has not sufficient resources to enable her to establish schools of military theory; all she can do is to establish schools of military practice; but in order that these schools may be of service, it is necessary that those who frequent them shall be already in possession of a certain amount of instruction. The only means of ascertaining this, is to subject the candidates to strict examinations; to be

prepared for which, those who are ambitious of serving their country with good effect, will acquire, in private, the knowledge requisite for admission to the superior grades.

From this brief outline it will be perceived, in the first place, that the federal troops would be easily concentrated, and would depend on one sole chief. The military divisions, in compelling the contingents to assemble together, would effect the beneficial result of fusing the populations of the different parts of Switzerland, who, so to speak, are at present strangers to each other.

In a military point of view, it would be of great advantage to have, on seven points of Switzerland, seven small armies, accustomed to manœuvre together, well acquainted with their leaders, and trained to that confidence in them which is of such essential importance.

At present the Swiss have neither generals nor regiments; colonels command brigades, the strength of which does not exceed that of the regiments which I propose. It seems to me, then, far simpler to form regiments which should present more unity and more regularity, and whose number would be, of itself, a rallying cry, constituting the *esprit de corps* which it is so essential to create and to foster. The leaders would then bear with propriety the title of colonels.

In time of war, the divisional colonels would command two, three, or four regiments, according to the necessity of the case. Moreover, I am of opinion that the Swiss, notwithstanding their present repugnance to do so, would ultimately appoint generals to command the various corps d'armée, consisting of several divisions.

Every year all the divisions should be assembled, sometimes in one canton, sometimes in another, and be exercised for ten days.

In the exercises of the Prussian landwehr, the commanding officers seek rather to give the soldiers an exact idea of

war, than to train them to methodical manœuvres. This also should be the object with the commanding officers of the Swiss troops. Their mountains would facilitate this class of instruction.

Thus, as to the infantry, the object should be to train them to the service of sharp-shooters, to the passage of defiles and of rivers, to the attack and defence of advanced posts and of villages, to surprises, to the protection of convoys, &c., rather than to exact and precise evolutions. And so with the cavalry, the object should be to accustom them to the service of advanced posts, of patrol, of reconnoitring, rather than to regimental manœuvres.

The army should have a permanent chief, the source of all general orders; otherwise, there can be no unity or force. When one reflects that, prior to the constitution now proposed, not only was the diet precluded, in case of war, from itself alone discussing the levy of troops, but that the consent of the cantons was necessary, one cannot but see in this organization the finger of the Holy Alliance, which was quite willing that Switzerland should have an army, provided it could make no use of it in time of war. How is it possible there can be Swiss who will vindicate this organization? Alas! why is it that in a free state distrust of ones' fellow-citizens is always predominant over the fear of the foreigner! It seems preposterous to imagine, as yet some do imagine, that if Switzerland appoints a general in time of peace, receiving no pay, and having no material influence except in time of war, this general can become dangerous to the liberty of Switzerland, at a time when the only authority he exercises is dependent on the will of the federal power. The Emperor Napoleon said, in speaking of the taxes which it was necessary to levy in times of difficulty: "It is better to pay taxes to one's self, when the safety of the country is menaced, than to pay them to the Russians

and Austrians." I, in my turn would say, "It is better to appoint one's own general one's self, than to wait until a foreigner comes to fill the office perforce."

With reference to the formation of divisions, there may perhaps be objected the difficulty with the cantons of assembling; but, as this difficulty must be surmounted in time of war, the country must be gradually habituated to it in time of peace. Besides, after all, the difficulties are nothing so tremendous. For example, the seventh division is composed of the Grisons and the Tessin, which are separated only by Mont Bernardin; what difficulty could it be for the contingent of the Tessin, 3608 strong, to pass Mont Bernardin along the fine road actually existing there, and this, moreover, at a time when the mountains are clear from snow?

This necessity of going from one canton to another, would, moreover, present the advantage of accustoming the soldiers to military marches.

In the present system of Switzerland, the battalions being of 700 or 800 men, instead of the 74 battalions which now constitute the Swiss infantry, there would be, according to my plan, only 59; a reduction in the total number of 15 battalions.

The battalion would be composed of four companies, with five officers each, instead of six companies, with four officers each; there would consequently be four officers less in each battalion.

Thus in 59 battalions there would be a reduction of . . .	236	officers.
And in the 15 battalions reduced, each battalion having 24 officers	360	„
Total	596	„

Estimating the average pay of the officers at five French francs per diem, the reduction of 596 officers would effect a saving of 2980 francs a day, or of 89,400 francs a month,

With reference to the cavalry, the proposed squadron would consist of 150 horses, instead of 64, the number of the present Swiss squadron. Thus, 3000 cavalry which, on the supposition, would form only 5 regiments, or 20 squadrons, would, according to the Swiss system, constitute 47 squadrons; the reduction, then, of 27 squadrons, with 5 officers each, would effect a reduction of 135 officers, the expense of whom, at 5 French francs per head per diem, amounts to 675 francs a day, or 20,250 francs a month.

As to the artillery of 120 pieces, there are in Switzerland 30 batteries, and consequently 30 companies of artillery, without reckoning the train.

The numbers then are . . .	120 officers of artillery.
And	30 officers of the train.
Total . . .	150 officers.

While, under the proposed system, there would be only 15 batteries and 60 officers; being a reduction of 90 officers, equivalent at 5 French francs a-day, to 450 francs a-day, or 13,500 francs a week. The actual saving, then, under the proposed system, in respect merely to officers of an inferior grade, would be per month:

Infantry	89,400
Cavalry	20,250
Artillery	13,000
Total	122,650 French francs,

or, 1,471,800 francs per annum.

The saving would be still greater, if you were to include the diminution of the staffs, of the subaltern officers, of the ammunition waggons, and the simplification of the administration.

Thus, then, this system would offer to Switzerland the advantages—

1. Of a saving, in time of war, of more than a million and a half.

2. Of a military force more imposing than the present, because it would be more united and better trained.

It may perhaps be suggested that this organization is too costly for Switzerland; but yet, as all are agreed as to the expediency of making some sacrifices to secure instruction, what, to this end, can be more moderate and at the same time more effectual than the assembling together of some thousands of men to manœuvre for ten days in each year? Besides, each canton would be subjected to the same charges, in proportion to its means. It is calculated that the expense of placing a contingent on foot averages a Swiss franc per diem for each soldier. The assemblage, then, of a division of 6000 men would cost 6000 francs Swiss *per diem*, or 60,000 francs for ten days; or 700,000 francs *per annum* for the assemblage, during ten days, of all the divisions. But it might be determined to assemble each year only one half of the contingent in each division; in this case the expense, diminished by one half, would only amount to 350,000 Swiss francs, a very moderate sum.

There is still another mode of organization which would present great advantages in combination with that of being very economical.

Suppose Switzerland, as before, distributed into seven military divisions; and then suppose a central school established in which the staff of the federal troops should attend for education. According to the proposed organization, the first contingent, 70,000 strong, would have about 1400 officers and 7000 subaltern officers; total 8400, or, with the superior officers, about 8500 officers.

Every year, the general-in-chief should assemble the seven divisional commanders, the colonels of regiments, and a third of the officers and subalterns of the whole contingent, which would represent an entire number of from 2800 to

3000. This small *corps d'armée* should manœuvre and perform all the necessary exercises for three consecutive months.

The subalterns should do the duty of soldiers, the officers that of subalterns; the divisional leaders should only perform the duty of commanders of battalion.

This assemblage of 3000 men should comprehend a sample of all arms. There should be two battalions of 1000 men each; two batteries with 382 men; two squadrons, 300 men; a company of engineers, 100 men; one of pontoneers, 100 men: total, 2882 men. The remainder should be the staff.

Thus, in the course of three years, all the officers and subalterns of the Swiss contingent would have passed through a tolerably continuous education; and, assembled in this manner, during four months as a *corps d'armée*, they would have acquired more experience and instruction than they could possibly have attained in their respective cantons.

As to the expense, proceeding upon the same estimate of one Swiss franc per diem for each man, the cost of 3000 men for four months would be 270,000 Swiss francs; for though the 3000 are officers and subaltern officers, they would only be paid as subalterns and soldiers. The expense would be still further diminished by placing them in barracks.

On their return to their cantons, these officers would instruct their soldiers with redoubled ardour and capacity. By this arrangement the divisions need only be assembled once in every three or four years.

The advantages of such a school are of a very marked character, for the force of a body depends upon the excellence of its officers—the true nerves of the army.

There may be persons who, while approving of this pro-

ject, regard it as too costly; but it is impossible to do anything with nothing.

But it is not enough to have troops; you must calculate beforehand the various chances of invasion, and, in conformity with the topography of the country, determine upon the places most favourable as rallying points, and the lines best adapted for favouring defence. If Switzerland were attacked, being even on her guard, there would be, in the present state of things, an infinite loss of time in assembling her troops. There is such an excess of useless machinery, and so little motive power in the existing organization, that before they could collect together, the contingents would undergo a series of combinations and re-combinations that would materially impede their action.

As one of the first maxims of strategics is to assemble your cantonments at the point the most remote from and the most sheltered from the enemy, it can scarcely be calculated upon that the Swiss would be able to defend the first lines of their frontiers. Thus, the valley of the Rhine to the east, the line of the Thur, and that of the Thoss, cannot with any great probability be regarded as defensible. Those rivers, moreover, are frequently fordable, and may, therefore, be readily turned. The line, then, of first importance is that of the Limatt, the centre of which is at Zurich. This line, rendered so memorable by Massena, has its right supported by the lake of Wallenstatt, which is set in impracticable mountains, while its left is flanked by the Rhine. Zurich is, therefore, an important point; not as a fortress, though it is fortified, but as a *tête-de-pont*, to protect a retreat or to facilitate a return to offensive operations. If, as the Council of Zurich has decided upon doing, the fortifications of Zurich are rased, the movements of an army on the heights before Zurich, on the right bank of the Limatt, would be in great measure paralyzed, for an army is always

dangerously placed when it can only make its retreat over a bridge, and that retreat is protected by no fortifications.*

Next to the Limatt, the Reuss presents very great resources; its course is rapid, it has high mountains at its source, the Limatt and the Aar at its confluence, the Rhine at its mouth; it divides Switzerland into two parts, from north to south. Supposing the army to be retiring south-west, to regain the mountains along the course of the Aar it will be remarked that all the smaller rivers which throw themselves into the Aar, such as the Suerra, the Wigger, and the Emmen, rejoin this river perpendicularly with its current. They thus present the whole front of their course to the enemy, and afford lines of defence more or less effective according to the depth of their waters.

Lastly, the Aar is a good line of defence, whether the army retiring towards the west considers Berne and Aarberg as the central points of the line, of which the right is supported by Thun and the left by the Bienne; or whether, supporting its right by the Aar and its left by the Rhine at Bâle, it occupies the base of a triangle, and confines the enemy within the apex between the Aar and the Rhine.

The ground over which we have here glanced comes, in Switzerland, under the denomination of plain. In the Alps, the enemy would be stopped at every step by mountains and defiles which, since Lecourbe and Suwarrow, we can only describe as all but inaccessible. Since 1799 it has become no matter of astonishment to find among the calculations of strategy the possibility of seeing soldiers suspended amidst abysses, and fighting above the clouds.

* Though the fortifications of Zurich are not capable of resisting a systematic attack, they would stop an enemy unprovided with siege artillery; as a *tête-de-pont* the works are excellent, and troops enclosed within its walls could keep a superior army long in check, so as to give time for the contingents to form behind the line of the Limatt.

One of the most important points in the Alpine chain is Mount St. Gothard. From this point you command all the debouches of the valleys formed by the rivers which derive their source from the various sides of this mountain. By the Pont du Diable you are master of the debouches opened by the valley of the Reuss. By occupying the whole course of this river, you command the most rapid communication between Italy and Germany. The Lake of Lucerne, which occupies the centre of this line, should be furnished with gun-boats, for the purpose of facilitating communications. By the valley of the Upper Reuss, you can pass into the canton of Berne by the Mayenthal and the Sturten-Pass; and into the canton of Unterwalden by the Iserthal or by the Engelberg, a passage made by a French division in '99 to rejoin the general-in-chief Lecourbe, who was on his way by water from Brunnent. By the Schechental you may reach Linthal in the canton of Glaris, or, like Suwarrow, operate the prodigious passage of Altorf in the Muottathal, canton of Schwitz, over the most rugged rocks.

From St. Gothard you may, by the Upper Alp, descend into the valley of the Rhone, enter the Grisons, and fall upon the rear of an enemy who had passed the Splugen or the Petit-Bernardin. By Airolo you descend into the valley of the Tessin, and there occupy the positions of Bellinzona and of Monte Cenere.

From St. Gothard, by La Furka, you descend into the valley of the Rhone, and fall on the rear of an enemy who had debouched by the Simplon, or St. Bernard, while the works constructed at St. Meurice would arrest the heads of his columns. Lastly, by La Furka and the Grimsel, a communication might in like manner be opened with the valley of the Aar.

word with respect to Bâle. The Allied Sovereigns, in 1815, compelled France to raze the fortifications of Huningen, alleging that its cannon disquieted the Swiss. This pretext for uncovering one of the points of the French frontier is the more ridiculous, that it is easily seen that the interest of the Swiss would be to have Huningen rebuilt, with a tête de pont on the right bank; for then France, having a debouche into Germany, would more easily dispense with the bridge of Bâle. What could be more humiliating for us Frenchmen, than to see cannon on the ramparts of a Swiss town, and to reflect that the Holy Alliance dares to prohibit our rebuilding our walls?

In 1830 the revolution of July reawakening throughout the country national feelings, awakened at the same time the fear least the Powers should seek to stifle them. The Swiss also saw what they had to apprehend from a foreign invasion, and they prepared to defend themselves. Among the patriots who, at that period, loudly called for energetic measures, I will mention with pleasure Colonel Dufour; a man of superior merit, ex-lieutenant-colonel of engineers under the empire. The diet summoned the staff of all the *contingents, and gave full powers to Guiger, general-in-chief, to occupy the passes nearest to the frontiers. They fortified Saint Maurice in Le Valais, where they established two redoubts upon the heights, and a bastion by way of tête de pont to protect the valley of the Rhone.

At the Simplon they undermined the bridge and embattled the galleries of Gondo. At Luziensteig, in the Grisons, they constructed a bastion to defend that pass, which, left open, would enable troops to take in the rear the soldiers collected in the Grisons to defend the southern frontiers, by watching the debouches of the Inn and the Adda. In a word, they had adopted the most urgent measures to show Europe that Switzerland was not slumbering.

In speaking of Switzerland in a military point of view, my heart has often beat as I thought of the splendid campaigns of Massena and Lecourbe. But, indeed, what spot in Europe can we visit, without seeing there traces of French glory! Do you pass a bridge: the name recals to you that our battalions carried it at the point of the bayonet! Traverse the Alps and the Apennines: the paths which facilitate your passage were cut in the footsteps of our soldiers, who first opened the way. In a word, whatever ground we tread, from Moscow to the Pyramids, has been a field of battle on which the sons of the republic and the empire have given a new lustre to the French name. And what is, perhaps, still more glorious, is, that among all foreign nations, if we find improvements in their laws, useful and lasting public works, beneficial institutions, it is the young battalions of the republic who prepared the way for these changes, by overthrowing all that opposed their march; it is the old cohorts of the empire who confirmed them, by laying the first foundations of a new edifice which the revolution of July was invoked to finish.

And since 1815, what has become of those glorious relics of our grand armies? Let me do them justice. Except some few notabilities of the empire, all the rest have shown themselves, at all times and in all countries, eager to second every noble enterprise. In France they have reddened with their blood the scaffolds of the Restoration. In Greece, they have assisted slaves to recover their independence. In Italy, they are at the head of that unfortunate youth who are aspiring to liberty. They have filled the prisons with their mutilated bodies. Finally, in Poland, who were the chiefs of that heroic people? Soldiers of Napoleon. Everywhere you still find soldiers of that great man, whenever honour, liberty, patriotism is concerned.

In Switzerland itself, if Helvetic liberty were menaced,

it would there, also, be the soldiers of Napoleon who would foremost rush to the defence of the frontiers.

I have thus rapidly glanced at the laws which govern Switzerland, and at her means of defence. I leave it to others to develope a subject so full of interest. I limit myself to felicitating a people which governs itself, which daily tends to render itself more worthy of liberty and of that great name Republic, of which hitherto we have seen such imperfect models; I limit myself to counselling the Swiss to be always the allies of France, because their local interest invites, because their interest as a civilized nation impels them to that result. If they were attacked I do not doubt but they would defend the country of William Tell; with an army better organized, and by favour of their mountains, they may oppose a long resistance.

Patriotism and liberty often render men invincible, or, if conquered, to the patriot the cypress is as beautiful as the laurel.

IDEAS OF NAPOLEONISM.

PREFACE.

If the destiny presaged for me by my birth, had not been altered by events, nephew of the Emperor, I should have been one of the defenders of his throne, one of the propagators of his ideas: I should have had the glory of being one of the pillars of his edifice, or of dying in the ranks of his guard, fighting for France. The Emperor is no more,—but his spirit survives. Deprived of the possibility of defending his tutelary power with my sword, I can, at least, essay to defend his memory with my pen. To enlighten public opinion, by developing the thought which presided over his high conceptions, to recal the memory of his vast projects, this is a task which still gladdens my heart and consoles me in exile. The fear of encountering adverse opinions will not deter me; ideas which are under the ægis of the greatest genius of modern times, may be proclaimed without circumlocution; they cannot be subject to the variations of the political atmosphere. Enemy of all mere abstract theory, and of all moral dependence, I am bound to no party, to no sect, to no government; my voice is free as my thought; and the love of my heart is Liberty.

Carlton Terrace, July, 1839.

IDEAS OF NAPOLEONISM.

CHAPTER I.

OF GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL.

General Movement of Progress—Form of Governments—Their Mission.

ALL the revolutions which have agitated the nations of the world, all the efforts of great men, warriors or legislators, are they to result in nothing? Are we constantly moving in the same vicious circle, wherein enlightenment succeeds to ignorance, and barbarism to civilization? Far from us be so afflicting a thought; the sacred fire which animates us should lead us to a result worthy of the divine power which breathes it into us. The amelioration of societies advances incessantly, in spite of obstacles; it knows no limits but those of the world.

"Mankind," says Pascal, "is a man that never dies, and that is ever advancing towards perfection." Sublime image, truthful and profound. The human race never dies, but yet it undergoes all the maladies to which man is subject; and although it is unceasingly advancing towards perfection, it is not exempt from human passions, that dangerous but indispensable moral artillery, which is the cause of our elevation or our ruin.

This comparison sums up the principles upon which is

founded the life of nations, that life which has two natures and two instincts: the one divine, which tends to make us perfect; the other mortal, which tends to make us corrupt.

Society, then, comprises within itself two contrary elements; on the one hand, immortality and progress; on the other, disease and disorganization.

Succeeding generations all partake of the same elements.

All nations have something in common,—the need of perfectionating themselves; all have something in particular,—the kind of malady which paralyzes their efforts. Governments have been established to assist society to overcome the obstacles which impede its march. Their form must have necessarily varied according to the nature of the evil which they were invoked to cure, according to the epoch, according to the people they were to govern. Their task never has been, and never will be, an easy one, because the two contrary elements, of which our existence is composed, require the employment of different means. In relation to our divine essence, we only require for our onward march liberty and labour; in relation to our mortal nature, we need a guide to lead and support us. A government, then, is not, as a distinguished economist called it, a necessary ulcer; but it is, rather, the beneficent mover of all social organization.

If we unfold before our eyes the picture of history, we everywhere discover therein these two great phenomena: on the one hand, an enduring system, which observes a regular movement, ever advancing without ever retracing its steps, and which system is progress; on the other hand, on the contrary, we only see flexibility and mobility: these are the forms of government.

Progress never disappears, but it often shifts its place,

transferring itself from the governors to the governed. The tendency of revolutions is ever to place it with the governors. When it is at the head of societies, it marches boldly, for it leads; when it is in the mass, it walks slowly, for it is struggling. In the former case, the confiding people allow themselves to be ruled; in the latter, they desire, on the contrary, to do everything themselves.

Since the creation of the world, progress has always been going on. To be satisfied of this, we have only to measure the route followed by civilization; its track is marked out by the great men who are, as it were, its military boundaries, each higher in degree than the other as he brings us nearer the goal; we advance from Alexander to Cæsar, from Cæsar to Constantine, from Constantine to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Napoleon.

The forms of government, on the other hand, do not observe regular laws. Republics are as old as the world itself; election and inheritance have for ages disputed for power, and power has by turns been in the hands of those who had on their side knowledge and enlightenment, right or might. It is impossible, then, to have a government based on immutable forms. There is no more a governmental formula for the happiness of nations, than there is a universal panacea for curing all evils. "Every question of political form," says Carrel,* "has its data in the state of society, and nowhere else." These words contain a great truth. In politics, good is only relative, never absolute.

Admitting the preceding ideas, it would be impossible to attach any great importance to the learned distinctions which publicists have drawn between the government of one

* *History of the Counter-Revolution in England*—Introduction, page 3.

and the government of many, between democratic governments and aristocratic governments.*

All were good, since they lasted. Such a form was the best for such a people which lasted the longest. But, *à priori*, the best government is that which well fulfils its mission, that is to say, that which adapts itself to the wants of the epoch; and which, in modelling itself on the existing state of society, employs the necessary means to make a level and easy path for advancing civilization.

I regret to say, that I only see, at the present time, two governments which well fulfil their providential mission; these are the two Colossi at either end of the world—one at the extremity of the new, the other at the extremity of the old world.† Whilst our old European centre is like a volcano consuming itself in its own crater, the two nations, Oriental and Occidental, proceed, unhesitatingly, towards perfection, the one at the will of one man, the other by liberty. Providence has confided to the United States of America the care of peopling and of gaining over to civilization all that immense territory which extends from the Atlantic to the South Sea, and from the North Pole to the Equator. The government, which is but a simple adminis-

* Far be it from me to enter into a discussion on the merits of monarchy or republicanism; I leave to philosophers and metaphysicians the solution of a problem which, *à priori*, I consider insoluble. I see in monarchy neither the principle of divine right, nor all the vices which are attributed to it. Nor do I see solely in the hereditary system a guarantee for the integrity of a country. To appreciate this opinion, we have only to recollect that the two monarchies of France and Germany sprung at the same time from the division of the Empire of Charlemagne. In Germany, the crown became purely elective; in France, it remained hereditary eight centuries later. Germany is divided into about 1200 states: its nationality has disappeared; whilst in France the hereditary principle has destroyed all the petty sovereignties and has formed a great and compact nation.

† I do not mean that all the other governments in Europe are bad; I only mean to say that, at this present moment, there is no one of them equal to so great a mission.

tration, has only, up to the present time, had to put in practice the old adage, *laissez faire, laisser passer*, to favour that irresistible instinct which impels towards the west the peoples of America.

In Russia, it is to the imperial dynasty that we owe all the progress which, for a century and a half past, has been rescuing that vast empire from barbarism. The imperial power has to struggle against the old prejudices of our old Europe; it must centralize, as closely as possible, in the hands of an individual, the force of the state, in order to destroy all the abuses which would perpetuate themselves under the shelter of communal and feudal franchises. It is only from him that the East can receive the amelioration which it is awaiting.

But thou, France of Henry the Fourth, of Louis the XIVth, of Carnot, of Napoleon, thou who wast ever for Western Europe the source of progress, thou who possessest the two supports of empires—the genius of the arts of peace and the genius of war—hast thou no longer a mission to fulfil? wilt thou exhaust thy strength and thy energy in an incessant struggle with thy own children? No. Such cannot be thy destiny. Soon will the day come when they who govern thee, must comprehend that thy part is to put in all treaties, thy sword of Brennus in the scale of civilization.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL IDEAS.

Mission of the Emperor—Liberty will march side by side with Religion—Re-establishment of Monarchy and the Catholic Religion—How we must judge Napoleon.

WHEN the ideas which have governed the world for long periods, lose, by the necessary transformation of societies,

their force and their empire, new ideas issue forth destined to replace those which preceded them.

Though these bear within them a reorganizative germ, their process, meantime, is by disorganization. But so great is the presumption of the rising ideas, and so agreeable to our ephemeral existence is the idea of duration, that, with every stone which they wrest from the old edifice, they proclaim this wreck, upon which they take their stand, a new foundation on an indestructible basis, until other convulsions, burying them in their turn, prove to them that they have shaken the existing fabric without having constructed another in its place, and that there needs for their work more solid materials to protect it from the crumbling ruins of the past.

It was thus that the ideas of '89, ideas which, after having convulsed Europe, will, in the end, secure its repose, appeared in '91 to have destroyed the ancient order of things, and to have created a new. But the birth of liberty is a painful labour, and the work of ages may not be destroyed but with terrible shocks. '93 followed close upon '91, and there were seen ruins upon ruins, transformations upon transformations, until at length Napoleon appeared, dispersed this chaos of nothing and of glory, separated truths from passions, the elements of success from the seeds of death, and restored to a form of synthesis, all those great principles which, incessantly struggling among themselves, compromised the success in which all were interested.

Napoleon, advancing upon the stage of the world, saw that it was his part to be the *testamentary executor* of the revolution. The destructive fire of parties was extinct; and when the revolution, dying, but not vanquished, bequeathed to Napoleon the accomplishment of its last wishes, it should have said to him:—"Concentrate upon solid foundations the principal results of my exertions; reunite

the divided people of France; repulse feudal Europe, leagued against me; heal my wounds, enlighten the nations; extend in breadth that which I have done in depth. Be for Europe what I have been to France; and even though you water with your blood the tree of civilization; though you see your projects misinterpreted, and your family wandering about the world without a native land to own them, never abandon the sacred cause of the French people, but lead it to triumph by all the means that genius gives birth to, which humanity approves."

This great mission Napoleon accomplished to the end. His task was difficult. It was necessary to place a society, still boiling with rage and rancour, upon new principles, and to use for consolidation the same instruments which hitherto had only served to destroy. The fate common to every new truth which arises, is to terrify instead of alluring, to wound instead of convincing. The reason of this is, that it bursts forth with all the more force the longer it has been compressed; that having obstacles to surmount, it must struggle and destroy, until, understood and adopted by the generality, it becomes the base of a new social order. Liberty will follow the same march with the Christian religion. The weapon of death for the old Roman society, christianity for a long period excited the fear and the hatred of nations; then, by dint of martyrs and of persecutions, the religion of Christ penetrated into men's spirits and consciences. Soon it had at its command armies and kings; Constantine and Charlemagne conducted it in triumphal procession through Europe. Then religion laid aside its weapons of war; it developed in the eyes of mankind the principles of order and peace, which it contained within it, and became the organizing element of societies, the very right hand of power. So it will be with liberty. Liberty has already gone through the same phases. In

1793, it intimidated the people alike with their sovereigns. Then, having assumed gentler forms, it made its way everywhere under cover of our battalions. In 1815, all parties adopted its standard, supported themselves by its moral force, and covered themselves with its colours. The adoption, however, was not sincere, and liberty was compelled to resume its war harness. With the struggle reappeared fears Let us hope that ere long these will cease, and that liberty will once more assume its holiday attire, never again to lay it aside.

The Emperor Napoleon contributed more than any other man to accelerate the reign of liberty, by preserving the moral influence of the revolution, and by diminishing the fears which it inspired.*

But for the Consulate and the Empire the revolution would have been merely a grand drama, leaving behind it great memories, but few traces. The revolution would have been drowned in the counter revolution; whereas the precise contrary has taken place, because Napoleon rooted in France, and spread throughout Europe the principal advantages of the grand crisis of '89, and because, to employ one of his own expressions, *he sobered the revolution, consolidated the dynasties of kings, and ennobled the people.*

He sobered the revolution by separating the truths to which it gave triumph from the passions, which in their frenzy had obscured those truths. He consolidated the dynasties of kings, by rendering power an object of honour and respect; he ennobled the people by giving them the consciousness of their force, and those institutions which elevate man in his own eyes. The Emperor may be considered the Messiah of the new ideas; for it must be borne

* It was the fears with which the French Revolution inspired the crowned heads, that stayed with them the progress which had been introducecd before 1789, by Joseph II. in Austria, and by Leopold in Italy.

in mind that, in the times that immediately follow a social convulsion, the essential business is not to put in application principles in all the subtlety of their theory, but to take possession of the regenerative genius, to identify oneself with the sentiments of the people, and boldly direct them towards the object they desire to obtain. In order to be capable of accomplishing such a task, it is necessary, to use an expression of the Emperor, that *your heart should respond to that of the people;* that you should feel as they feel, and that your interests should be so intimately mixed together, that you can only conquer or fall together.

It was this union of sentiments, instincts, and wills, which constituted the whole force of the Emperor. It were a grave fallacy to suppose that a great man is omnipotent, and that he derives his strength solely from himself. The capacity to foresee, to act upon that foresight, and to lead, such are the first qualities of a superior genius. "I am not inclined," said Napoleon, "to fall into the error of the modern-system men; to estimate myself as representing in my own person and ideas the wisdom of nations. The genius of the workman consists in knowing how to make use of the materials at his disposal."

One of the first necessities with a government is thoroughly to know the state of the country it governs, and where the elements of force exist by which it is to support itself. The old monarchy had for its main-stay the nobility and the clergy, because at that time it was in those two classes that were to be found the two principal elements of strength, territorial wealth and moral influence. The revolution had destroyed that feudal edifice: had redistributed interests, had created new sources of power and wealth, and generated new ideas.

To have endeavoured to bring back the old rule, or to rest upon force which had no longer any root, would have

been mere madness. The Emperor, while restoring the old forms, based his authority altogether upon a young and vigorous sap, the new interests. He re-established religion, but it was without rendering the clergy a means of government. Therefore it was that the passage of the republic to monarchy and the re-establishment of public worship instead of awakening fear, gave additional confidence to men's minds; since, so far from injuring any interest, it fulfilled political and moral requirements, and responded to the wish of the majority. In fact, if these changes had not already existed in the sentiments and ideas of the majority, Napoleon would not have accomplished them; for he possessed accurate powers of divination, and it was his aim to augment and not to weaken his moral power. Never, accordingly, were such great changes effected with so little effort. Napoleon had but to say: "Let the churches be opened," and the faithful rushed to the churches in crowds. He said to the nation: "Do you desire an hereditary monarchy?" and the nation replied in the affirmative, by four millions of votes.* The fact is, that it is difficult to divest oneself entirely of the past; a generation has, like an individual, antecedents which exercise a strong influence over it. Our sentiments are, for the most part, nothing but traditions. A slave to the reminiscences of his childhood, man, without suspecting it, obeys, throughout life, the impressions he has

* Some persons have advanced doubts as to the legality of such an election; but herein they assail also all the Constitutions of the Republic, for these Constitutions did not obtain by any means so emphatic a sanction:—

	Voters.	Assentient.	Dissentient.
Constitution of 1791—(not submitted to the acceptance of the people.)			
„ „ 1793 . . .	—	1,801,018	11,600
„ „ the year III.	—	1,057,390	49,977
„ „ the year VIII. (Consulate)	3,012,569	3,011,007	1,562
Consulate for Life	3,577,259	3,568,888	8,374
Hereditary Empire (1804) . .	3,524,254	3,521,675	2,579

received in his earlier years, the trials and influences to which he has been subject. The life of a people undergoes the same general laws. One single day does not convert a republic of five hundred years standing into an hereditary monarchy: nor a monarchy of 1400 years standing into an elective republic.

Look at Rome: during 500 years her republican forms placed her at the head of the world; during 500 years the elective system produced great men; and the dignity of consul, senator, tribune, was high above the thrones of kings,—kings whom the Romans only knew from seeing them bound to the triumphal car of the conqueror. Thus, though Rome was no longer capable of supporting those secular institutions which had constituted her greatness and her strength, she still preserved, for 600 years more, under the Emperors, the venerated forms of the Republic. So the French Republic, which succeeded to a monarchy of 1400 years duration, whose result had been to make France great and glorious by the sole principle of monarchical centralization, despite the vices and the errors of her kings; so this republic, not only in brief space invested itself with the ancient forms of the state, but from the outset preserved the distinctive character of the monarchy, by proclaiming and enforcing with all the means at its disposal, that centralization of power which had been the vital element of the French nationality.

Let us add to these considerations, that Napoleon and Cæsar, who found themselves in analogous circumstances, had to operate, with the same views, in differing directions. Both desired to build with the ancient forms upon new principles.* Cæsar, then, necessarily desired to preserve

* The Emperor, in his *Precis des guerres de César*, has clearly proved that this great man never desired, never could have desired, to make himself king. "A conqueror," says Napoleon, "Cæsar only

the republican forms; Napoleon re-established those of the monarchy.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, men's ideas all tended to make hereditary the rule of the Emperor, alike from the traditional force of old institutions, from the prestige which surrounds the man who is invested with authority, and from the desire for an order of things which should give firmer guarantees of stability. But the difficulty of permanently establishing the Republic may perhaps be explained by another consideration. France had been democratic since 1689; now, in a great European state, it is difficult to conceive the existence of a republic without an aristocracy.*

There are, in every country, two classes of interests, altogether distinct from each other, and frequently antagonistic; general interests and special interests; or, in other words, permanent interests and transient interests; the former do not change with generations; their spirit is transmitted from age to age by tradition rather than by system. These interests can only be represented by an aristocracy, or, in default of an aristocracy, by an hereditary family. Transient and special interests, on the contrary, are continually changing with circumstances, and can only be thoroughly appreciated by the delegates of the people, who,

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governed as Consul, Dictator, or Tribune; he confirmed then, instead of contemning, the ancient forms of the Republic. Augustus himself, long after, and when the republican generations had wholly been destroyed by proscriptions and by the war of the Triumvirs, had never the idea of setting up a throne. It would have been strange policy in Cæsar to substitute for the curule chair of the conquerors of the world, the rotten throne which these conquerors so utterly despised."

* I find in M. Thiers' *Histoire de la Revolution*, vol. viii. p. 12, an analogous idea. "Upon maturer reflection it might have been seen that an aristocratic body *more especially* befits republics." It may be added, that an aristocracy has no need of a chief, whereas the nature of democracy is to become personified in one man.

continually renewed, are the faithful expression of the wants and wishes of the masses. Now France, having no longer, and not being able to have, an aristocracy, that is to say, a privileged body, whose influence is great only because time has consecrated its authority, the Republic would have been destitute of that conservative power which, the faithful, though often oppressive guardian, of general and permanent interests, created during ages in Rome, in Venice, and in London, being indeed the grandeur of the respective countries, simply by persevering in a national system.

To obviate this want of fixity and continuity, the greatest defect of democratic republics, it became necessary to create an hereditary family, to be the conservator of these general interests, but the power of which should be wholly based on the democratic spirit of the nation.

Opinions may differ as to the weight of these considerations: Napoleon may be blamed for having surmounted with a crown his republican laurels; the French people may be censured for having sought and sanctioned this change: all these points are of course susceptible of controversy; but there is one point on which all those who recognise in the Emperor a great man, must concur, and that is, that, even though he might have been mistaken, his intentions were ever on the same exalted level with his genius. It is the climax of absurdity to attribute to great men all the weaknesses of mediocrity. Yet there are vulgar minds which, jealous of the superiority of merit, seem desirous of avenging themselves upon it by attributing to it their own paltry passions! Thus, instead of comprehending that a great man can only, by possibility, have been guided by great conceptions, by reasons of state of the loftiest range, they say, "Napoleon made himself Emperor for the gratification of personal ambition; he surrounded himself with the illus-

trious names of the old regime, to satisfy his vanity; he expended the treasure of France and her purest blood to aggrandize his own power, and to seat his brothers on thrones; finally, he married an Archduchess of Austria that he might place a real princess in his bed." "Have I then reigned over pigmies in intellect, that I have been so little understood!" cried the Emperor at St. Helena, in a moment of vexation. Let his soul be comforted! Long since the masses have rendered him justice; each day that passes, as it develops one of the social maladies which he cured, one of the evils he extirpated, amply explains his noble projects; and his great thoughts, glittering all the more brilliantly amid the increasing obscurity of the present times, are as a glowing beacon, showing to us amid the darkness and the storm, a beacon of future safety.

CHAPTER III.

QUESTIONS OF INTERNAL POLICY.

General tendency—Principles of fusion, Equality, Order, Justice—Administrative Organization—Judicial Order—Finance—Benevolent Establishments—Communes—Agriculture—Industry—Commerce—Public Education—The Army—Political Organization—Fundamental Principles—Charges of Despotism—Military Government—Replies to the above accusations.

THE various governments which had succeeded each other between 1789 and 1800, had, despite their excesses, obtained great results. The independence of France had been maintained, feudalism had been destroyed, salutary principles had been diffused. Still, nothing was as yet solidly established; there were too many contrary elements coexistent.

At the epoch when Napoleon attained supreme power,

the genius of the legislator consisted in estimating at a glance the relations which subsisted between the past and the present, between the present and the future.

It was necessary to solve the following questions:

What are the ideas which have passed away, never to return?

What are those which are hereafter to triumph?

Lastly, what are the ideas which can be applied at once, so as to accelerate the advent of those that are hereafter to triumph?

The Emperor discerned this distinction at a glance, and while accurately estimating and providing for future possibilities, limited himself to the realization of what was at present possible.

The great difficulty with revolutions is to avoid confusion in popular ideas. The duty of every government is to combat false ideas, and to guide true ideas by placing itself boldly at their head; for if, instead of leading, a government suffers itself to be led, it at once insures its own destruction, and compromises, instead of protecting, society.

It was because the Emperor was the representative of the true ideas of his age, that he acquired, with such facility, so enormous an ascendancy. As to injurious ideas, he never attacked them in front, but he approached them sidelong, parleyed with them, treated with them, and at length subjected them by moral influence; for he knew well that violence is of no avail against ideas.

Having constantly an aim before him, he employed, according to circumstances, the means he deemed most prompt for attaining that aim. What was his aim? Liberty. Yes, liberty! and the more one studies the history of Napoleon, the more evident is this truth. For liberty is as a river; in order that it may bring fertility and not

devastation, its bed must be hollowed out wide and deep. If in its regular and majestic course it remains within its natural limits, the countries it traverses bless its passage—but if it rushes on like a torrent which has burst its bounds, it is regarded as the most terrible of scourges; it awakens the hatred of all, and one then sees men in their prejudice recoil from liberty because it destroys; as if one should banish fire because it burns, or water because it inundates.

Liberty, it may be said, was not secured by the imperial laws! Its name was not, it is true, at the head of every law, nor posted at every cross road; but each law of the empire prepared for its sure and peaceable reign.

When in a country there are parties fiercely embittered against and violently hating each other, these parties must disappear, this hatred be dissipated, before liberty is possible.

When, in a country so democratised as was France, the principle of equality is not generally applied, it must be introduced into all its laws before liberty can be possible.

When there is no longer public spirit, or religion, or political faith, it is necessary to re-create, at least, one of these three elements, before liberty is possible.

When successive changes of the constitution have shaken the respect due to the laws, the influence of law must be revived, before liberty is possible.

When the ancient habits have been destroyed by a social revolution, it is necessary to create new habits in accordance with the new principles, before liberty is possible.

When the government, whatever its form may be, has no longer either force or prestige,—when order no longer exists either in the administration or in the State, that prestige must be re-created, and order re-established, before liberty is possible.

When, in a nation, there is no aristocracy, and there is nothing organized but the army, it is necessary to reconstitute a civil order based upon a precise and regular organization, before liberty is possible.

Finally, when a country is at war with its neighbours, and contains within itself partisans of the foreigner, its enemies must be conquered, and sure allies obtained, before liberty is possible.

Nations are to be pitied who would pretend to gather in the harvest before they have tilled the land and sown the seed, and given the plant time to spring forth, to flower, and to ripen. It is a fatal error to believe that a mere declaration of principles suffices to constitute a new order of things.

After a revolution, the essential thing is not to frame a constitution, but to adopt a system which, based upon popular principles, possesses all the force necessary to found and establish, and which, in surmounting the difficulties of the moment, has in itself that flexibility which permits it to bend to circumstances. Besides, after a struggle, can a constitution be guaranteed from re-actionary passions? Dangerous, indeed, is it to regard transitory exigences as general principles.* "A constitution," said Napoleon, "is the work of time; we cannot leave too broad a road open for ameliorations."

* One might cite a thousand examples in support of this assertion; we will confine ourselves to recalling the fact, that in '92, to prevent authority from indirectly re-establishing inequality in the distribution of property, the liberty of making wills was taken away from the citizens: Napoleon reformed this reactionary law. Under the Restoration, the Swiss troops, who were better paid than the French, were detested in France. After the Revolution of 1830, it was not considered enough to send them away, but an article was introduced into the charter, interdicting the government from taking foreign troops into its pay. One year later, the misfortunes of Poland commenced; 6000 Poles took refuge in France; many desired to enrol them in the army, but the reactionary law lately passed prevented this.

We will now glance, from the preceding points of view, at the actions of the Emperor. To judge, is to compare. We will compare, then, his reign with the immediate epoch which preceded, and with the epoch which followed it. We will judge his projects by what he effected, being conqueror, and what he left, despite his defeat.

When Napoleon returned from Egypt, all France received him with rapture; men saw in him the saviour of the revolution, which had been at the point of perishing. Fatigued by so many successive efforts, tossed among so many different parties, France was lulled to sleep by the murmur of his victories, and seemed ready to lose the fruits of all that she had acquired. The government was without moral force, without principle, without virtue. Contractors and jobbers were at the head of society, and held the first rank there in the midst of corruption. The generals, such as Championnet, at Naples, and Brune, in Lombardy,* feeling themselves the strongest, began to disobey the government, and to imprison its representatives. Credit was annihilated; the treasury was empty; the funds were fallen to eleven francs; lavish expenditure pervaded the administration; the most odious brigandage infested France, and the west was in a state of permanent insurrection. Finally, the ancien regime was advancing with fearful strides, since the axe of the lictor was no longer seen beside the cap of liberty.

Liberty and equality were in all men's mouths, but each party desired them only for themselves. We will have equality, said some, but we will not grant the rights of citizens to the relatives of nobles and emigrants; we will leave a hundred and forty-five thousand Frenchmen still in exile.†

* Thiers' *Histoire de la Revolution*, vol. x. page 2.

† The number stated in the Report of the Minister of Police, year viii.

We wish for equality, said others, but we will not grant employment to the conventionalists; we desire liberty, but we will maintain the law which condemns to death those whose writings tend to recal the old governments; we will maintain the law of hostages, which destroys the security of two hundred thousand families; we will maintain the shackles which render nugatory the freedom of public worship, &c. &c.

Such a contradiction between the principles proclaimed, and their application, tended to introduce confusion into ideas and things. And so it must needs have been, so long as there was no national power which, by its stability and the consciousness of its strength, was exempt from passions, and able to give protection to all parties, without losing any part of its popular character. Men have had at all times the same passions,—the causes which produce great changes are different, but the effects are often the same. It has been nearly always found, in times of trouble, that the oppressed claim liberty for themselves, and, having once obtained it, refuse it to those who were their oppressors. There was in England, in the seventeenth century, a religious and republican sect, which, suffering persecution at the hands of an intolerant clergy and of the government, determined to abandon the land of their ancestors, and to cross the sea to enjoy, in an uninhabited world, that sweet and holy liberty which the old world refused them. Victims of intolerance, conscious of the evils it inflicts—ah! surely, in the nations they go to found, these independent men will be more just than their oppressors. But—inconsistency of the human heart! the first law of the Puritans, founding a new society in the state of Massachusetts, condemned to death those who swerved from their religious doctrines.

Let us admire the Napoleonian spirit,—never exclusive,

never intolerant. Superior to the petty passions of party, generous as the people whom he was called to rule, the Emperor always professed this maxim,—that in politics we must cure evils, never avenge them.

The abuse of the royal power, the tyranny of the nobility, had produced that immense reaction which was called the revolution of '89. This led to other opposite and fearful reactions. With Napoleon all reactionary passions ceased. Strong in the assent of the people, he rapidly proceeded to abolish all unjust laws; he healed all wounds, recompensed merit wherever it was found, adopted all glories, and made the French co-operate towards one single end—the prosperity of France.

Scarcely invested with power, the First Consul revoked the laws which excluded the relatives of emigrants and the ex-nobles from the exercise of political rights and public functions. The law of forced loans was superseded by an extraordinary subvention, in addition to the ordinary contributions of the public. Napoleon abolished requisitions in kind, and abolished the law of hostages. He recalled the writers condemned to transportation by the law of the 19 Fructidor, year V., such as Carnot, Portalis, Simeon. He recalled the conventionalists—Barrère, and Vadier. He opened the gates of France to more than a hundred thousand emigrants, amongst whom were members of the Constituant assembly. He reinstated in their employments several conventionalists whom it had been proposed to keep out of the public service. He pacified La Vendée, and organized the administration of the municipalities of Lyon, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. He exclaimed one day in the Council of State,—"To govern by a party is to put oneself, sooner or later, in its power. I will not be so involved,—I am national. I avail myself of all those who have the capacity and the will to go onward with me. It

is for this reason I have composed my Council of State of constituants who were called moderates or feuillants,—as Defermon, Rœderer, Regnier, Regnault; of royalists,—as Devaines and Dufresnes; of jacobins,—as Brune, Real, and Berlier. I love honest men of all parties." Prompt to recompense recent services as to illustrate great memories, Napoleon placed in the Hôtel des Invalides, by the side of the statues of Hoche, Joubert, Marceau, Dugommier, and Dampierre, that of Condé, placed too the ashes of Turenne, and the heart of Vauban. He revived in Orleans the memory of Jeanne d' Arc, at Beauvais that of Jeanne Hachette. In 1800 he made the surrender of a great citizen, La Fayette, the ultimatum of a treaty. Later, he took for aides-de-camp officers (Drouet, Lobau, Bernard) who had been opposed to the Consulate for life; he treated with the same good feeling the senators who had voted against the establishment of the Empire. Always faithful to the principles of conciliation, the Emperor, in the course of his reign, gave a pension to the sister of Robespierre, as well as to the mother of the Duke of Orleans.* He solaced the misfortunes of the widow of Bailly, president of the Constituant Assembly, and supported in her old age the last descendent of Du Guesclin.

To unite the whole national strength against foreigners—to reorganize the country on principles of equality, order, and justice—such was the task of Napoleon. He found in his way many antagonistic principles, and, according to his own expression, he united them by amalgamating instead of extirpating them.

Divisions existed not only in political parties, but also in the other bodies of the nation. The church was divided between the old and the new bishops, between high and low

* The Emperor granted to the mother of Louis Philippe a pension of 400,000 francs, and another of 200,000 francs to the Duchess of Bourbon.

church, between priests, who were sworn partisans of the revolution, and nonconformist priests. These last were the cherished children of the Pope. Profiting by the influence given to them by the protection of the head of their church, they misled the minds of the people in the writings which, printed abroad, they dispersed through the rural districts. The Emperor, by his Concordat, deprived this wandering flock of its chief, and brought back the clergy to ideas of concord and submission.* The republic of letters was divided between the New Institute and the old Academy. He fused the Academicians with the Institute, and the savans lived on terms of peace, uniting their knowledge to enlighten the nation and accelerate the progress of science. There existed old names, of which some were connected with glorious memories; there existed titles whose influence was not wholly extinct. Napoleon allied old France with the new, by mixing up hereditary titles with the new titles acquired by services. The Jews formed a nation within the nation: some of their dogmas were opposed to the civil laws of France. The Emperor convoked the grand Sanhedrim which, in concurrence with the imperial commissioners, reformed, in the law of Moses, those political rules which were susceptible of modification. The Jews became citizens, and the barriers which separated them from the rest of the nation disappeared by degrees.

Let us not, above all, omit to point out that, whatever Napoleon undertook, to effect a general fusion, he did without renouncing the principles of the revolution. He had recalled the emigrants without impugning the irrevoca-

* By Art. 3 of the Concordat, the Pope undertook to procure the resignation of the emigrant bishops, whose pastoral letters and communications continued to spread agitation through their former dioceses. Art. 13 sanctioned the alienation of ecclesiastical property, and declared its possession to be immutably in the hands of its purchasers and their representatives.

bility of the sales of national property. He had re-established the Catholic religion, while proclaiming liberty of conscience, and giving equal remuneration to the ministers of every faith. He had himself crowned by the sovereign pontiff, without subscribing to any of the concessions which the Pope demanded in favour of the Gallican church. He married the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, without abandoning any of the rights of France over the conquests he had made. He restored noble titles, but without attaching to them privileges or prerogatives; these titles could be attained by persons of all ranks, of all services, and of all professions. Under the Empire, all idea of caste was destroyed. No one thought of boasting of his pedigree: a man was asked, what he had done, and not from whom he was descended.

The first quality of a people who aspire to a free government, is respect to the law. Now, the only force of a law is the interest of every citizen to respect it. To root respect to the law in the minds of the people, it was necessary that it should be executed for the interest of all, and that it should recognise the principle of equality in all its extent; it was necessary that the prestige of power should be revived, and that the principles of the revolution should be engrafted into the manners of the people; for manners are the sanctuary of institutions. At the birth of a new society, it is the legislator who forms manners or corrects them, whilst, later, it is manners which make the laws or preserve them intact from age to age. When institutions are in accordance not only with the interests, but also with the sentiments and habits of every one, there is formed that public spirit, that general spirit which constitutes the strength of a country, because it serves as a rampart against all encroachments of power, against all attacks of parties. "There is in every nation," says

Montesquieu, "a general spirit upon which power itself is founded. When power clashes against this spirit it clashes against itself, and is necessarily stopped."

This general spirit, so difficult to create after a revolution, was formed, under the empire, by the establishment of those codes which fixed the rights of every one, by the strict morality introduced into the administration, by the promptitude with which power suppressed all injustice—in a word, by the zeal which the Emperor incessantly manifested in satisfying the material and the moral wants of the nation. His government did not commit the fault, common to so many others, of separating the interests of the soul from those of the body; in relegating the first among the legion of chimæras, and admitting the second alone as realities. Napoleon, on the contrary, in giving an impetus to all the higher passions, in manifesting that merit and virtue lead to riches and honours, proved to the people that the noble sentiments of the human heart are only the standard well understood of national interest; in the same way, that Christian morality is sublime, because, like the civil law, it is the surest guide we can follow, the best adviser for our private interests.

To constitute the nation, it was not sufficient for the Emperor to repair the injustice of past governments, or to rely indiscriminately upon all classes: it was necessary also to organize. A system of government comprises *an administrative organization* and *a political organization.* In a democratical state, like France, the administrative organization is of more importance than every other; because it controls, up to a certain point, political organization. In an aristocratic country, political action being confined to one class, the delegates of power rule rather by their personal influence than by any administrative influence; the power of the government is distributed among

all the patrician families. England furnishes an example in support of this opinion. The lords lieutenant of the counties have not half the power which the prefects in France have, but they have double their moral force. Their influence is derived from their position in society, and not from their office; it is the *lord* who governs, far more than the *lieutenant* of the government. But in a government whose base is democratic, the head alone has the governmental power; the moral force emanates solely from him, and everything, in like manner, ascends directly to him, be it hatred, be it love. In such a society, the centralization must be more powerful than in any other; for the representatives of power have no other prestige than that which power lends them; and, in order that they may preserve this prestige, it is necessary that they should have the disposal of great authority, without ceasing to depend absolutely on the head of the government, in order that the most active control may be exercised over them.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION.

The administrative organization under the Empire had, like most of the institutions of that epoch, a temporary object to fulfil, and a distant aim to attain. Centralization was then the only means of constituting France, of establishing there a firm rule, a compact whole, capable at once of resisting Europe, and of ultimately supporting liberty. The excess of centralization under the Empire, must not be regarded as a definitive and settled system, but rather as a means to an end. In all institutions, it is the predominant idea and the general tendency which should be sought and comprehended.

A good administration is composed of a regular system of taxes, a prompt and equal mode of collecting them, a system of finance calculated to assure credit; an honoured

magistracy, to make the law respected, a system of administrative machinery to carry life from the centre to the extremities, and from the extremities to the centre. But that which above all distinguishes a good administration is, when it appeals to all merit, to all specialities, to enlighten its steps, and put in practice every improvement; it is when it represses with a strong arm all abuses, when it ameliorates the lot of the poor, when it awakens every industry, and when it holds an equal balance between rich and poor, between those who labour and those who give out labour, between the depositaries of power, and those for whom power is administered.

The convention had divided the French territory into departments; the Emperor facilitated the exercise of power by the creation of prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, and adjuncts. France was divided besides into 398 communal arrondissements; each department had a *conseil-general* and a *conseil de prefecture*; the former superintended the distribution of public charges, and controlled the special agent of power. The second determined the claims of private persons upon the administration.

The Emperor congratulated himself at Saint Helena on having appointed a chancellor of the exchequer and a secretary of state. The former concentrated all the resources, and controlled all the expenditure of the Empire. From the secretary of state emanated all public measures: he was the minister of the ministers, giving life to all intermediate acts; the grand notary of the Empire, signing and legalising all documents. The Emperor introduced order and economy into all the branches of the service, and into the administration of charitable institutions. He re-established the general superintendence of Woods and Forests, of registrations and customs, which were before regulated by special administrations. The management of the

Forests was rendered simpler and more economical, and that of registration less onerous, by a better distribution of the dues to be collected.

As to the military administration, we see in the *Memorial of St. Helena*, that Napoleon thought it too diffuse:—"They centralized at Paris," says he, "the entire management of the purchase and commissariat, and subdivided the correspondence of the administration into as many persons as there were regiments; whereas, on the contrary, they should have centralized the correspondence and subdivided the resources by transferring them to the different localities themselves."

The *judicial administration* consisted, under the Directory, of 417 criminal tribunals, and 98 civil tribunals. In 1800 there was re-established in each commercial arrondissement a lower civil court, having cognizance also of police cases; which rendered justice more accessible to all the citizens. Above these inferior tribunals were 29 tribunals of appeal. Each department had a criminal court. At Paris sat the Court of Cassation. In 1810, the courts of appeal and the criminal courts were united, and received the title of Imperial Courts; they adjudicated in both civil and criminal matters. The courts of criminal justice were suppressed. The courts of assize and the special courts were an emanation from the imperial courts.

This arrangement had two advantages; the first, that of giving a security to the accused, by subjecting him to a jurisdiction less rigorous, inasmuch as it would no longer be in the habit of only seeking crimes, in the matters which were submitted to it. In the second place, the criminal magistracy being, on the contrary, from the very nature of its attributes, unpopular, the fusion of these two judiciary bodies resulted in giving the criminal magistracy a participation in the respect which environed the civil magistracy.

As a proof of the excellence of the judiciary institutions under the Empire, it will be useful to point out that crime thereafter regularly decreased, and that the number of prisoners of state, who were 9000 on the 18th of Brumaire, were reduced to 150 in 1814.

The *finances* of a great state ought, according to the Emperor, to present the means of meeting extraordinary circumstances, and even the vicissitudes of the most invete-rate wars, without the necessity of having recourse to new taxes, the establishment of which is always difficult. His system consisted in having a great number of imposts, which weighed lightly on the people in ordinary times, and the rate of which rose or fell according to the wants of the period by means of additional centimes.

We know to what abuses the collection of taxes, before the 18th of Brumaire, was subject; the consequence of which was that the treasury, on that occasion, did not con-tain 150,000 francs. Dividends and state pensions were paid only in paper money, which was at considerable discount. The amounts paid into the treasury were of more than forty kinds. It was impossible to frame a budget.

At the commencement of the consulate, Pitt, our terrible opponent, saw in the want of money and of credit the near downfal of France. He knew not all the resources which a strong and able government could discover. One year, in fact, sufficed to Napoleon, after the 18th Brumaire, to regulate the collection of taxes in such a manner that, while abolishing violent means, he had met expenses, had lessened taxation, had re-established a real currency, and possessed in the treasury money to the extent of 300 mil-lions.

"Finances founded on sound agriculture never fail," said the First Consul.* Facts have justified his remark.

By the order and regularity which he introduced into the administration and into the budgets he revived credit. He favoured the creation of the Bank of France; but while rendering it independent of the government, he reserved to himself a certain controlling action over it. He asked, not that it should lend him money, but that it should offer facilities for realizing, at a cheap rate, the revenues of the state, at fitting times and places. He showed himself ever disposed to aid it in difficult times. "Despite the bad feeling and distrust with which some of the directors are animated," said he, in 1805, "I will stop, if need be, the pay of my soldiers to support the bank." He had intended to found branches of this establishment in all the great towns of France.

He created a minister of the treasury, independent of the minister of finance. He did not choose that there should be any connexion between the bank and the treasury, because he considered that a mere movement of the funds might carry with it the secret of the state. One of the most important innovations that took place in the treasury, was the introduction of double entry into accounts. France ought to congratulate herself that the system of loans, which is now weighing down England, was not put in force under the empire. Napoleon had laid down the opposite principle, in fixing, by special law, the amount of the national debt at eighty millions of interest.

We may reckon among the improvements which we owe to the Empire, the law that obliged receivers-general, the notaries, and the stock-brokers, to furnish securities. For a new government it was essential that the course of debt should be maintained in a progressive state; and the natural consequence of this necessity was an authority vested in the police to watch the proceedings of the men who, merely speculating on the turns of the market, may

have an interest in giving it a retrograde movement. The enlightened investigations of the Emperor extended to the rectifying the rate of life-annuities, which he found inconsistent with the accurate law of probabilities.

He founded the sinking fund. He thus expressed himself on this occasion :—"They say that a sinking fund ought only to be a contrivance for borrowing ; that may be true : but *the time is not yet come for France to found her finances on loans.*"

He instituted an establishment whose powers principally were to operate with promptitude in the departments the local application of the receipts to the expenses. It opened running accounts with the receivers-general.

He had intended to form a savings' bank, the increasing funds of which would have been consecrated to works of public improvement. There would have been an imperial savings' bank for general works, a departmental bank for local works, a communal bank for municipal works.

In 1806, turnpike tolls and highway rates were suppressed, and a law authorised the institution of municipal *octrois* in towns where the civil hospitals had not sufficient revenues.

The Council of Liquidation, established in 1802, ceased its operations on the 30th June, 1810. It had thus and then liquidated all the debts of the state ; that long wound of the revolution, as M. Thibaudeau calls it, was at length closed.

The Emperor estimated that France required a budget of 800,000,000 in time of war, and of 600,000,000 in time of peace. The budget under the Empire never exceeded the above amount, except after the reverse of Moscow ; and it

* Thibaudeau, vol. viii. page 28.

was then, despite the war, 400,000,000 lower than that with which twenty-four years of peace have burdened France.*

The Emperor did not spend upon himself one-half of his civil-list, and employed the surplus either in forming a reserve-fund, or in executing public works, or in fostering manufactures. In 1814, his entire reserve was consecrated to the support of the national war.

A good system of accounts is the indispensable complement to a good system of finance. The constitution of the year VIII. had preserved a commission of accounts for the purposes of audit; but this was not equal to the immense labours accumulated upon it. From 1792 to 1807, of 11,477 accounts, it had only audited 8,793.† The Emperor, anxious to regulate everything, established the Court of Accompts, which put that important portion of the public service in effective motion.

The Emperor has been charged with having, in the imposition of taxes, favoured landed property too much. He considered that during peace, it was necessary to spare the resource of direct taxes, because, in time of war, it is they alone which support all charges; and that it was advisable to profit by the activity which peace impresses on the community to require from it the indirect contributions which it cannot furnish in time of war. Besides, a political aim might have dictated this temporary preference; for it must be remarked that the political changes that had happened since 1789 had created about ten millions of landed proprietors; that these proprietors, whose whole interests were connected with the revolution, were the class which the government desired especially to spare, for it was this mass of new land owners which were called upon to form the public spirit. The Emperor said one day to the

* See the budgets of the Empire in Appendix.

† Thibaudeau, vol. viii. page 130.

Council of State:—"The system of imposts is bad; it has this result, that there is neither property nor civil liberty; for civil liberty depends on the security of property. This does not exist in a country where, every year, the vote of the rate-payer may be changed. He who has a revenue of 3000 francs, knows not how much of that amount will remain to him next year for him to subsist on. His whole revenue may be swamped in contributions. We see people, for a miserable interest of 50 or 100 francs, plead solemnly before a grave tribunal, while a mere clerk can, with a stroke of his pen, surcharge you several thousands of francs? There is no longer, then, any property; when I buy a domain, I know not what I am about. In Lombardy, in Piedmont, there is a register of lands; each man knows what he has to pay. The register is invariable; they make no alterations in it except in extraordinary cases, and after a solemn judgment. If they increase the contribution, each man pays his part of it, at so many shillings in the pound, and he can make the calculation in his closet. There men know what they have; there, then, is property. Why is there no public spirit in France? Because a proprietor is obliged to pay court to the ministry. If he is out of favour with them he may be ruined. The judgment on claims is arbitrary. This is how it is, that among no other nation are the people so servilely attached to the government as in France, because the property there is in a state of dependence. In Lombardy, on the contrary, a proprietor lives on his land, without troubling his head who are the government. In France, they have never done anything for property. He who shall pass a good law for the register of lands will deserve a statue." In 1810, the special register was effected in 3200 communes; and about 600,000 proprietors enjoyed proportional

Mining property had never been perfectly regulated. In 1810, it was regulated by law, and the Emperor created a corps of mining engineers.

The improvement of the condition of the poor classes was one of the first considerations of the Emperor. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, dated 2nd November, 1807, he says, that he has attached to the idea of the abolition of mendicity a great glory. He had workhouses established; forty-two already existed in 1809. In order to ascertain the effectual means of relieving the misery of the people, he sought information from all the public writers. He instituted the Maternal Society, which was to have an administrative council in all the large towns of the Empire. The institution of Sisters of Charity was re-established with all its old advantages, but without the abuses which had diverted their destination. Six houses destined to receive the orphan daughters of the Legionaries of Honour, to the number of 600, were created in 1810. The Hôtel des Invalides was reorganized in 1803, and several branches were added to it in different places. Napoleon created camps for the veterans, where each of those who were admitted had a rural dwelling, a portion of land with a net revenue, equal to their retiring pension.

In 1807, there was returned to the hospitals the property which a decree of the Convention had confiscated.

Persons condemned by the criminal tribunals, and the correctional police, remained mixed up in the prisons with persons merely accused. The government adopted the system of central prisons for persons condemned to, at least, a year's imprisonment. The Emperor desired that every thing connected with worship should be gratuitous, and that, for the people, the burial of the poor should be gratuitous

tax on the dead; we ought not to deprive the poor, because they are poor, of that which consoles them for their poverty." He ordered that the churches should be opened free to the public; that if the church was hung in black for a rich man, the black should not be taken down until after the service of a poor man. He had intended to have the prices of the pit seats in the Theatre-Français reduced, on Sundays, to one franc, in order that the people might enjoy the *chefs d'œuvre* of our literature. In the speech he delivered in 1807, before the legislative body, he said, that in all parts of his Empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizens and the value of land would be very soon enhanced by the effect of the general system of improvement which he had conceived.

War prevented him from realizing completely so vast a project, and delayed the execution of infinite other philanthropic improvements, among which we will mention his desire to put a stop to the inconveniences existing at the station-house of the prefecture of police, at Paris, where you see respectable persons obliged to pass the night in the company of robbers and criminals.

Communes.—The administration of France was a machine in course of organization. It was necessary, as we have before stated, to centralize everything, in order to improve, vivify, and found, subject to the reconveyance to the circumference of the portion of power which the centre had for the moment absorbed.

The Emperor felt all the importance of a good criminal administration: he said, that it was essential to guard against destroying the municipal spirit. He often supported the mayors against the prefects, and desired that the latter should be present at the installation of the mayors. According to his opinion, the octrois ought to be admi-

and the prefects ought to limit themselves to mere general superintendence.

To encourage, in the rural communes, exchanges calculated to prevent the extension of out-lying lands, the government exempted from registration-fees the first commune, the inhabitants of which should effect this operation by general agreement.

The communal spirit is an essentially conservative spirit: all that it has acquired, whether an abuse or an advantage, it holds with equal tenacity. To regenerate the commune, it was necessary to deprive it, for the moment, of a portion of its rights, until its education was complete; then only could it receive back, without fear for the general good, a still greater independence than before. The prosperity of the communes was the object of the Emperor's entire solicitude. The plan which he had conceived for the amelioration of their state is developed in a letter written by him to the Minister of the Interior, and which we reproduce at the end of this work. "To labour," said he, "for the prosperity of 36,000 communities, is to labour for the happiness of 30 millions of inhabitants, by simplifying the question, by diminishing all the difficulty that is created by the difference in the proportions of 36,000 and 30,000,000."

To this end, the Emperor classed the communes into three categories: insolvent communes, solvent communes, and capitalist communes. According to the means which he explained to the Minister of the Interior, five years would have sufficed to supersede the insolvent municipalities; there would then have only been two classes of communes; communes with disposable resources, and solvent communes; and at the end of ten years France would only have contained communes with disposable resources.

"The alienation of communal property, with a view

to the progress of agriculture, is," the Emperor said, "the greatest question of political economy that can be agitated." It was interrupted by the imperious necessities of war. In 1813 they sold the lands, houses, and workshops belonging to the communes, leaving to them the woods, pastures, turf-pits, and other property which the inhabitants enjoyed in common, or from which they derived no rent; and also the houses attached to the public service, and the places which augmented the combined salubrity and picturesque effect of localities. The property for sale was assigned to the sinking fund; the communes received in stock at five per cent. a rent proportionate to the net revenue of their ceded property.

We clearly see, from what has been stated, that the intentions of the Emperor all tended towards the amelioration of the material well-being of the country. We see, too, that when the disasters of war force him to recur to expedients, the resources to which he applies are not disastrous to the country, and that they hardly bear any resemblance to the means employed by other governments under similar circumstances. There was no paper money, no forced loan, no overwhelming debt, no depreciation in the value of one and the same money, as was seen under Frederic the Great.

The Emperor had made another great distinction between the resources of a state. "Formerly," said he, "they only knew one kind of property, land; there has arisen a new kind, that of industry, at this very moment in antagonism with the former: it is the great struggle of the field against the counter, of the battlement against the factory; then there is a third, that deriving enormous sums collected from the people, and which, distributed by the neutral and impartial hands of government, may

serve these in the capacity of a mediator, and prevent them from coming to blows." He made the following classification :

Agriculture—the soul, the basis of the Empire.

Industry—the comfort, the happiness of the population.

External commerce—the superabundance, the useful employment of the two others.

Exterior commerce, infinitely below the two others in its results, was also ever subordinate to them in the ideas of Napoleon. "This is made for the two others," said he; "the two others are not made for it. The interests of these three essential bases are divergent, often opposite; I have always served them in their natural order."

Agriculture did not cease to make great progress under the Empire.* "It is by comparisons and example," said Napoleon, "that agriculture, like all other arts, is brought to perfection." He ordered the prefects to report to him the proprietary cultivators who should distinguish themselves, either by more scientific cultivation, or by improvement and breeding of cattle. In the departments where cultivation was backward, they induced the proprietors to send their children to study the method practised in the departments where agriculture was flourishing. Public prizes and distinctions were decreed to those who made the greatest progress.

The rural code, projected in 1802, was submitted in 1809 to consultative commissions, formed in each court of appeal district, and composed of judges, ministers, and the more distinguished agriculturists. Circumstances prevented its being completed under the Empire.

In 1807, the government created in the veterinary school at Alfort a chair of rural economy.

* See at the end of this work the Report of the Situation of the

Industry was not merely encouraged under the Empire: one may say that it was in some sort created; it reached in a brief space an extraordinary height of prosperity.

The Emperor, when he said that industry was a new property, expressed in a single word its importance and nature. The spirit of property is of itself encroaching and exclusive. The property of the soil had had its vassals and its serfs. The revolution enfranchised land; but the new property of industry aggrandizing itself daily, tended to pass through the same phases as the former, and to have, in connexion with it, its vassals and its serfs.

Napoleon foresaw this tendency inherent in every system, the progress of which is conquest; and while he protected the masters of industrial establishments, he forgot not the rights of the workmen. He established at Lyon, and, later, in other manufacturing towns, a council of *prud'hommes* true *juges de paix* of industry, who were empowered to settle the differences that might arise between those who work and those who employ workers. Regulations were published with respect to manufactures, to private marks, to disputes, to the respective obligations of the workmen and the manufacturers. Consultative Chambers of manufactures, fabrics, arts, and trades, were instituted. There was installed, in the office of the Minister of the Interior, a General Council of fabrics and manufactures. The Emperor often, out of his civil list, lent sums to manufacturers, who, on account of debts, were on the point of suspending their works. His intention was to come to the succour of industry, by the establishment of a special bank. He wrote, after the Battle of Eylau, to the Minister of the Interior: "It is not my aim to prevent any particular merchant from becoming bankrupt; the finances of the state would not be adequate to that; but to prevent such and such a manufacture from being stopped. My purpose is to

supply the deficiency of sale, by lending. I desire to found a stable and permanent establishment, and to endow it with forty or fifty millions, in such a way that the non-collection of debts may be less hard upon the manufacturer."

The Emperor elevated industry, by making the sciences concur in its advancement. "If they had given me time," said he, "there would have been, ere long, no trades in France; all would have become arts." In fact, chemistry and mechanics were, under his reign, employed to perfectionate all the branches of industry. How many machines were made, how many inventions saw the light, during the imperial rule!

If the spirit of association has not made more progress in France, it is not from want of encouragement on the part of the head of the state; for, amidst the engrossing occupation of war, he ordered the Minister of the Interior to endeavour to sell to companies the canals which were finished, and enjoined him, in 1807, to have the bridge of Jena built of iron by a company.

The Emperor always opposed the re-establishment of wardenships and trade privileges. He established schools of arts and trades at Châlons, and great prizes were instituted to encourage all inventions. One million of francs were promised to the inventor of the best machine for spinning flax; a first prize of 40,000 francs, and a second of 20,000, to the author of the best machines for opening, carding, combing, and spinning wool.

He created cotton manufactories, which combined spinning, weaving, and printing. Before the Empire, the art of spinning cotton was not practised in France; the fabric came to us from abroad. Cotton was cultivated with advantage in the south of France, in Corsica, and in Italy. In 1810 they estimated the produce at 100,000 kilogrammes. Merino sheep were distributed throughout the Empire.

Napoleon ordered that excavations should be made in search of granite; and it is to this order that we owe the quarries which are now being worked.*

The products of Europe took the place of exotic products; woad took the place of indigo; beet-root was substituted for the sugar-cane; and madder for cochineal; the manufacture of artificial kali succeeded to that of foreign kali; and now all these various products are, for the most part, a source of wealth to France. The fabrication of beet-root sugar amounts to 50,000,000 kilogrammes a year.

External *commerce*, beyond sea, could not, on account of the war, acquire much extension; but the internal commerce received immense development; for one may say that, at that time, the internal commerce was the European commerce, from Hamburgh to Rome.

A general Council of Commerce was constituted in the office of the Minister of the Interior, in the same way that one had been instituted for industry.

In all his treaties, the Emperor had care to the advancement of French commerce. In 1808, he opened a market in Spain for the national products, by causing the suppression of the prohibitory duties on the silk manufactories of Lyon, of Tours, and Turin. He secured a similar opening for the cloth manufactories of Carcassonne, for the linens of Bretagne, for the hardwares of France. He required that commerce should establish at St. Petersburgh French houses, which should receive the merchandise of France, and transmit Russian merchandise to France. And we have to thank a treaty made by the Emperor with Russia, that France receives, at the present time, from that country, the timber necessary for her navy.

The Commercial Code was finished and adopted in 1807.

* Bignon.

The *public works*, which the Emperor had executed on so large a scale, were not only one of the principal causes of internal prosperity, but they likewise promoted great social progress. In fact, these works, by multiplying means of communication, produced three grand es: first, that of bringing into operation all idlers, and thus, of relieving the poor classes; secondly, that of promoting agriculture, industry, and the creation of new roads and canals enhancing the value of land, and facilitating development of all productions; the third was to destroy the spirit of locality, and to remove the barriers which separate not only the provinces of a state, but different nations, by facilitating all the relations of men with each other, and bringing more closely together the links which ought to unite them. There will be found, at the end of the work, a summary of the principal works executed under the Empire. The system of Napoleon consisted in having constructed by the state a great number of edifices, and, as each was terminated, the selling it, and applying the produce of the sale to the execution of other works. It is important to remark that, notwithstanding constant war, the Emperor found means to expend, in twelve years, 1,005,000,000 of francs in public works; and the man who had so much treasure at his disposition, who distributed 700 millions in dotations, had never any private estates.

Public instruction would, under an enlightened rule, such as was that of the Empire, participate in the impulse given by the Chief of the State to all the branches of the administration. "It is only they," said the Emperor, "who seek to deceive the people, and to govern for their own profit, who can desire to retain them in ignorance; for the more the people are enlightened, the more persons there will be convinced of the necessity of laws and of the need to defend them, the more settled will society be, the happier,

the more prosperous. And should it ever happen that intelligence is injurious to the multitude, it will only be when the government, in hostility with the interests of the people, shall impel it into a forced position, or reduce the lowest class to die of want; for then it will develop more intellect to defend itself or become criminal."

The National Convention had already done much good, by overthrowing the Gothic scheme of But in times of agitation, it is difficult to found anything; and the educational establishments had remained incomplete. There were no primary schools, except in the towns; the central schools were deserted. Napoleon, in 1802, distributed education into three classes—first, municipal or primary schools, of which 23,000 were to be created; secondly, secondary schools or communal colleges; thirdly, lyceums and special schools, supported by the government. The Institute was the apex of the whole edifice. The greatest activity was employed in the creation of schools, the possession of which was disputed by towns and departments, which offered to defray all the expenses connected with them.

In the first instance, forty-five lyceums were established; the number designed was at least one for each arrondissement or tribunal of appeal. Three commissions of learned persons made the circuit of the country, for the purpose of supplying the lyceums with all the materials of instruction. There were 6400 pupils maintained by the state. The government had works compiled for the teaching of mathematics by La Place, Monge, and Lacroix; of natural history, by Dumenil; of mineralogy, by Brongniart; of chemistry, by Adet; of astronomy, by Biot; of physics, by Haüy.

The denomination of *Prytanee français*, under which, previously, several colleges had been comprehended, was

limited, in 1803, to the College of St.-Cyr, a free school appropriated to the sons of soldiers, who had died on the field of battle. The pupils of this school, after having undergone examination, passed into the special school of Fontainebleau, which was also created at that epoch.

Special schools of navigation were established at Toulon and at Brest.

Two practical schools of mining were created; one at Geislautern, department of la Saar; the other at Pesey, department of Mont Blanc.

In 1806, the Emperor felt the necessity of regulating education by a general system. It has been made a reproach against the system that it shackled liberty. But, as I have already said, the time of liberty was not yet come; and when a government finds itself at the head of a nation, that has just emancipated itself from all the ideas of the past, it is its duty, not only to direct the present generation, but to educate the rising generation in the principles which have caused that revolution to triumph. "There will be no permanent political state," said the Emperor, "if there is no body teaching upon fixed principles; its creation, on the contrary, will fortify civil order."

Though it imposed restrictions, the system of education was a fine and grand monument, and harmonized with the totality of the imperial organization, which addressed itself to all capacities, opened the path, marked it out with precision, and pushed aside all the impediments which prevented its being traversed. All you who would devote yourselves to the art of teaching, as well as you who would devote yourselves, whether to the art of medicine, or to the science of the jurisconsult, your career is open to you, provided that society has sufficient guarantees that you are capable of teaching morality and not vice, that you know how to distinguish the healing plants from the venomous juices,

or that, as pupils of the law, you have studied its spirit and can maintain it!

The first arrangements adopted by Napoleon had caused great progress in public instruction. Numerous schools had arisen, but they were isolated and independent each of the other. The policy of those who devoted themselves to tuition was by no means sure: they were not subject to a common regulation.

The Emperor conceived the project of connecting, by immediate ties, all these establishments, by uniting in one body all the professors, and by recognising the importance of their condition by placing them on an equality with those engaged in the most respected employments.

Public education throughout the Empire was exclusively confided to the university. It consisted of as many academies as there were courts of appeal. The schools belonging to an academy were placed in the following order: 1. The faculties for the profound sciences and for the conferring of degrees; 2. The lyceums; 3. The colleges and secondary communal schools; 4. Institutions, schools kept by special teachers; 5. Boarding schools, belonging to private masters, and devoted to minor studies than those of the institutions; 6. Infant schools, primary schools. The infant seminaries were under the superintendence of the university.

There were five orders of faculties, those of theology, of law, of medicine, of mathematics, and of physics. There was a faculty of theology for the metropolitan church, as well as one at Strasburgh and one at Geneva for the reformed religion. The schools of law formed twelve faculties; the five schools of medicine formed five faculties. A faculty of science and one of literature were established in each lyceum, the seat of an academy.

arts, licentiate, doctor, all conferred after examination. The administrative and educational hierarchy comprised nineteen degrees. No one could be elevated to a place without having passed through the inferior situations and obtained in the various faculties degrees corresponding with the nature and importance of the duties. The functionaries were divided into titular persons, officers of the university, and officers of the academy; they were subjected to a strict discipline. After an uninterrupted service of thirty years, they might be declared *emeriti* and obtain a retiring pension. The university was superintended and governed by the grand master, who was nominated by the Emperor, and removable.

The council of the university consisted of thirty members. At the seat of each academy, there was an academic council of ten members.

There were general inspectors of the university, whose duty it was to visit the educational establishments under the order of the grand master.

There were to be established, in each academy, and in each college and lyceum, one or more normal schools, to prepare good masters for the primary schools.

The university was to aim without intermission at perfecting education in all its branches, in promoting the composition of classic works, and, above all, taking care that the teaching of the sciences should always keep pace with the progress of knowledge, and that the spirit of system should never be able to stay its advance.

The lyceums, which numbered 100 in 1811, were to be the nursery of the professors, rectors, and masters. The Emperor was anxious that these should have great motives for emulation, in order that the young men, who devoted themselves to instruction, should have the prospect of raising themselves, from one degree to another, up to the

first places of the state. There were in each lyceum twenty pupils maintained at the expense of government, eighty had half their expenses defrayed by the state, and fifty others three-fourths, the object being to aid the development of indigent talent.

In the impetus which he gave to education, Napoléon replaced the study of the dead languages, which had previously been almost exclusively taught, by the more useful study of mathematical and physical sciences, and it was in the same spirit that he opposed the preference which it was wished to give to medicine over surgery.

The Polytechnic school, the foundation of which is due to the Directory, received under Napoleon vast development, and furnished distinguished officers to the army, and professors in all the other branches of practical science.

The normal school, the establishment of which had been projected under the Convention, reached its salutary destination under the Empire.

Napoleon created, under the title of imperial institutions, two distinct establishments. One for the education of the daughters of the members of the Legion of Honour, the other for the education of orphan girls. In the former there was supplied a polished education; in the second, the orphans learned all the feminine employments adapted to provide them with the means of gaining their livelihood.

Provision was made for those children whose education was entrusted to public charity; these formed three classes, —foundlings, deserted children, and poor orphans. An hospital in each arrondissement was appointed to receive them. There was created at Rouen a school of anatomical preparations. The school of arts and trades, founded in 1803 at Compiègne, and afterwards transferred to Châlons-sur-Marne, had for its object the general diffusion of industrial

preau, and a third in the abbey of St. Maximilian, near Treves. The French school of the fine arts at Rome was once more set in operation, and transferred to the Villa di Medici: fifteen pupils were sent there.[1]

The Emperor did not limit himself to the creation of schools; he also stimulated all kinds of merit by prizes and rewards, to the competition for which, as to a great goal of emulation, he invited all the scientific men of Europe. A prize of 60,000 francs was instituted for the person who advanced the science of galvanism; and another, consisting of a medal of 3000 francs, for the best experiment, in the judgment of the Institute, that should be made each year on this subject. In 1808, the celebrated English chemist, Davy, gained the annual prize of the Institute.

The decennial prizes, which were established at this time, were an encouragement offered to progress in all the arts and sciences. There were nine of 10,000 francs, and thirteen of 5000.

Among the numerous encouragements accorded to scientific research, we must mention the prize of 12,000 francs, which was promised to the author of the best treatise on the

The extended copyright to the heirs of deceased who had left posthumous works.

He had conceived the idea of erecting a sort of literary university, comprising thirty professorships, so well constituted that they should form, as it were, a sort of office for the facilitation of literary, geographical, historical, and political researches,—where, for instance, any one who wished to make himself acquainted with a particular period, could ascertain what books he ought to read, what memoirs, what chronicles he ought to consult,—where every man, in

"The only reasonable encouragement for literature," said the Emperor, "are appointments in the Institute, because these give to poets a position in the state." It was his wish that the second class of the Institute should form a kind of literary tribunal, charged with criticising, in a scientific and impartial manner, all the works of any merit that were published.

He spared nothing to honour the memories of men of genius. At Osterod, all covered with the dust of battle, he ordered a statue of D'Alembert to be placed in the hall of the Institute. He raised mausoleums to Voltaire and Rousseau.

The busts of Tronchet and Portalis, the compilers of the first Code Napoléon, were placed in the hall of the Council of State.

At Cambrai a monument was raised to the ashes of Fenelon. Despite the wars, the imperial government neglected nothing that might conduce to the advancement of the sciences. Thus it was that, in 1806, among other instances, he ordered the publication, at his own expense, of the narrative of the voyages and discoveries made between the years 1800 and 1804 by Perron, Lesueur, and Captain Baudin.

Biot and Arago were sent to Spain to continue the measurement of the meridian at the Baleares.

The National Institute was directed to draw up a general review of the progress of the sciences, literature, and arts, since 1789, to be laid before the government every five years, by a deputation. This body was likewise required to offer its views on discoveries, the application of which it might consider conducive to the public service, on the aid and encouragement of which science, art, and literature stood in need, and on the mode of perfecting the methods

We see, then, that the Emperor gave to instruction the same impulse as to industry; and we may say with Thibaudeau,* that it was the pupils of the lyceums who, after the fall of the Empire, sustained in the arts and sciences, and in literature, the glory of France.

Of the Army.—It were a digression from our subject to examine all the improvements which the organization of the army underwent, and to recount the lofty deeds that have illustrated it. The universe knows the exploits of those heroic soldiers who, from Arcola to Waterloo, aided the gigantic undertakings of Napoleon, and were happy to die for him, because they knew that this was to die for France. It would, moreover, occupy too much space to go over all that the army did for the Emperor, and all that the Emperor did for it,—let us simply examine the military organization in a social point of view.

The conscription, which, unfortunately, weighed so heavily on France, by reason of the prolongation of the war, was one of the greatest institutions of the age. It not only consecrated the principle of equality; but, as General Foy has remarked,† it was destined to be the palladium of our independence, because, fusing the army with the nation, and the nation with the army, it furnished inexhaustible resources for defence. The principle which presided over the institution of the law of conscription was to receive great development; and it may be said that the ideas of Napoleon have been put in practice by other governments—among others, by Prussia. It was not sufficient, in fact, that the army should be recruited throughout the nation; it was necessary that, in case of emergency, the whole nation should serve as a reserve to the army. The Emperor said that—"A nation, when it

* Vol. iii. page 404.

† *Peninsular War*, vol. i. page 54.

has to repel an invasion, never wants men, but too frequently it wants soldiers." The military system in Prussia presents immense advantages:—it removes the barriers which separate the citizen from the soldier; it gives the same motive and the same aim to all the men in arms, the defence of their country; it furnishes the means of maintaining a large military force with the least possible expense; it renders a whole people capable of successively resisting an invasion. The army in Prussia is a great school, whither all the youth come to be taught the profession of arms; the landwehr, which is divided into three bans, is the reserve of the army. In the military organization there are, then, several classifications,—but all springing from the same source, they have the same end in view. There is emulation among the organized bodies—not rivalry.

The national guard, the institution of which had fallen into disuse in the latter days of the Republic, was re-established by Napoleon in 1806. In 1812 it was distributed into three bans: the first, composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age, the six last classes of the conscripts who had not been in active service; the second, of all the able-bodied men from twenty-six to forty years of age; the last, or arriere-ban, of men from forty to sixty years of age. We see that the system was completely in accordance with that which is now in force in Prussia. "During peace," said the Emperor, "I would have induced all the sovereigns to have no troops on foot but their personal guard; I would have proceeded with the organization of the national guard, so that each citizen should know his post in time of need; then," added he, "we should truly have had a nation, well constructed and well cemented, capable of defying

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

We have passed rapidly in review the administrative organization of the Empire, and pointed out the principal material improvements of that period. Let us now glance at its political organization.

In the first place, let me be allowed to say that I consider as a misfortune, the fatal tendency which we have in France always manifested, to copy the institutions of foreign nations, with a view to their adoption among ourselves. Under the Republic, we were Romans; then the English constitution seemed the perfection of civilization; the titles of *noble lord* and *honourable member* seemed more liberal than those of tribune and senator, as if in France, that country of honour, to be *honourable*, were a title and not a quality. Lastly, arose the American school. Shall we, then, never be ourselves? England, it is true, has long presented to us a fine show of parliamentary liberty. But what is the element of the English constitution, what the basis of the edifice? Aristocracy: suppress that, and you have in England nothing organized; "in the same way that at Rome," said Napoleon, "if they had taken away religion, nothing would have remained."

So, in the United States of America, we see grand things: but where shall we discover a single analogy between that country and France? The United States have not yet become a social world; for the organization of such a world supposes fixity and order; fixity, attachment to the soil, to property, conditions all impossible to be fulfilled, so long as the commercial spirit, and the disproportion between the number of inhabitants, and the extent of the territory causes the land to be merely regarded in the light of merchandise. Man has not yet taken root in America, he is not incorporated with the soil; the interests are per-

sonal and not territorial.* In America, commerce occupies the first rank ; then comes industry, and, lastly, agriculture —it is Europe reversed.

France, in many respects, is at the head of civilization ; yet it seems to be doubted whether she can frame for herself laws that are wholly French, that is to say, laws adapted to our wants, modelled on our nature, subordinate to our political position ! Let us adopt from foreign countries improvements, which long experience has consecrated ; but let us preserve in our laws, the French form, the French instinct, the French spirit. "Politics," said M. Daunou, "is the application of history to the moral of societies." We may say the same of a constitution ; the compact which binds the different members of a society together should derive its form from the experience of past times, its things from the existing state of that society, its spirit from the future. A constitution should be framed solely for the nation to which it is to be adapted. It should be like a garment, which, to be well made, should fit but one man.

In a political point of view, the Emperor could only organize France provisionally, but all his institutions contained a germ of perfection which, during peace, he would have developed.

Let us, first of all, set forth one fact, namely, that when the French people proclaimed Napoleon, Emperor, France was so weary of disorder and continual change, that everything concurred to invest the chief of the state with the most absolute power. The Emperor, then, had no need to covet it ; on the contrary, it was his effort to avoid it. In proportion, therefore, as public opinion had demanded the depression of power, because it believed it hostile, so it

* See, on this subject, Tocqueville.

eagerly applied itself to strengthen it, finding it tutelary and restorative. It was quite in Napoleon's power to have got rid of both legislative body and senate, so worn out was the public with those eternal dissensions, kept up, as he himself said, by a set of people furiously disputing about the shades of a colour, before they had developed the colour itself.

The Emperor Napoleon did not commit the error of many statesmen, of wishing to subject the nation to an abstract theory, which then becomes, for a country, the bed of Procrustes; on the contrary, he carefully studied the character of the French people, their wants, their actual state; and upon these data he formed a system which he modified further, according to circumstances. "Where should I be," said he, "in relation to Europe, with a government that I reared up amidst ashes, the foundations of which are not yet consolidated, and the forms of which I have, from time to time, to combine with the new circumstances which arise from the very change of foreign policy, were I to subject any of these combinations to absolute methods, admitting no modification, and which are only efficacious in being immutable?"

The predominant idea which presided over all the institutions of the Emperor at home, was the desire to found a civil order.* France is surrounded by powerful neighbours. From the time of Henry IV. she has been the object of the jealousy of Europe. She requires a large standing army, to maintain her independence. This army is organized, it has colonels, generals, marshals; but the rest of the nation is

* "I wish to constitute in France civil order. Up to the present time there have been only two powers in the world: the military and the ecclesiastical. The barbarians who invaded the Roman empire could not form a solid establishment, because they were at once without a body of priests and without civil order."—*Speech of the Emperor to the Council of State.*

not organized; and beside this military hierarchy, beside those dignities to which glory lends so much lustre, there must also be civil dignities, having equal importance; otherwise the government will always be in danger of falling into the hands of a successful soldier. The United States present to us a striking example of the disadvantages which are attendant upon the weakness of the civil authority.

Although in that country there is nothing of the fermentation of discord which will for a long period still agitate Europe, the central civil power, knowing its weakness, is alarmed at any organization independent of itself, for all such organization is menacing to it. It is not only military power that is dreaded there, but the power of money—the bank; and hence the division of parties. The governor of the bank might possess greater influence than the President; *à fortiori*, a victorious general would soon eclipse the civil power. In the Italian republics, as in England, aristocracy was the organized civil order; but France having, happily, no longer any privileged bodies, the same advantages might be effected for a democratic hierarchy, without injuring the principles of equality. Let us examine in this point of view the constitutions of the Empire.

The principles upon which the imperial laws rested, are:

Civil equality, in accordance with the democratic principle.

The hierarchy, in accordance with the principles of order and stability.

Napoleon is the supreme chief of the state; the elected of the people; the representative of the nation. In his public acts, the Emperor always took glory to himself that he owed everything to the French people alone. When, surrounded by kings and homage, he, at the foot of the Pyrenees, disposed of thrones and of empires, he ener-

getically asserted for himself that title of first representative of the people, which it seemed proposed to assign to the legislative body.*

The imperial power alone is transmitted by hereditary right. There is no other hereditary office in France; all other offices are granted to election or to merit.

There are two Chambers; the senate and the legislative body.

The senate, a name more popular than that of Chamber of Peers, consists of members proposed by the electoral colleges, a third only of the number being left to the nomination of the Emperor. It is presided over by a member named by the chief of the state; it protects the maintenance of the constitution; it is the guardian of individual liberty, and of the liberty of the press.†

The senate being next to the sovereign, the chief power in the state, the Emperor had sought, as far as circumstances would permit, to give it eminent importance; for when the influence exercised by the constituted bodies does not correspond with the order of their political hierarchy, it is an evident proof that the constitution is not in harmony with public opinion; it then becomes a machine, the works of which do not operate in their respective order.

Accordingly, in order to give influence to the senate, the idea of the Emperor was, not to render it solely a court of

* See the note inserted by order of the Emperor in the *Moniteur*, of the 19th Dec. 1808.

† M. Bignon, in his *Histoire de l'Empire*, writes thus:—

"The system now established was not vicious in itself, nor were the liberties of the nation left entirely without guarantees; if these guarantees became illusory, if the senatorial commissions of individual liberty and of the liberty of the press should remain without efficacy, or even without action, it is because France is passing through an order of events, wherein questions of domestic interest and of private right will of necessity become subordinate to the wants of the public force, and of external power."

justice, or an asylum for all the ministers whom public opinion has condemned, but on the contrary, to constitute it of all the pre-eminent men of the Empire, and to make it the guardian and guarantee of all the liberties of the nation.*

To render the senators independent, and to attach them to the provinces, there was instituted, in each arrondissement of appeal court, a senatorship, yielding to the titular senator from 20,000 to 25,000 francs per annum for life.

The legislative body is nominated by the electoral colleges of the departments; the members of this body are paid during the session.

It is essential to recal here the mode of election introduced by Napoleon. In the constitution of the year VIII., Siéyès had invented a system of notabilities, which deprived the people of all participation in the elections. Although Siéyès, a member of the Constituent Assembly, of the Convention, and of the Directory, was a friend of liberty, he

* The opinion of the Emperor was that an hereditary Chamber could never be established in France, and that it could have no sort of influence. He said, in 1815, to Benjamin Constant, who was one of the most fervent partisans of the English Constitution, "Your Chamber of Peers will soon only be a camp or an antechamber."

The president of the senate convenes the senate on the order of the Emperor, *proprio motu*, or on the demand of the Senatorial Commissions of Individual Liberty, and of the Liberty of the Press, or of a senator for the proposition of a Bill passed by the legislature, or of an officer of the senate for the internal affairs of the body.

Each of the senatorial commissions consists of seven members. Every person arrested, and not brought to trial within ten days, may apply to this Commission.

A high Imperial Court is established to take cognizance of crimes against the internal safety of the state, of malversations on the part of the ministers and councillors of state, of abuses of power committed by the imperial agents, civil and military, etc. The seat of the High Court is in the Senate, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presides; the forms of procedure are protective; the trials and judgments take place in public.

had found himself obliged by circumstances, and for the maintenance of the Republic, to act thus; for, before the 18th Fructidor, the elections introduced royalists into the legislature; that day expelled them thence. Then came the turn of the Jacobins; the 20th Floreal expelled them; but at the following elections, they seemed to gather strength again, and to be prepared to remove their rivals. There was, then, no stability; this year one party triumphed, the next year, another, as Thibaudeau himself says.

But the resolute and national march of the Consulate had already created a strong and compact France; and the vessel of the state ran less risk of being wrecked on the two rocks, which had been so feared—terror and the *ancien régime.*

Napoleon, created consul for life, suppressed Siéyès's list of notabilities, and established cantonal assemblies, composed of all the householders of the canton. These assemblies nominated the members of the electoral colleges, arrondissemental and departmental. The persons qualified for the electoral colleges were to be the most considerable men of the department; but there might be added to the arrondissemental colleges ten members, and to the departmental colleges twenty members, non-proprietors, chosen from among the members of the Legion of Honour, or from among men who had rendered public services. The colleges elected two candidates to the vacant places in the legislative body; the departmental college alone proposed candidates for senatorships; one of the two candidates was to be unconnected with the college which elected him.

In examining the spirit which dictated these laws, at a time when men were but just recovering from violent dissensions, and when war still menaced; when even the most

electoral rights, it is impossible to avoid âcknowledging that the intention of the Emperor was to re-establish election upon the broadest basis; and the following words of the government speaker of that period confirm this opinion: "The electoral colleges connect the great authorities with the people, and *vice versâ;* they are intermediate bodies between power and the people; a classification of the citizens, an organization of the nation. In this classification it was necessary to combine the opposite interests of proprietors and labourers, since property is the fundamental basis of all political association; it was necessary, also, to admit non-proprietors, so as not to close the career to talent and genius."

The Council of State was one of the leading wheels of the Empire. Composed of the most distinguished men, it formed the privy council of the sovereign. The men who formed part of it, freed from all constraint, not aiming at effect, and stimulated by the presence of the sovereign, worked out the laws without any other end in view than the interests of France. The speaker of the Council of State was to submit, for the acceptation of the Chambers, the laws which the council had framed.

The Emperor created auditors of the Council of State, in number 350, who were distributed in three classes, and attached to the various public departments. The Council of State thus formed a nursery of well-trained and enlightened men, thoroughly capable of administering the country. Familiar with all the great political questions, they received from government important missions. This institution remedied a great want: for, when in a country there are schools of law, schools of medicine, military schools, theological schools, &c., is it not disgraceful that there should be none for the art of government, certainly

the most difficult art of all, for it comprehends all the exact sciences, political and moral ?*

"I was providing for my son a most happy position," said the Emperor, at St. Helena. "I was creating, especially for him, a new school, the numerous class of auditors of the Council of State. Their education finished, and their age matured, they would, some day, have filled all the offices of the Empire; strongly imbued with our principles and the examples of our predecessors, they would have all been from twelve to fifteen years older than my son; which would have placed him precisely between two generations and all their advantages—maturity, experience, wisdom, above: youth, vigour, promptitude, below."

The *Conseil du Contentieux* was instituted as a special tribunal for the trial of public functionaries, for appeals from the prefectural councils, for questions relative to commissariat, for violation of the laws of the state, &c.

The desire of the Emperor to elevate the political bodies manifests itself in the creation of the dignity of grand elector; in the honours with which he environed the president of the legislative body,† in the detailed reports of the State of the Empire which he had laid before the legislative body, in the importance which he gave to the opening sessions. Regarding himself as the repre- sentative of the nation, he deemed himself bound render an account of his acts to the constituted bodies. Thus the

* In default of an effective tribune which the constitutional government would have given to France, never had chief of royalty so enlightened a council, where all questions of administrative and civil order were discussed with more freedom and independence. In default of that tribune, which would have expressed public opinion, never did chief of royalty better divine public opinion, nor better unravel it characteristics, or profit more, whether by its rectitude or by its errors.—THIBAUDEAU.

† The president of the legislative body had a guard of honour.

opening of the legislative body was never, under his reign, a vain ceremony; he did not attend merely to seat himself on a throne, with all the paraphernalia of royalty in the sixteenth century, to repeat, mechanically, the words of his ministers; but, on the contrary, standing in the presence of the legislative body, he communicated to it his ideas in a straightforward manner. This was not weakness concealing itself under the appearance of force; it was, on the contrary, force of its own accord rendering homage to the constituted bodies.

Instead of influencing elections, Napoleon was often found recommending the men immediately about him not to offer themselves as candidates for the senate: he told them that they might attain this post by another road, that they should leave this gratification to the notables of the provinces.

The principles which guided the Emperor in the choice of public functionaries were much more rational than those which are observed at the present time. When he nominated the chief of a department, he did not consult the political shade of the man, but his capacity as a functionary. Thus it was that, instead of asking what were the political antecedents of the ministers whom he employed, he only required in them special knowledge; Chaptal, the celebrated chemist, was charged with the opening new paths to industry; the learned Denon was appointed Director of the Museum of Arts; Mollien, Minister of the Treasury. If the provinces were so prosperous under the Empire, it was principally because Gaudin, Duke of Gaeta, entered upon the administration of the provinces under the Consulate, and that he did not leave that office till 1814.

In order that the path might be open to all improvements, the Court of Cassation was required to do for the laws that which the Institute was accomplishing for the

sciences. Every year it had to give in a report of the ameliorations of which the different portions of the legislation were susceptible, and the defects which experience had developed. We must also observe in the institutions of the Empire a continual movement, which, from the circumference acted on the centre, and from the centre, reacted on the circumference, like the blood which in the human body flows towards the heart, and from the heart flows back towards the extremities. On one hand, we see the people participating by election in all political employments; on the other, the political bodies presided over by men connected with power. The grand dignitaries of the Empire presided over the electoral colleges of the greater towns; the other grand officers, or the members of the Legion of Honour, presided over the other colleges.*

The Councillors of State on extraordinary service were sent into the departments to superintend the administration; they transmitted the measures of government, and received the complaints and views of the people. These senators, who held paid senatorships, were bound to reside three months in the year in their arrondissement, in order to convey thither the opinion of the centre, and to bring back to Paris the opinion of the arrondissement.

The creation of the Legion of Honour, which divided the French territory into sixteen arrondissements, with the designation of the chief town, was, to use the expression of the officer who proposed the law, a political institution, which placed in society *media*, by which the acts of power were conveyed to opinion with fidelity and kindness, and by which opinion could make its way to power.

Every one is acquainted with the infinite benefits which

* Each electoral college terminated its session by the vote of an address to the Emperor, which was presented to him by a deputation.

the Code Napoleon produced ; it placed various portions of the legislation in harmony with the principles of the revolution, and considerably diminished litigation by bringing the settlement of a multitude of causes to every man's door. But this Code did not accomplish the full desire of the Emperor: he projected a universal Code, in order that there might be no other laws than those written in this one great book, and that, once for all, everything might be null and non-existent, that was not to be found therein. "For," added he, "by the aid of some musty edict of Chilperic or Pharamond, dug up for the occasion, there is no man who can consider himself safe from being duly and legally hanged."

One may sum up the imperial system by saying that its base is democratic, since all its powers emanate from the people, while its organization is hierarchical, since there are in society various ranks to stimulate all capacities.

The competition is open to forty millions of souls ; merit alone is the distinction, the various degrees of the social scale the reward. Thus as to policy, there are cantonal assemblies, electoral colleges, legislative body, council of state, senate, grand dignitaries.

As to the army : every man is a soldier, every soldier may become an officer, colonel, general, marshal.

As to the Legion of Honour : every class of merit is admissible on equal terms : civil services, military, industrial, ecclesiastical, scientific, all may obtain the grades of legionaries, officers, commanders, grand officers, grand eagles.

Public education has its primary schools, its secondary schools, its lyceums, with the Institute as the head of the whole edifice.

Justice has its lower tribunals, its imperial courts, its Court of Cassation.

The administration has its mayors, its deputy-mayors, its

sub-prefects, its prefects, its ministers, its councillors of state.

Napoleon, then, was, so to speak, the focus around which all the power of the nation grouped itself. He had divided France, administratively, by the communal arrondissements and prefectures; politically, by the electoral colleges and senatorships; militarily, by the military divisions; judicially, by the imperial courts; religiously, by the bishoprics; philosophically, by the lyceums; morally, by the arrondissements of the Legion of Honour.

The political body, like the teaching body, and like the administrative body, had its feet in the Communes and its head in the Senate.

The government of the Emperor was then, so to speak, a pyramidical Colossus, with broad base and lofty head.

After having reviewed the period from 1800 to 1814, if we turn our eyes to the present epoch, we see that most of the institutions founded by the Emperor still exist, and that they have, of themselves, maintained

Although deprived of its motive force, obeyed, for twenty-four years, the impulse which Napoleon gave to her. But we must not judge of the Empire by the counterfeit imitations of it which have come under our notice; men have copied the things, as though they had never known the spirit which presided over their creation. We owe to two causes the prodigies that developed themselves under the Empire, despite the wars: the one is connected with the genius of the man; the other, with the system which he established. Under the Empire, all the intellect, all the capacity of France, was invited to concur in one common object, the prosperity of the country. Since that time, on the contrary, all her intellect has been solely occupied in internal struggles, in disputing as to the road to follow, instead of advancing. Political discipline is broken up, and

instead of marching straightforward towards a common goal, in close column, each man has improvised a path of his own, and has separated from the main body.

It has been said that the Emperor was a despot. His power had, it is true, all the strength necessary for creating; it was in proportion to the confidence which the people had in him.

"With Napoleon," says General Foy, who certainly cannot be charged with partiality, "men experienced none of the petty tyranny of subalterns, nor the intolerance of caste, nor the intolerable domination of parties. The law was strong, sometimes harsh, but it was equal for all."*

Napoleon was a despot, it is said; and yet he never dismissed any one without an inquiry, without a previous report, and rarely even without having heard the functionary inculpated. Never in civil or administrative questions did Napoleon take a resolution without a previous discussion on the question in hand.† Never did sovereigns seek so much counsel as the Emperor; for he sought only one thing, truth. Could he be a despot by system, who, in his codes and his organization, ever tended to substitute law for arbitrary decision? We see him, in 1810, resisting expropriation for public purposes, unless authorized by previous legal decision,‡ and establishing the *Conseil du Contentieux* to regulate that portion of arbitrary authority which was necessary to the administration of the State. He said

* *Peninsular War*, vol. i: page 18.

† Bignon, vol. v: page 178.

‡ "I would have the public utility clearly stated by a *Senatus-Consultum*, a law or a decree deliberated in the Council of State: and that then the disputes which arise should be decided by the tribunals. I confess I cannot accustom myself to see arbitrary will pervade everything, and so vast a State having magistrates, without the people being able to address to them their complaints."—*Words of the Emperor to the Council of State.*

on this occasion: "I would have the State governed by legal means, and those things legalized by the intervention of a constituted body, which it is necessary to do, extra the law."

We find him again, in 1810, manifesting his dissatisfaction at the legislature's not having passed a law respecting the press;* and what is particularly important to observe is, that the Emperor often pronounced these memorable words: "I would not have this power remain to my successors, for they might abuse it."

When we read history, we are astonished at the severity of the judgments passed by the French on their own government, and at their indulgence towards foreign governments. Observe, for instance, the judgment which Carrel passes on the administration of Cromwell; and, unquestionably, the English Protector was far below the French hero. "It was fortunate for England that such a man (Cromwell) should take upon himself the responsibility of an inevitable violence, because order resulted from the usurpation instead of anarchy, and order is necessary. Everywhere, and at all times, it is necessities that have created conventions and invoked principles; principles have ever been silent before necessities. There was wanting security, repose, a grandeur that should have an imposing effect on the foreign enemies of the revolution, and on the commercial interests, hostile to those of England. There was wanting an administration which should comprise all parties and belong to none, which should be skilled in all the ideas of that period, and not profess any of them ex-

* "The press, which they say is free, is in the most absolute slavery; the police garbles or suppresses works at its mere pleasure, nor is it even the minister himself who decides upon the matter, for he has to rely upon his deputies. Nothing can be more irregular, more arbitrary, than the whole system."—*Words of the Emperor to the Council of State.*

clusively—which should make use of the army, but at the same time not place itself in its train. Cromwell was in the right against the royalists, because they were enemies to the country; against the presbyterians, because they were intolerant and did not comprehend the revolution; against the levellers, because they required impossibilities; finally, against the high republicans, because they did not understand general opinion."* Are not these words the faithful exposition of the reign of the Emperor? and yet we sometimes still hear French tongues advance unjust accusations, and repeat, for instance, that the government of Napoleon was the government of the sabre! If this opinion could have become general, we might well repeat with Montesquieu: "Woe to the reputation of any prince who is oppressed by a party that becomes dominant; or who has essayed to destroy a prejudice that survives him!"

Never, in fact, was internal power less military than that of the Emperor. In all his actions, we see the tendency to give civil order the pre-eminence over military order. Under the imperial rule, no place in the civil administration was filled by a military man. He who created civil dignities to equipoise those of the army; who, by the institution of the Legion of Honour, sought to recompense, in the same manner, the services of the citizen and the services of the soldier; who, from his accession to power, applied himself to improve the condition of civil servants of the State;† who always gave the precedence to the latter;‡ who, in the inte-

* *History of the Counter-Revolution in England.* Introduction, page 60.

† When Napoleon came to power, military pensions were already regulated by law, but there were no means of giving a civil pension. As there was thus no prospect for civil functionaries, they abused their position. The Directory, being unable to give pensions, gave perquisites, an immoral arrangement.—THIBAUDEAU, vol. iii. page 179.

‡ *Laws of Precedence*, 13th July, 1804.

rior, and even in the conquered countries, saw councillors of state invested with an administrative authority superior to that of the general: such is the man whom party spirit has chosen to describe to us as the patron of military rule.*

A complaint has been made that the military uniform and discipline were introduced into the lyceums. But is it an evil to propagate throughout the nation a military spirit; that spirit which awakens the noblest passions, honour, disinterestedness, patriotism, and which communicates habits of order, regularity, and submission. The military spirit is only dangerous when it is the exclusive apanage of a caste.† As to the military uniform, the

* M. Thibaudeau, in his *Histoire sous le Consulat*, in relating what the Emperor said to the Council of State, that there was no man more a civilian than himself, adds—"If the military profession had importance and consideration, its authority was rigorously limited within its natural attributes; its least faults were at once severely repressed. The First Consul supported the tribunals and the prefects against the generals: the citizen was only subject to the civil authority. To deny this is to deny evidence."—Vol. ii. page 213.

"A general, however loaded with tokens of the favour of the sovereign, was not empowered to arrest the obscurest culprit. In the frequent conflicts between civil and military authority, the latter was almost always declared to be in the right."—*Ibid.* vol. i. page 82.

"In 1806, Junot, governor of Paris, was accused of an offence against the game laws; he repudiated the authority of the tribunals; but he was obliged to compromise the matter, in order to prevent an execution."—*Ibid.* vol. v. page 318.

† With the exception of the being trained to arms and the *peloton* exercise, which were within the scope of the pupil's strength, there was in their movements, their studies, their repasts, their recreations, no other difference than that between the drum and the bell, and as between these instruments we unhesitatingly give the preference to the former: the bell recals ideas of humility, abnegation; the drum, those of glory and honour; under the rule of the bell they flogged the boys; corporal punishments were forbidden under that of the drum. The Lyceums observed a discipline, and presented a trim bearing and a manly attitude, which the scholars in most of the Colleges gave no indication of. There was breathed into them, it is said, the taste for arms. Were not all the young men liable to the law of conscription?—THIBAUDEAU.

Emperor had it adopted in the lyceums and special schools for the sake of equality. One day, on a visit to the prytaneum of St. Cyr, he was shocked at the distinctions which existed in the clothing of the pupils; some were dressed in the best style, others were in rags. The Emperor declared that he would have no distinction among the pupils; that equality should be the first element of education; and he had one uniform given to them all.

That was a strange military government where tranquillity was maintained throughout the vast Empire without a soldier, whilst the chief of the State and the army were 800 leagues from the capital.* Thus, the imperial eagle, glorious with so many laurels, has never been sullied with French blood shed by French soldiers. Few governments, indeed, can say the same of their national standard!

The eulogium of the Emperor is to be read in facts; you have only to turn over the pages of the *Moniteur*. His glory is as the sun: that must be a blind man who cannot see it. Obscure detractors cannot divert the irrefragable influence of patent acts; a few drops of ink sprinkled over the sea will make no change in the colour of its waters. Yet as there are vulgar spirits which cannot comprehend what is grand, and as, in epochs of transition, party spirit disfigures the great features of history, it is not futile to remind the masses who are filled with such admiration of the Emperor, that their admiration is not based on the illusory lustre of empty glory, but on the just

*There was no necessity for troops in the united provinces. Piedmont, Tuscany, Genoa, had not 1500 soldiers among them. At the time the Emperor was at Vienna, there were only 1200 men in garrison at Paris. His contemporaries used to see the Emperor driving, at a walking pace, amid the crowd which covered the Carrousel, or in the park of St. Cloud, in a four-horsed calash, with the Empress beside him, and merely one page in attendance, 150,000 spectators environing the carriage.—THIBAUDEAU, vol. viii. page 176.

appreciation of actions which had for their aim the happiness of mankind.

And if, in the celestial abode, where his great soul now reposes at peace, Napoleon could still be moved by the agitations and contending opinions of this world below, would not his angry shade be entitled thus to address his accusers:—

"All that I did for the internal prosperity of France, I did in the only intervals that were allowed me for their accomplishment—in the intervals between battles. But you, who censure me, what have you done during twenty-four years of profound peace?

"Have you appeased discord, and united parties around the altar of your country? Have you secured for the various powers of the state the moral preponderance which the law concedes to them, and which is a gage of stability?

"Have you given to your Chamber of Peers the democratic organization of my senate?

"Have you preserved for the Council of State its salutary influence and its beneficial employment?

"Have you preserved for the institution of the Legion of Honour the purity and the prestige of its original organization?

"Have you given to your electoral system the democratic basis of my cantonal assemblies?

"Have you facilitated access to the representative chamber by securing a payment to the deputies?

"Have you, like myself, recompensed all classes of merit, repressed corruption, and introduced into the administration that severe and pure morality which renders authority respectable?

"Have you applied the influence of power to the amend-

ment of manners? Has not, with you, crime been steadily on the increase, instead of diminishing?

"Have you given security to property by completing the operation of the register of lands?

"Have you, like me, caused a hundred new kinds of industry to spring from the soil?

"Have you completed, during a long peace, half the labour that I commenced during a series of cruel wars?

"Have you opened new channels to commerce?

"Have you ameliorated the condition of the poorer classes?

"Have you employed all the revenues of France to the sole purpose of her prosperity?

"Have you re-established the law of divorce, which secured the morality of families?

"Have you organized the National Guard on such a system that it shall be an impassable barrier against invasion?

"Have you restricted the clergy within their religious attributes, apart from political power?

"Have you preserved to the army that consideration and that popularity which it had so justly acquired? or rather, have you not sought to degrade the noble mission of the soldier?

"Have you given to our wreck of Waterloo the loaf of bread that was their due, as the price of the blood they shed for France?

"Has the tricoloured flag, has the name of Frenchmen, retained that prestige and that influence which rendered them respected by the whole universe?

"Have you secured for France allies on whom she can count in the day of danger?

"Have you lessened the burdens on the people? Have

not, on the contrary, your peace imposts attained a higher amount than my war taxes?

"Lastly, have you modified that administrative centralization which I only established for the purpose of organizing the interior of the country, and of resisting the foreigner?

"No; you have retained, of my reign, all that was merely transient, all that was of temporary obligation; and you have thrown away all the advantages which palliated its defects?

"The benefits of peace you have not been able to obtain; while you have retained all the disadvantages of war, without that enormous compensation, the honour and glory of the country!"

CHAPTER IV.

QUESTION OF FOREIGN POLICY.

Napoleonian Policy—The various projects of the Emperor—Benefits bestowed on different countries—Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Westphalia, Poland—His views with regard to Spain.

THERE are three modes of investigating the relations of France with the foreign governments. These may be described as follows:

There is a blind and passionate policy which would hurl the glove in the face of Europe, and dethrone all the kings.

There is another policy, diametrically opposed to the preceding, and which consists in maintaining peace by purchasing the friendship of the sovereigns at the expense of the honour and interests of the respective subjects.

Lastly, there is a third policy, which frankly offers the

alliance of France to all the governments that choose to advance with her in the common interest.

With the first policy, there can be neither peace nor truce; with the second, there is no war, but there is also no independence; with the third, there is no peace without honour, no universal war.

The third system is the Napoleonian policy; it is that which the Emperor put in practice throughout the whole of his career. If Napoleon succumbed despite that system, his fall was owing to causes which we shall explain hereafter; but this is certain, that without that policy he would have never triumphed over the attacks of Europe. "Rome," says Montesquieu, "grew great, because she had successive wars, each nation, to her inconceivable good fortune, attacking her only when her previous assailant had become prostrate." That which chance and fortune did for the aggrandizement of Rome, Napoleon obtained for France by his policy.

So early as 1796, when, with 30,000 men, he made the conquest of Italy, he was not only a great general, but also a profound politician. The Directory, in its ignorance of things, sent to General Bonaparte the order to dethrone the King of Sardinia, and to march upon Rome, leaving in his rear 80,000 Austrians, who were debouching from the Tyrol. Napoleon set aside these ill-considered instructions. He concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the King of Piedmont, concluded a treaty with the Pope, and defeated the Austrians. The fruit of this conduct was the peace of Campo Formio. Scarcely had a few years passed away, when Napoleon, lately the chief of a state at war with all Europe, assembled together under the tri-coloured flag, to march upon Moscow, Prussians, Hanoverians, Dutch, Saxons, Westphalians, Poles, Austrians, Wurtemburgers, Bavarians, Swiss, Lombards, Tuscans, Neapolitans, &c., &c.

It is from the agglomeration of all these peoples, assembled under his orders, that we may judge how able was the policy of the Emperor. That he did not succeed at Moscow, was not owing to any defect in his combinations; fatality and the elements were leagued against him. It is certain, moreover, that the risks in so great an enterprise are in proportion to the results which it is sought to obtain.

So soon as Napoleon had power in his grasp, he must evidently have had some general object to obtain; but with the progress of events, his views became modified, his aim became enlarged, or contracted. "I had not the folly," said he, "to desire to twist events to my system; but, on the contrary, I bent my system to the contexture of events."

To secure the independence of France, to establish a solid European peace, such was the aim he was so near attaining, notwithstanding the complication of events and the continual conflict of opposing interests. The more the secrets of diplomacy become revealed, the more will men become convinced of this truth, that Napoleon was led, step by step, and by the force of things, to that gigantic power which was created by war, and which war destroyed. He was not the aggressor; on the contrary, he was incessantly compelled to repulse the coalitions of Europe. If, at times, he has the appearance of anticipating the projects of his enemies, it is because in the initiative is the guarantee of success; and, besides, as Mignet observes,* "the real author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who renders it necessary."

Let us rapidly review that grand drama which commenced at Arcola and terminated at Waterloo, and we

* *Histoire de la Révolution.*

shall see Napoleon appearing as one of those extraordinary beings whom Providence creates to be the majestic instruments of its impenetrable designs, and whose mission is so clearly marked out beforehand, that an invincible force seems to compel them to accomplish it.

After having made the conquest of Italy, and carried the flame of civilization to the foot of the Pyramids, to the very cradle of that civilization, he returns to Europe, and, by the battle of Marengo, obtains that peace of which France stands so eminently in need. But this peace is of too brief duration: England insists upon war. It seems as though the two most civilized peoples on the earth are impelled by Providence to enlighten the world, the one by exciting the nations against France, the other by conquering those nations in order to regenerate them. For a moment, these two colossi look at each other, face to face; there is but a narrow channel between them: it seems that they are about to struggle, hand to hand. But such is not the decree of Fate. The civilizing genius of the age is to march towards the East. Peoples of Illyria, of Corinthia, peoples of the Danube and of the Sprée, of the Elbe and of the Vistula, you will see him, you will obey his laws: a conqueror, you will adore him; then you will hate him; and then, when he is gone, you will lament and bless him!

Every coalition that is formed augments the preponderance of France; for the god of battles is with us, and the power of Napoleon grows by reason of the very hate of his enemies. Our allies profit by our conquests. In 1805, France has for allies Prussia, the smaller states of Germany, Italy and Spain; Ulm and Austerlitz give Hanover to Prussia, Venice to Italy, the Tyrol to Bavaria. Prussia detaches herself from the French alliance; Napo-

leon is necessitated to quell her at Jena.* The kingdom of Westphalia rises from the dismemberment of Prussia, and from the victories of Eylau and Friedland. A prospect of peace glimmers at Tilsitt. The two most powerful monarchs in the world, representing eighty millions of men, and the civilization of the West and of the East, meet on a river, which divides mighty interests. The interview of Alexander and Napoleon on the Niemen was, for Europe, as the union of the two voltaic poles, which encountering each other, produce electric light by the difference of their nature. How indeed is it possible not to believe in a future brilliant with prosperity, when these two great men are in agreement for the repose of the world? Napoleon in 1808 finds himself at Erfurt, amidst a congress of kings, subdued or convinced: but England is neither subdued nor convinced. She has navies blockading every coast, and gold weighing down the balance of treaties. 1809 witnesses a new coalition; it is terminated by Echmuhl and Wagram: the French eagle floats over Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburgh. Bavaria obtains the territory of Salzburg. Illyria becomes part of the great Empire.

The views of the Emperor have become aggrandized in proportion with the field of his exploits; events have even placed him in a position to contemplate the regeneration of Europe. The greatest difficulty with Napoleon has been, not to conquer, but to dispose of his conquests. As sovereign of France, he must apply them in a French

* It will one day be asked why, in the six last years of his reign, Napoleon showed himself pitiless to Prussia. The reason is, that Prussia was the power which had done him the most injury, in compelling him to fight her and to destroy her; her, whom he had wished to extend, to fortify, to aggrandize, in order to secure, by her aid, the passiveness of Russia and Austria, in order to give to the Continental system an uncontested development, and thus to compel England to peace.—Bignon.

interest; as a great man, he must apply them in an European interest. That is to say, it is necessary that the employment of his conquests should satisfy the immediate interest of the war, at the same time that it furnishes him with the means of founding a system of general peace. The provinces which he incorporates with France are, then, only so many media of exchange,* which he keeps in reserve until a definitive pacification. But as these incorporations create the supposition of an intention to establish a universal monarchy, he founds kingdoms which have an appearance of independence, and he raises his brothers to thrones, that they may be in the respective countries the pillars of a new edifice, and that they may conciliate with the chances of a transitory establishment the appearance of stability. They alone in fact could, though kings, be subject to his will, and reconcile themselves, at the requirements of his policy, to quit a throne and resume their places as French princes; they allied the apparent independence of royalty with the dependence of family. It was thus that the world saw the Emperor changing, according to events, the governments of Holland, of Naples, of Lombardy, of Spain, and of the grand duchy of Berg.

It was a fatality with Napoleon to be necessitated to create so many new kingdoms; it is then erroneously that it has been argued that he ought, in his own interest, to have dethroned the sovereigns of Prussia and of Austria, at the time he occupied their capitals. The Emperor by so doing would only have augmented his embarrassments, and have created against himself more enemies; for these sovereigns were beloved by their people; and, besides, whom was he

* "Illyria is a sentinel advanced to the gates of Vienna; I will give her up, by-and-bye, for Gallicia."—*Words of Napoleon.* He said to a deputation from Berlin, in 1807, "I did not desire war: I have got enough of the Rhine."

to put in their place? The men beyond the Rhine have no greater tendency for governments imposed on them by us, than we have for those which foreigners impose upon us. Let it be remembered that in 1808, Napoleon deemed it necessary to change the dynasty of a great nation. That dynasty was so degenerate that itself applauded its own fall. The country whose destiny it placed in the hands of the Emperor was that for the regeneration of which the influence of France was most necessary. And yet all Spain rose to recal the monarch whom the foreigner was removing from it. The Emperor, then, to the utmost possible extent, reconciled the interests of the moment, transient exigencies, with his great aim of the reconstruction of Europe, based upon the interests of all. But fate seemed ever to compel him to new wars; and as it was not enough for Napoleon to have broken the fetters of past ages, to have emancipated Italy, Switzerland, Germany, it was further necessary that he should lead his armies beneath the burning sun of Andalusia, and amid the snows of Russia, and that, like those of Cæsar, his legions, even in their death, should leave, as the traces of their passage, the germs of a new civilization.

In 1812, the struggle becomes more terrible than ever. In order that universal peace may be established and consolidated, it is necessary that England in the west, and Russia in the east, shall be persuaded by reason or quelled by victory. The great designs of the Emperor are about to be accomplished; western Europe is marching upon Moscow. But, alas! a winter has changed all this! Napoleonian Europe may no longer exist. From the grandeur of the failure, let men judge how gigantic a result would success have been! The great man has no longer to combine and to found: he has to defend and protect France and her allies. The field of battle is trans-

Peace! peace! cry the cowards, who had hitherto been silent; but the soul of the Emperor is inaccessible to pusillanimous counsels; though his body bleeds from every part, "Rather death," he exclaims—"Rather death than a shameful peace! rather death than be Emperor of a France smaller than the France I received!"

One other lightning flash glitters! . . . . . But soon comes Waterloo! . . . . . Here every French voice is hushed, and finds no expression but tears!—tears to weep with the conquered, tears to weep with the conquerors, who, sooner or later, will lament with bitterness that they overthrew the only man who had made himself the mediator between two hostile ages!

All our wars came from England; England would never listen to any proposition of peace. Was it that she imagined the Emperor sought her ruin? He had never any such thought. All that he ever did towards her, was in the way of reprisal. The Emperor esteemed the English people, and he would have made every sacrifice to obtain peace—every sacrifice—all sacrifices, save such as would have compromised his honour. In 1800, the First Consul wrote thus to the king of England:—"Is the war which now for eight years has been desolating the four quarters of the earth, to be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an arrangement? How can the two nations, the most enlightened in Europe, already more powerful than their safety and their independence require, how can they sacrifice to ideas of futile grandeur the extension of commerce, internal prosperity, the happiness of families? How is it they do not feel that peace is the first of necessities, as it is the first of glories?"

In 1808, the Emperor addressed to the same sovereign the following words: "The world is large enough for both our nations to live in it, and reason has wherewith to furnish the means of conciliation, if on both sides we

provide the will. Peace is the wish of my heart, though war has never been contrary to my glory. I conjure your majesty not to refuse to yourself the happiness of yourself giving peace."

In 1808, at Erfurt, Napoleon joined with Alexander, in an endeavour to bring over the British cabinet to ideas of conciliation.

Lastly, in 1812, when the Emperor was at the very apogee of his power, he again made the same propositions to England. He ever demanded peace after a victory, he never consented to one after a defeat. "A nation," said he, "finds men more easily than it regains its honour."

It were too painful to suppose that the war was kept up merely by the malignant passions or the interests of parties. If so ferocious a struggle was so long maintained, it is, doubtless, because the two nations were unacquainted with each other, and because each government reciprocally misconceived the state of its neighbour. England, perhaps, only saw in Napoleon a despot, oppressing his country and exhausting all its resources in the gratification of his warlike ambition; it did not see that the Emperor was the elected of the people, and that he represented all those material and moral interests, for which France had been fighting since 1789. It may, in the same way, be propounded that the French government, confounding the enlightened aristocracy of England with the feudal aristocracy that weighed so heavily on France before the revolution, thought it had to deal with an oppressive government. But the English aristocracy is like the Briareus of fable; it is knitted with the people by a hundred thousand roots; it has obtained from the people as many sacrifices as Napoleon obtained from the efforts of the French nation. And it is a feature peculiarly worthy of remark in the struggle between the two countries, that

the rivalry of England placed Napoleon, for a moment, in a position to realize against that power a European project, similar to that which Henry IV. would have accomplished in concert with Elizabeth, against Spain, had not the steel of an assassin deprived France and Europe of that great monarch.

We shall revert, in another chapter, to the morality of the aims which the Emperor contemplated. At present, we will examine the principal ameliorations which he introduced into foreign countries. Far different from other rulers, who have ever treated the provinces they have acquired as conquered countries, the Emperor made all the nations of which he became master, participators in the benefits of an enlightened administration; and the countries which he incorporated with France, enjoyed, for a time, the same prerogatives with the mother country. When he bestowed crowns, he always imposed two conditions on the king whom he nominated: the inviolability of the constitution, and the security of the public debt.

In Italy, he formed a great kingdom, with its own administration its own Italian army. All the administrative and judicial offices were filled by natives. The troops no longer consisted of mercenaries, of the dregs of the nation. Every man was summoned to defend his country; the army became a body of citizens. The sovereign no longer drew, at his own caprice, upon the public treasure; he had his civil list. Feudality, tithes, mortmain, the monastic orders, were abolished; a constitutional statute established three colleges, *dei possidenti, dei commercianti,* and *dei dotti.* There was thus joined with the two first of these colleges, admission into which required the payment of a certain quota of taxes, a third college, exempt from this obligation, and composed, under

citizens, chosen among the most celebrated men in all classes of science and art, liberal or mechanical, or most distinguished for their learning in divinity and theology, in legislation, morals, politics, and government.

The citizens were organized into a national guard; and the country itself, divided into departments and administered by prefects and sub-prefects, lost that provincial spirit which is death to nationality. New laws on property and on the system of mortgage, simplified the administration, and enriched the country. Agriculture, science, and art were encouraged. The French code was introduced, and with it publicity of criminal trials. Poor-houses were built in several towns for the purpose of extirpating mendicity. Convents were converted into hospitals, justices of the peace were established, and the decimal system applied to money and to weights and measures. Public education was regulated by a law, which divided it, economically, into three degrees—national, departmental, and communal; and scientifically, also into three degrees—transcendental, middle, and elementary; above all rose the National Institute. The Italian concordat placed the temporal power beyond the reach of the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. The various ties of the peoples of Italy became closer knit by increased facilities of communication. The Alps were laid open, and the Apennines, crossed by new roads, united Piedmont with the Mediterranean. The old Italian glory awakened, and for the first time since Cæsar, Italian legions were seen treading as conquerors the soil of Iberia. The beautiful name of Italy, dead for so many ages, was restored to provinces long detached from it; within itself alone it comprehends a whole futurity of independence.*

* In receiving the Italian deputation which brought him the crown, Napoleon publicly replied to M. Melzi—"It has always been my inten-

Napoleon abolished those petty Republics which, as Montesquieu says, only owed their existence to the perpetuation of their abuses. From the Alps to Otranto, there only remained three grand divisions: the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Naples, and the French provinces. Napoleon had annexed Piedmont, as well as Rome and Florence, to the great Empire, with the view of habituating their populations to a government which should make men citizens and soldiers. The wars once at an end, he would have restored them to the mother country; and these provinces, regenerated by his authority, would have been happy to pass from the French rule to a truly Italian government; whereas, if this great reorganization had been operated less deliberately, these peoples, unprepared by French instruction for a common nationality, would doubtless have regretted their old political individualities.

Switzerland, a prey to civil war, abandoned at once to the terrors of anarchy and the encroachments of aristocracy, was at once pacified by the mediation of Napoleon. He called around him the representatives of Helvetia, controverted the opinion of those who advocated liberty for only some particular cantons, leaving to others dependence; and having maturely discussed the interests of each particular canton, he caused the whole body to adopt a constitution which, while it consecrated the principles of liberty and justice, retained of the preceding system whatever was not incompatible with those principles. The chief clauses of the Act of Mediation were:—1. The equality of rights among the nineteen cantons; 2. The voluntary renunciation of privileges by the patrician families; 3. A federative organization, under which each canton was constituted, according to its language, its religion, its manners, its interests, and its

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tion to make the Italian nation *free and independent*. I accept the crown; I will keep it; but I will keep it only so long as my general interests shall require."—BOTTA, *Storia d'Italia*, xxii. 5.

public opinion. And Switzerland, which owed to the Act of Mediation twelve years of tranquillity and prosperity, has ever retained gratitude to the mediator.

Southern Germany, emancipated from the yoke of the Germanic Empire, saw civilization advancing under the auspices of the Code Napoléon; and instead of being parcelled out into 284 states, found this number reduced to 31, by the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine.*

* Seigneuries and sovereignties of old Germany having votes at the Diet, and, in their own territories, the right of legislation and of justice:—

Electors	9
Lay Princes	61
Ecclesiastical Princes	33
Abbots and abbeys with seignoral rights	41
Counts and Seigneurs of the Empire:	
In Wetteravia	16
In Suabia	23
In Franconia	17
In Westphalia	33
Sovereigns	233
Republics	51
Total	517

The decree of Ratisbon (1803), the first act of the Germanic Empire drawn up under the influence of Napoleon, reduced these the number of 147:—

Electors	10
Seigneurs having votes at the Diet	131
Free Towns	6
Total	147

By the Confederation of the Rhine, the Emperor Napoleon mediatized all these princes, and there then remained only 31 States:—

Kings	4
Elector-Archchancellor	1
Grand-Dukes	3
Landgrave	1
Princes	11
Dukes	10
Count	1

Westphalia, another regenerative germ, seated on the Elbe, composed of provinces subject to all the abuses of feudalism, receives institutions establishing the equality of all citizens before the law, and suppressing all industrial monopolies, and all serfage of whatever kind. The introduction of the Civil Codes, the publicity of trials by jury in criminal cases, are all ameliorations due to French influence. The fiefs are declared free properties, reversion to the crown being reserved in default of heirs. Care is taken to provide against the litigation that may arise out of the abolition of serfage. The redemption of rents and of feudal payments is regulated by a law. All religions enjoy equal liberty; the Jews are permitted to have a consistory.

In Bavaria, King Maximilian, in 1808, gives a constitution which, securing the liberties of the people, abolishes all feudal privileges.

In the grand duchies of Baden and of Berg, as in the territories of Erfurt, Fulda, Hanau, and Bayreuth, the influence of the Emperor effects the abolition, in 1808, of serfage, compulsory labour, and the seignoral rights connected therewith. The serfs and the labourers are invested, in full, with their civil rights and the right of property.

Liberty of conscience did not exist in Saxony. The Emperor took care that it should be included in the constitution framed for that country in 1806.

Poland, that sister of France, ever so devoted, ever so magnanimous, may expect a near resurrection, for the Emperor creates the duchy of Warsaw, as a nucleus for a complete nationality. The constitution of this new duchy abolishes slavery, consecrates the equality of rights, and places the rights of persons under the protection of the tribunals, to which latter it applies the French Code Civil. The king of Saxony is selected as sovereign of

Warsaw, because he is the descendant of the princes who once reigned over Poland: he has around him, in his quality of Grand Duke of Warsaw, a Council of State, composed of the most distinguished among the Poles. A constitutional statute is passed, securing the privileges and liberties of the people. The general Diet is formed of two chambers; that of the senate, and that of the nuncios; its business is to vote taxes and to discuss laws; and thus, as M. Bignon points out, in a work of which the patriotism is equal to the talent, liberty of speech arose at Warsaw, amid the silent atmosphere of the surrounding governments.

Though the Emperor might have disposed arbitrarily of the destiny of all these peoples, he, in all cases, procured their co-operation in the laws which he conferred upon them. His conduct was the same with regard to all the countries of which he changed the government. In 1800, he sends for the deputies of northern Italy to Lyon, and discusses with them the constitution under which they were about to live.* In 1805 another *consulte-extraordinaire* assembles at Paris to organize the kingdom of Italy. In Holland, it is the Legislative body of that country which is charged with the preparation of its constitution. In reference to Switzerland, also, the Act of Mediation is the work of the deputies of the cantons assembled at Paris.

The Emperor's system of inviting around him the most distinguished natives of each country to labour at its regeneration, having been productive of such happy results in

* This *consulte-extraordinaire* comprised all the notabilities of the Republic; clergy, magistracy, authorities of the departments and principal towns, chambers of commerce, academies and universities, national guards and troops of the line,—all classes and all professions sent their representatives thither.

Switzerland and Italy, he resolved, in 1808, to apply it to Spain, a country which, more than any nation, needed a political resurrection.

The Emperor had not repaired to Bayonne with the intention of dethroning the Kings of Spain; but when he found Charles IV. and Ferdinand at his feet, and could judge for himself how utterly incapable they were, he took pity upon the condition of a great nation; and, as he himself expressed it, took by the forelock the occasion which fortune thus presented to him, of reconstructing Spain, and of closely connecting her with his system. He assembled at Bayonne an extraordinary national junta, composed of deputies elected by all the provinces. A programme of a constitution was submitted to the free discussion of the junta; this programme comprised a Senate, a Council of State, Cortes or National Assemblies, distributed into three bans;* it adopted the judicial system of France; equality was secured in the payment of taxes, and in admission to public employments; entails were abolished: the liberty of the press was authorized, to come into operation two years after the publication of the constitution; in a word, this charter secured all the rights which the Spanish nation could desire, and destroyed all the old abuses, such as the Inquisition and feudal privileges.* In communicating his intentions to the people of the Peninsula, the Emperor addressed to them these noble words:—"Spaniards, after a long agony, your nation was on the point of death. I have discovered your malady, and I will cure it. I will not reign over your pro-

* On arriving at Madrid, the Emperor abolished the Inquisition. He reduced the number of monasteries and convents, securing a competent subsistence to the inmates; and he increased the stipends of the rural clergy. He abolished feudal rights and dues. He removed the custom-houses to the frontiers. Lastly, the alienation of certain civil and ecclesiastical impositions, effected by donation, was revoked, and all seigneural jurisdiction abolished.—Bignon, viii. 54.

vinces, but I will acquire an eternal claim to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is feeble with

I will renovate it. I will amend all your institutions, and I will place within your enjoyment, if you will yourselves aid the benefits of a reform effected without injury, without disaster, without convulsion. Spaniards, I have summoned a general assembly of deputies from your provinces and your towns. I would satisfy myself as to what are your desires, what your wants, and I will then place your glorious crown upon the head of a second self, promising you a constitution that shall reconcile the facile and salutary authority of the sovereign with the liberty and the privileges of the people; for I would have your latest posterity preserve my memory, and say of me—He was the regenerator of our country!"

But there was no nation less prepared than Spain for undergoing a social change. She was deaf to this noble language, and repelled the only hand that could save her. Bitter, indeed, must be her regret to find the terrible prediction of the Emperor at St. Helena accomplished:—"I would have spared them," said he, "the fearful tyranny under which they are crushed—the fearful convulsions that await them."

If war is the scourge of humanity, that scourge loses much of its unhappy influence when the power of the sword is invoked to found and not to destroy. The wars of the Empire were like the overflowings of the Nile: when the waters of the river cover the plains of Egypt, they seem devastation; but scarcely have they subsided, before abundance and fertility arise from their passage!

CHAPTER

AIM AT WHICH THE EMPEROR TENDED.

European Association—Liberty in France.

WHEN the fate of arms had rendered Napoleon master of the greater part of the continent, he was anxious to apply his victories to the establishment of a European Confederation.*

Prompt to appreciate the tendency of civilization, the Emperor hastened its march, by executing at once that which was only contained in the remote decrees of Providence. His genius made him foresee that the rivalry which divides the different nations of Europe would disappear before a general interest, well understood.

The nearer the world advances towards perfection—the more the barriers which divide mankind extend, the more countries there are which the same interests tend to unite.

In the infancy of societies, the state of nature existed from man to man ; then a common interest united a small number of individuals, who renounced some of their natural rights in order that society might guarantee to them the entire enjoyment of all the rest. Then the tribe or horde was formed—an association of men where the state of

* He had the Additional act prefaced by these remarkable words: "It was my purpose," said he, in speaking of the past, "to organize a grand federative European system, which I had adopted as conformable with the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to effect its completion, and to give it all the development and all the stability of which it was susceptible, I had postponed the establishment of many internal institutions, more especially destined to protect the liberty of the citizens."

nature disappeared, and where law took the place of might. The more civilization progresses, the greater becomes the scale on which that transformation is effected.

Men fought, at first, from door to door—from hill to hill; then the spirit of conquest and the spirit of defence formed towns, provinces, states; and a common danger having united a great portion of these territorial fractions, nations were formed. Then the national interest embracing all local and provincial interests, they fought from people to people, and each people, when it has had a great man at its head, and a great cause at its back, in its turn marched in triumph over the territory of its neighbour. The commune, the town, the province, have then, one after the other, enlarged their social sphere, and removed further back the boundaries of the circle, beyond which exists the state of nature. This transformation is stayed at the frontier of each country; and it is still might, and not right, which decides the fate of peoples.

To substitute, among the nations of Europe, the social state for the state of nature,—such was the idea of the Emperor; all his political combinations tended to this immense result; but to attain it, it was necessary that he should bring England and Russia frankly to second his views. "So long as there is fighting in Europe," said the Emperor, "that will be civil war. The Holy Alliance is an idea which they stole from me,—that is to say, the holy alliance of the peoples by the medium of the kings, and not that of the kings against the peoples." Therein lies the immense difference between his idea and the manner in which it has been realized. Napoleon had displaced the sovereigns for the present interest of the peoples; in 1815, the peoples were displaced for the special interests of the sovereigns. The statesmen of this period, only consulting rancour or passion, based the balance of power in Europe

on the rivalries of two great powers, instead of placing it on general interests; and, as a necessary result, their system has crumbled to pieces.

The policy of the Emperor, on the contrary, was to found a solid European association, by resting his system on completed nationalities and satisfied general interests. If fortune had not abandoned him, he would have had in his hands all the means of reconstructing Europe; he had kept in reserve whole countries to be disposed of in conformity with his views. Dutchmen, Romans, Piedmontese, people of Bremen and of Hamburgh,—all ye who have been astonished to find yourselves Frenchmen, you will re-enter the atmosphere of nationality adapted to your antecedents and to your position; and France, in ceding the rights which victory had given her over you, will still act in her own interest: for her interest cannot be separated from that of the civilized peoples. To cement the European association, the Emperor, to quote his own statement, would have caused the adoption of a European code, and a European court of cassation, correcting the judicial errors of universal Europe, as the court of cassation in France corrects the errors of the tribunals of France. He would have founded a European Institute to animate, direct, and bring into harmonious co-operation all the learned institutions of Europe.* The uniformity of moneys,

* The Emperor had already commenced this species of European Scientific Association, by giving European prizes for new inventions and discoveries. Despite the existence of war, Davy at London, and Hermann at Berlin, gained prizes created by the Institute. In the same spirit of European confraternity, the Emperor caused it to be declared, by a Senatus Consultum of the 21st Feb. 1808, that all who had rendered or should render important services to the state, or might bring to it talents, inventions, or some useful industry, or who should form great establishments, might, after a year's residence, be admitted to the title of French citizen, which should be conferred upon them by a decree.

weights, and measures, and the uniformity of legislation, would have been secured by his powerful intervention.

The last great transformation then would have been accomplished for our continent; and as, in the outset, communal interests raised themselves above individual interests, — and then civic interests above communal interests,—and then provincial interests above civic interests, —and then national interests above provincial interests; so also European interests would have dominated national interests, and humanity would have been satisfied; for it cannot be the desire of Providence that one nation should only be happy at the expense of the rest, or that there should be in Europe only conquerors and conquered, instead of the reconciled members of one same great family.

Napoleonian Europe founded, the Emperor would have proceeded in France herself with the establishment of peace. He would have consolidated liberty; to do this, he had only to relax the threads of the net-work he had formed.

The government of Napoleon, better than any other, could endure liberty, for this simple reason,—that liberty would have confirmed his throne, whereas it overthrows thrones which have not a solid basis.

Liberty would have confirmed his power, because Napoleon had established in France all that should precede liberty;* because his power reposed on the entire mass of the nation; because his interests were the same with those of the people; because, lastly, the most undoubting confidence prevailed between the governor and the governed.

In fact, without identical interests—without absolute confidence, no authority is possible; for whatever good a government may do, or desire to do, its inevitable destiny

is to perish, if guilty intentions are attributed to all its acts. "One of the indispensable qualities of a government," says M. Thiers,* "is to have that good reputation which springs from justice. When it has lost this, and everything is imputed to it as a crime, even the faults of others—nay, even those of fortune, the faculty of governing has departed from it, and this incapacity should of itself condemn it—to withdraw."

In England, want of confidence on the part of the people towards the sovereign, in 1687, brought about melancholy consequences. King James II. published, of his own authority, a declaration of liberty of conscience for all his subjects; but the nation distrusted the intentions of the sovereign, and thinking he designed thereby to favour the triumph of catholicism, it was indignant at an act which it deemed dictated by duplicity, although its principle was just and generous.

The Emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, possessing the unlimited confidence of the people, everything was easy to him. He had, in the outset, surmounted the chief difficulty, and laid the principal foundations of a solid establishment, by reconciling together all the members of the French family. All were agreed as to the fundamental basis of the constitution. The interests of the majority were so closely mixed up with those of the dynasty of Napoleon, that in 1811, on the very spot where some years before they had sworn implacable hatred to royalty, all Paris, all France, were heard saluting with their acclamations the birth of an infant, because that infant seemed a gage of the duration and stability of the imperial government.

Beloved most especially by the popular classes, how could Napoleon fear to give political rights to all the citizens?

When, named consul for life, he established the principle of the right of election, he made use of these remarkable words:—"For the *stability* of the government, it is necessary that the people should have a greater share in elections." Thus then, so early as 1803, Napoleon foresaw that liberty would fortify his power; having in the people his warmest partisans, the lower he reduced the franchise the better chance had his natural friends of reaching the legislative assembly: the more power he gave to the masses, the more did he strengthen his own.

Freedom of discussion in the Chambers would have been equally without danger for the imperial government; for all being agreed on fundamental questions, the opposition would merely have served to generate a noble emulation; and instead of expending its energy in seeking the overthrow of the ministry, it would have limited its efforts to the improvement of legislation.

Lastly, the liberty of the press would have only served to testify the grandeur of the conceptions of Napoleon, to proclaim the benefits of his reign. Having, as general, consul, emperor, done everything for the people, could he fear that he should be reproached with conquests which had for their sole aim the prosperity and greatness of France, the peace of the world? No, it was not a government resplendent with civil and military laurels that could dread the light of day!

The more an authority is possessed of moral force, the less does it need the employment of material force; the greater the power with which it is invested by opinion, the more can it dispense with its exercise.

Let us repeat, then, the identity of interests between the sovereign and the people is the essential basis of a dynasty. A government is immovable when it can say to itself: that which will profit the greatest number, that which will

secure the liberty of the citizens and the prosperity of the country, that also will constitute the force of my authority, and consolidate my power. But when a government has for its partisans only one class of the community, when liberty gives arms only to its enemies, how can we expect that it will extend the franchise, or favour liberty? This were to call upon a government to commit suicide.

By means of Napoleon, the nation was approximating, without shock or agitation, to a normal state, wherein liberty would have been the support of power and the guarantee of the general well-being, instead of being a weapon of war, a torch of discord.

It is with the impression left by an intoxicating dream, that one pauses to contemplate the picture of happiness and stability which Europe would have presented if the vast projects of the Emperor had been accomplished. Each country, circumscribed by its natural limits, united with its neighbour by the relations of mutual interest and friendship, would have enjoyed within itself all the benefits of independence, peace, and liberty. The sovereigns, exempt from fear and suspicion, would have applied themselves solely to the amelioration of their peoples' condition, and to the diffusion amongst them of all the blessings of civilization!

Instead of this, what have we now in Europe? Every man when he seeks his pillow at night fears the morrow's dawn; for the germ of evil is everywhere; and the honest heart almost rejects good, by reason of the sacrifices necessary to obtain it.

Men of liberty, ye who rejoiced in the fall of Napoleon, lamentable indeed was your error! How many years must still pass away, how many struggles and sacrifices must there be before you again reach the point to which Na-

And you, statesmen of the Congress of Vienna, who have made yourselves masters of the world on the wreck of the Empire, your part might have been a noble part, but you did not comprehend it! In the name of liberty, and even of licence, you aroused the nations against Napoleon; you placed him under the ban of Europe, as a despot and a tyrant; you proclaimed that you had delivered the nations and secured their repose. For a moment they believed you; but nothing solid can be built upon a lie and a blunder! Napoleon had closed the gulf of revolutions; that gulf, when you overthrew him, you re-opened. Take care lest it swallow you up!

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSE OF THE EMPEROR'S FALL.

We have exhibited, in the preceding chapters, all the chances of duration which were possessed by the imperial creations. It may be said: But this edifice that you vaunt as so solid within, was overthrown; this foreign policy which you describe as so profound, was the cause of its author's ruin.

To this we reply, the edifice within was solid; it was not from within the shock came that overthrew it; the Emperor had, simply, not time definitively to establish the system he had conceived: to appreciate its true force, it must have been first carried into actual practice.

The Emperor fell because he finished his work too soon; because, events pressing upon him with undue rapidity of succession, he conquered, so to speak, too promptly. Outstepping by his genius both time and man, successful, he would have been hailed a god; unsuccessful, men recognised

Napoleon, in his rushing course, passed far beyond the philosophers, who, restricting their ideas within the narrow circle of the domestic hearth, for one ray of liberty which they fancied in danger, aided to destroy the very focus of civilization.

On the other hand, foreign nations, impatient of the immediate evil of war, forgot the permanent benefits that Napoleon was conferring upon them, and, to avoid a transient inconvenience, sacrificed a whole futurity of independence. How, indeed, should it be given, even to the greatest genius of modern times, to be able, in a few years, to remove from the mind of foreigners all prejudices, to persuade all consciences!

France had become too great by the revolution not to awaken rivalry and hatred, to appease which it would have been necessary to have made concessions at the very outset of the Empire. These very rivalries, on the contrary, elevated Napoleon to the apogee of his power; when, afterwards, he was obliged to descend, it was impossible for him to stop himself.

Time not having cemented his alliances, or effaced the memory of recent rancour, his allies, at the very first check he sustained, turned against him. Deceived in his expectations, the Emperor no longer chose to adhere to propositions which he believed insincere; the foreigners, on their part, seeing Napoleon still haughtier from defeat, imagined that he would never consent to a definitive peace.

Napoleon fell solely because, his projects growing in proportion to the elements which he had at his disposal, he sought, in ten years of Empire, to do the work of several centuries.

It was not, then, under powerlessness that the Emperor succumbed, but under exhaustion; and notwithstanding fearful reverses, and calamities numberless, the French

people ever confirmed him by their suffrages, sustained him by their efforts, encouraged him by their attachment.

It is a consolation for those who feel the blood of the great man flowing in their veins, to reflect upon the regrets which have accompanied his loss. It is a grand and elevating thought, that it required all the efforts of combined Europe, to wrest Napoleon from the France he had rendered so great! It was not the wrath of the French people that sapped his throne: there twice needed twelve hundred thousand foreigners to break the imperial sceptre!

It is noble obsequies for a sovereign, when the tears of an afflicted country, and glory, mourning its decay in his death, accompany him to his last abode!

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

THE period of the Empire was a mortal war of England against France. England triumphed; but, thanks to the creative genius of Napoleon, France, though conquered, lost less materially than England. The finances of France are still the most prosperous in Europe: England bends under the weight of her debt. The impulse given to industry and commerce was not stayed by our reverses; and now the continent of Europe supplies itself with most of the productions which, before, were furnished to it by England.

And now let us ask who are the greatest statesmen,—those who have governed countries which have gained, notwithstanding their defeat; or those who have ruled countries which have lost, notwithstanding their victory?

The period of the Empire was a mortal war against the

old European system. The old system triumphed; but, notwithstanding the fall of Napoleon, Napoleonian ideas have germinated in all directions. The conquerors themselves have adopted the ideas of the conquered, and the nations are exhausting themselves in efforts to restore that which Napoleon had established among them.

In France there is an incessant demand, under other names or other forms, for the realization of the ideas of the Emperor. Whenever a great measure or a great public work is effected, it is generally a project of Napoleon that is executed, or, simply, terminated. Every act of power, every proposition of the Chambers, places itself beneath the eyes of Napoleon, in order to acquire popularity: on one word, fallen from his lips, men now construct an entire system.

Italy and Poland have sought to regain that national organization which Napoleon bestowed upon them. Spain pours forth in torrents the blood of her children, in the endeavour to re-establish the institutions which were granted in the *consultum* of Bayonne, in 1808. The troubles which agitate that country, are merely the reaction, self-working, of their resistance to the Emperor.

At London, also, reaction has taken place; and we have seen the major-general of the French army at Waterloo, fêted by the English people with a distinction equal to that enjoyed by the conqueror.

Belgium, in 1830, emphatically manifested her desire to become once more what she was under the Empire. Several of the German states demand the laws which Napoleon bestowed on them.

The Swiss cantons, with common accord, prefer, to the compact which now connects them, the Act of Mediation of 1803.

Lastly, we have seen, even in a democratic republic—

that of Berne—the districts which formerly belonged to France, demanding, in 1838, from the Bernese government, the imperial laws of which their incorporation with that republic had deprived them since 1815.

Here, then, again let us ask, who are the greatest statesmen,—those who founded a system which is crumbling away on all sides, despite their omnipotence; or those who founded a system which survives their defeat, and which springs anew from its ashes?

The Napoleonian ideas, then, bear the character of ideas which regulate the movement of societies, since they advance of their own force, though deprived of their author; like to a body which, launched in space, arrives by its own weight at its destined goal.

There is no need, now, to reconstruct the system of the Emperor; it will reconstruct itself: sovereigns and people, all will aid to re-establish it, because every man will see in it a guarantee of order, of peace, and of prosperity.

Where, besides, should we now find that extraordinary man who dominated the world by the respect due to superiority of conceptions?

The genius of our epoch requires nothing more than simple reason. Thirty years ago, it was necessary to foresee and to prepare; now it is necessary only to see straight, and to gather in.

"In contemporary, as in historical facts," said Napoleon, "we may find lessons, but seldom models." One should not merely copy that which has already been done, for imitations do not always produce resemblances.

In fact, to copy in its details, instead of copying in its spirit, a government that is past, were to act as a general would, who, finding himself on the same battle-field where Napoleon or Frederic had conquered, should think to secure success by merely repeating the same manœuvres.

In reading the history of peoples, as in reading the history of battles, we should derive thence general principles, and not servilely limit ourselves to the following, step by step, a track which is not impressed upon sand, but on a more elevated ground—the interests of humanity.

Let us repeat in conclusion: the Napoleonian idea is not an idea of war, but a social, industrial, commercial idea—an idea of humanity. If to some men it seems ever surrounded by struggles, the reason simply is, that it was, indeed, too long enveloped in the smoke of cannon and the dust of battles. But now the clouds have dispersed, and men discern, through the effulgent glory of arms, a civil glory, greater and more enduring.

Let the Manes of the Emperor repose in peace! His memory spreads wider and wider every passing day. Each wave that breaks on the rock of St. Helena, brings with the breath of Europe a homage to his memory, a regret to his ashes; and the echo of Longwood repeats over his tomb, "THE FREE NATIONS OF THE EARTH WILL LABOUR THROUGHOUT THE EARTH TO RECONSTRUCT THY WORK!"

AUXILIARY DOCUMENTS.

I.

Letter written by Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior, on the subject of the Communes.

"Each commune represents in France a thousand inhabitants. To labour for the prosperity of 36,000 communities, is to labour for the happiness of 30,000,000 of inhabitants, by simplifying the question, by lessening the difficulty of the difference constituted by the proportionate relation of 36,000 to 30,000,000. This it was that Henry the Fourth proposed to do when he spoke of his *chicken in the pot.* Otherwise, he would have merely talked nonsense.

"Before the revolution, the commune belonged to the seigneurs and the priests; the vassal and the parishioner had no roads; their cows and sheep had no brooks, no pasture grounds.

"Since 1790, which so summarily and so justly wrested from the property of the feudal lord the common right of market and pasturage, each municipality has become, under the protection of general laws, a true *person*, having right to possess, purchase and sell, and to do for the advantage of the municipal family, all the acts within our codes. Thus, by this grand and national thought, France at once found herself divided into 36,000 individualities, each of which found itself called upon to feel all the wants of the *proprietor*, which are, to aggrandize his domain, to improve his products, to increase his revenues,

&c. The germ, then, of the prosperity of France was there. The reason why the development of this germ was not possible is this:

"That the personal interest of proprietor is ever awake, and makes everything fructify; on the contrary, the interest of community is in its nature somniferous and barren: personal interest only needs instinct; communal interest requires virtue, and this is rare.

"Since 1790, the 36,000 communes have represented in France 36,000 orphans, inheritrixes of the old feudal rights, daughters deserted or robbed during ten years by their municipal guardians, the Convention and Directory. In changing mayors, deputies, and common councilmen, they, generally speaking, only altered the style of robbery; they robbed the road, they robbed the pathway, they robbed the trees, they robbed the church, they robbed the commune of its moveables of all sorts, and they still rob under the weak municipal government of the year VIII.

"What would become of the communes if such a system were to subsist ten years more? There would remain only insolvent, overwhelmed heirs, soliciting alms from the inhabitants, instead of giving them the protection and help they owe them, having sold or pawned, like the prodigal sons of families, the very clothes on their backs, and no longer able to live on loans, which are refused to them. Every one would fear to go and settle in the indebted commune, where he would have nothing to expect but charges and taxes of every description, under the form of begging subscriptions, assessments, extraordinary contributions, &c. The commune should be attractive to the population: it will become repulsive.

"The first duty of a minister of the interior is to arrest the course of such an evil, which would carry gangrene into these 36,000 members of the social body.

"The first step, when you stop a great evil, is to demonstrate thoroughly its gravity and its circumstances.

"The minister of the interior will accordingly commence by causing a general inventory to be made of the produce of the 36,000 communes in France.

"This inventory has been always wanting. These are the principal facts to be inventoried. There should be distinguished three classes: the indebted communes; the solvent communes; and the communes with disposable resources. The two latter classes form the smallest number; it is not pressing to occupy ourselves with them.

"The question is to set right the indebted communes.

"The inventory will give: 1. A detail of the property fallen to the commune by the old apportionment of the communal property; 2. A detail of the loans, and of what remains to be paid; 3. The estimate of the revenues, according to the nature of the object, as rents, &c.; 4. The state of the charges, other than those of the commune properly so called, as charges for hospitals, for benevolent institutions, &c.; 5. A detailed account of the roads, with an ample statement of those that are useful, and of those that may be sold; 6. The state of the clerical residences, churches, and of the chapels of ease belonging to those churches, at present without an officiating minister, (for there are many churches annexed to the old parishes which are falling to ruins, and where the peasants deposit their hay and straw, without authority, and without paying any rent;) the report will state which of these may be sold and turned to good account by particular interests; 7. A detail of the property to be resumed from persons who have taken in common lands; 8. A statement of trees that might be sold to advantage, and their kinds; 9. It will [illegible] out what increase may be made in leases, fisheries, pasturage, &c. &c.; 10. In a detail, supplementary to the larger state-

ment, the principal results of an inquiry to be ordered by the minister to be made by the chief men in the commune, and, if need be, in the canton, as to what are the best means of elevating the material condition of the commune. I consider that this inventory will comprise more than half the communes, for every municipality which is obliged to levy extraordinary taxes is an indebted commune.

"This inventory being once established, the prefects and sub-prefects will be instructed that the whole of the administrative force must be applied to the insolvent communes; that they must remove forthwith all mayors and deputies who do not enter into views of communal amelioration and regeneration. The prefect shall visit these communes at least twice a year, and the sub-prefect four times a year, under pain of dismissal. A monthly report shall be made to the minister on each commune, showing the results of what shall have been undertaken, and pointing out what may be done.

"There shall be proposed to me prizes for all such mayors as shall have freed their communes within two years; and the government shall appoint a commissioner-extraordinary to preside over the administration of the commune which, after five years, shall not be free. (This must be made the subject of a bill.)

"After five years, France will only have two classes of communes: communes with disposable resources, and solvent communes. We shall have already effaced from the map of France the insolvent municipalities whose communalty is decayed, and merely weighs down the inhabitants.

"Arrived at this first stage of improvement, the efforts of the minister of the communes will tend, within another period, to elevate the *solvent* communes to the rank of communes *having resources at their disposal*, so that half-

ten years elapse France will only contain these last. Then the general impulse of prosperity given to the country by 36 millions of individual efforts, will be multiplied by the ameliorating power of 36,000 communal individualities, all acting under the supreme direction of the government, with the purpose and aim of continual improvement.

"Every year the fifty mayors who shall have most contributed to bring their commune to the condition of freedom, or of disposable resources, shall be summoned to Paris at the expense of the state, and presented at a solemn sitting to the three consuls. A column, erected at the expense of government, and placed at the principal entrance to the town or village, shall proclaim to posterity the name of the mayor, with the following words in addition:

"*Au tuteur de la commune, la patrie reconnaissante.*"

II.

Extract from the Report on the Situation of the Empire, presented to the Legislative Body, in the sitting of the 25th of February, 1813, *by Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior.*

GENTLEMEN,

Majesty has ordered me to make you acquainted with the situatior e interior of the Empire in the years 1811 and 1812.

You will observe with satisfaction that, notwithstanding the large armies which the state of maritime and continental war obliges us to keep on foot, the population has continued to increase; that our industry has made fresh progress; that the land was never better cultivated, her manufactures more flourishing; that at no epoch of our history has wealth been more diffused among the various classes

POPULATION.

The population of France was, in 1789, 26 millions of souls. The actual population of the Empire is 42,700,000 souls, of whom 28,700,000 belong to the departments of old France, representing an increase of 2,700,000 souls, or nearly one-tenth, in the course of twenty-four years.

AGRICULTURE.

France, from the extent, from the fertility of her soil, must be considered an essentially agricultural state.

Yet she was, for a long time, dependent upon her neighbours for several of her principal wants. She has almost entirely emancipated herself from this necessity. The average produce of a harvest in France is 270 millions of quintals* of wheat; from which we must deduct 40 millions for seed.

The population of the empire is 42 millions of individuals; thus our average harvest gives 520 lbs. of grain to each person, which is in excess of all possible wants, according to the estimates made at different periods.

After minute inquiries, instituted by order of the old government, this want was calculated at 470 lbs. per head, and it was found that France produced on an average the quantity necessary for such consumption.

Our produce in corn has then increased by a tenth.

Next to wheat, the principal product of our soil is wine.

France produces every year, on an average, 40 millions of hectolitres† of wine.

The exportation of wines before the revolution was 41 millions per annum; it is now 47. Of brandies, it was 13 millions; it is now 30 millions.

* A quintal is equivalent to 1 cwt.

† A hectolitre is a French measure equal to 22 imperial gallons.

In 1794, the consumption of wines throughout France was estimated at only 16,500,000 hectolitres. It has, then, more than doubled itself, while the additions to the Empire form scarcely more than a third of the actual population.

Order has been established in the management of the woods and forests; they are becoming re-peopled, and covered with roads and canals, which render those more accessible which had previously been made little use of. The various civil, military, and naval constructions are thence provided for in abundance, and we now only take from abroad 5 millions worth of timber a year. Before 1789, we imported to the extent of 11 millions.

The yearly value of our vegetable oils is 250 millions of francs. Twenty-five years ago, we imported of these to the value of 20 millions; now we not only dispense with foreign supplies, but we actually export every year to the value of 5 or 6 millions.

Tobacco formerly was cultivated only exceptionally, and in a few provinces. It cost us every year from 8 to 10 millions of francs. Now 30 millions of pounds of tobacco are produced on 30,000 arpents* of our lands, devoted to the cultivation of this plant. The soil of France is enriched with an annual produce of 12 millions of tobacco in the raw, which, by manufacture, is sextupled in quantity.

Our average produce of silks is 22,000,000 lbs. in cods.

Formerly we exported 25 millions' worth of spun silks. The average yearly importation in the last four years has been to the value of 10 millions; and yet we export double the value in silk manufactures that we exported formerly.

This improvement is owing, in great part, to an improvement in the breed of silk-worms. The net produce of the cods in old France was estimated at only 2 millions.

Thirty-five millions of sheep give us 120 million pounds weight of wool, 9 millions of which are in fine or perfected

wools. The raw produce is 129 millions. Certain perfected sorts are the result of the improved breed of 1,500,000 sheep, — an improvement still proceeding, but which has only developed itself within the last few years.

The execution of the system which, wherever individual industry cannot operate effectually, places at the disposition of the cultivators easy methods of improvement, is pursued with close attention.

This very year twenty-eight depôts of merino rams have improved the breed of 54,000 ewes.

The type of the fine breeds is preserved in the numerous establishments formed by large proprietors, and in sheep-farms belonging to the state.

The breed of horses had been singularly neglected during the period of our troubles. The government has successfully employed itself in the restoration of the more useful kinds.

Picked stallions secure every year the amelioration of the produce of 60,000 mares. The depôts maintained by government alone contain 1400 stallions.

The number of horned beasts has considerably increased, the management of them is better understood, and the average duration of their life is longer. Twenty years ago the exportations and importations were equal. Now the exportations are triple the amount of the importations, having reached 10 millions.

Formerly our importations of butter and cheese far exceeded our exportations. Now the case is reversed. In 1812 the exportations were 10 millions.

Our iron mines, which produced, in 1789, 1,960,000 quintals of pig iron, and 160,000 quintals of cast iron, now yield 2,860,000 quintals of the former product, and 400,000 quintals of the latter, or an increase of more than one-half.

The coal mines yield, in the same way, a produce of 50

1790; but the greater part of this increase comes from the new portions of the Empire.

In this outline of the produce of our industry, I have only been able to mention a few of the leading objects. I have, of necessity, neglected the great number of those which, of less importance if we look at them separately, represent great value in their aggregate. The sum total in value amounts to 5 milliards 31 millions of francs, the annual produce of our fine country, in raw and primary materials alone.

OF MANUFACTURES.

We have already remarked that the raw material of silk manufactures produced by France amounts to 30 millions. We receive from the kingdom of Italy 10 millions more of spun and thrown silk. These 40 millions suffice for the production of 124 millions in manufactured goods. The tripling the value of the raw material, then, benefits manual labour to the extent of 84 millions. We exported, in 1812, 70 millions of manufactured silks, pure or mixed. The town of Lyon keeps at work, at the present time, 11,500 looms: in 1800, there were under 5500.

The number of our cloth manufactories has sensibly increased. The more general easiness of individual circumstances has greatly influenced home consumption, particularly in the finer woollen stuffs. The number of looms, and of workmen manufacturing cloths, hosiery, and other woollen stuffs, has more than doubled since 1800.

We annually export 28 millions of cloth manufactures. The annual average of our former exportation was only 19 millions.

We have naturalized among us the manufacture of kerseymeres, and have brought to great perfection, by means of ingenious machinery, the various processes of the manufacture.

Cotton manufactures have been multiplied, without any diminution in our employment of the hemp and flax products of our own soil.

The total value of the flax and hemp manufactured in France is 232 millions. But the raw material in this estimate is composed of 80 millions, the produce of our own soil, and 13 millions of importations. This kind of manufacture supplies our foreign trade to the extent of 37 millions.

It is true that this figure, 37 millions, was the same before 1790; but then we imported 18 millions of these fabrics; now we receive only 7 millions from abroad; so that there is a great balance in favour of the present epoch.

Cotton presents in its manufacture great facilities peculiar to itself.

Ingenious machines have brought the spinning of cotton to the highest degree of delicacy. The government has proposed a prize of one million of francs to the inventor of a machine which would bring the spinning of flax to the same state of perfection as that of cotton, so as to diminish the cost of the manual labour required in the application of our raw materials. But, till then, cotton-stuffs preserve advantages which it would have been dangerous to conceal from ourselves. The government should have applied itself to the means of receiving, at least from foreigners, only the raw material, reserving to France all the benefit of the manufacture.

For a length of time it was incessantly declared, that the most important portion of this manual labour could not be executed by us; that the weaving, and even the spinning, would always be more perfect among foreigners. Our laws prohibited, in the first place, all foreign fabrics. There was some alarm at the effect which this prohibition might produce; but, ere long, many houses among ourselves

fabricated cotton goods to a perfection which our foreign competitors have not been able even to attain. They still, however, furnished us with the thread with which we formed these tissues. The prohibition of this was decreed, and since then we have emancipated ourselves from all recurrence to the stranger for any materials whatever in the manufacture of cotton goods; and now, so far from importing manufactured articles of this description, we export them ourselves.

Before the year 1790, the annual importation of cottons —both twists and raw—amounted to 24 millions of francs. This value represented 12,000,000 lbs. weight of cotton; we were receiving manufactured goods to the value of 13 millions of francs, and the smuggling of linen cloths and muslins was considerable.

Seventy thousand workmen were then employed in the different cotton manufactories of France.

Subsequently to our troubles, from the year X. up to 1806, cottons were imported into France to the annual value of 48 millions; and in addition to that, we received woven goods to the value of 46 millions.

The importation of linen cloths was first reduced to a million, and for the last two years has entirely ceased. So far from importing, we have exported, and the average annual value of exportations has been 17 millions of francs.

The manufacture of cotton now gives employment to 233,000 workmen.

The plan of substituting pitcoal for charcoal in forges and furnaces has proved successful.

Other mines, such as those of copper, alum, gypsum, the marble quarries, &c., yield 12 millions of francs.

Such manufactures as hardware, cutlery, goldsmith's ware, jewellery, watch-making, looking-glass and glass ware, porcelain, and all those which have metal as raw

material, have not individually attained to any large amount of annual exportation, but taken altogether, they constitute a mass which, previous to 1790, added 30 millions to our exports, and which now gives them 42 millions.

All these articles together produce a fund of 1300 millions of francs, resulting solely from industry.

RECENT INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENTS.

The desire of supplying our own wants without having recourse to foreign assistance, the perfecting of the mechanical and chemical arts, aided by the ingenious and industrious spirit of the French, have improved our old system of agriculture and manufactures by recent inventions and improved methods of proceeding.

It seemed a thing impossible to replace in our consumption, the sugar, indigo, and cochineal of the colonies; to nd cotton in the north of Europe, and the potash which supplied our markets in our own land.

This very year, however, we shall obtain 7,000,000 lbs. weight of sugar from the manufactories for extracting it from beet-root. It is prepared in 334 manufactories, almost all of which are in active operation.

Indigo holds the first rank among all substances used in dying. In former times such large quantities of it were introduced into France, that its import was of the annual value of 9,500,000 francs. During the six years which began with 1802, the average amounted to 18 millions annually. In the course of the five following years, beginning with 1808, it sank to 6 or 7 millions.

A substance akin to indigo has been successfully extracted from woad. Several manufactories are already in operation; they produce a sort of indigo in every respect similar to the East Indian dye, of how beautiful soever a

tint, which is sold at ten francs per lb. Our dyeing establishments consume 12,000,000 lbs. of native indigo, valued at 12,000,000 francs.

Scarlet was formerly produced by cochineal alone. The red dye extracted from madder, besides being a less beautiful shade, was also not so fast a colour. The Brothers Gouin, of Lyon, have now succeeded in producing the same effects from madder which were once peculiar to cochineal. Formerly cochineal was used in France to the amount of 1,000,000 francs.

For some years back cotton has been cultivated in the department of Rome; the crops have given 100,000 lbs. weight, and the naturalization of this plant is now secured. France receives three million pounds weight of cotton annually from the kingdom of Naples.

Potash is a substance necessary to our manufactures, which we could formerly obtain by commerce alone. Twenty-five years ago, we imported it from abroad, to the value of 3,500,000 francs. The average annual importation during the nine years which began with 1802, was 5,500,000 francs. By means of chemical agency, this material has been successfully produced from substances inherent in our soil, to be found in such abundance, and at so trivial a cost, that the price of potash has sunk two-thirds in trade, notwithstanding the absolute prohibition of all foreign potashes.

The total amount resulting from the new productions of our land and our industry, may thus be rated at 65,000,000 francs; a sum capable of being increased in a very rapid proportion;—and we are saved the annual expense of 90,000,000 francs, which we were in the habit of bestowing upon other nations, and principally on England.

The other branches of our agriculture and labour will

now raise beetroot, would have remained fallow ; the 70,000 arpents cultivated in woad are but a very small portion of our territory ;—add to which the fact, that they will be so abundantly manured as to render all succeeding crops much more productive.

Madder is so abundant in France, as far to exceed all that we can require; we export it to the value of 1,600,000 francs: the sole difference will be, that it will now be turned to a more useful purpose.

Our salt marshes provide us amply with the necessary ingredients for making potash; and an additional good to be derived from this discovery is, that it will furnish us with the means of working our precious salt mines.

OF COMMERCE.

The commerce of an Empire which values its annual productions at 70,000 millions, even without taking at all into consideration the many other values, real and fictitious, which calculators in political economy adopt in their estimates, must necessarily be immense.

If we had looked for values purely commercial, I do not hesitate to say that our products would have reached 10,000 million francs.

In 1789, one of those years in which the foreign commerce of France was most considerable, it only reached 357 millions of exports, and 400 millions of imports, for we ought not to reckon as imports the 236 millions which we received from our colonies, they forming, at that period, an integral portion of France.

We must deduct from the imports the specie which was paid by foreign nations, in exchange for some of our exported goods.

If we deduct 55 millions of specie, gold and silver, we shall find that the imports into France amounted, in 1789, but to 345 millions, and the exports to 357 millions of

francs. This is a commerce of 360 millions, whether we consider it either on the active or passive side. It was not the fifteenth part of our internal commerce.

Let us compare our foreign commerce of that period with what it is at present.

I shall consider our colonies as forming part of France, and our commerce with them as belonging to the home trade.

In 1788, the exports amounted to 365 millions; the imports, to 345 millions: 55 millions of which, being specie, reduced it to 290 millions. Thus our exports exceeded our imports by 75 millions.

We have just seen that in 1789, the imports having been more considerable than in 1788, the excess of the exports was only 12,000,000 francs.

In 1812, the amount of the exports reached to 383 millions; that of the imports, (not including 93 millions in specie,) 257 millions. The excess of the exports was 126 millions.

Thus in 1812, the export of the products of our soil exceeded the largest sums to which they attained at other periods.

The balance of trade which in 1788, the most favourable of all in times gone by, was only 25 millions in favour of our exports, amounts at present to 126 millions.

The average annual import of specie in the three years preceding the revolution, if we deduct the exports, was 65 millions; now the annual average is 110 millions.

We owe the present state of our finances, the enjoyment of the best monetary system in Europe, together with the absence of all paper money, and the reduction of our national debt to such a sum as is convenient for capitalists, to that territorial situation of which I have just given an outline. It is a position which enables us at one and the same time to make head against one maritime and two conti-

nental wars; to keep up constantly a force of 900,000 men under arms; to maintain 100,000 seamen, as crews of our men of war; to possess 100 ships of the line, as many frigates, fit for service or in course of construction, and to expend every year from 120 to 150 millions of francs on public works.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Since his Majesty's accession to the imperial throne, the following sums have been expended:—

	Francs.
For the imperial palaces and buildings belonging to the crown	62,000,000
„ Fortifications	144,000,000
„ Seaports	117,000,000
„ Roads	277,000,000
„ Bridges	31,000,000
„ Canals, Navigation, and Draining	123,000,000
„ Works at Paris	102,000,000
„ Public buildings in the Departments and principal Towns	149,000,000
Total	1,005,000,000

IMPERIAL PALACES, AND WORKS OF THE CROWN.

The Louvre is in course of completion; it will cost 50,000,000 francs, including the value of the houses which are to be taken down; 21,400,000 francs have been expended.

The houses obstructing the approaches to the Tuileries have been removed; 6,700,000 francs have been thus employed.

The foundation of the palace for the king of Rome has been laid, directly opposite the bridge of Jena.

Versailles is being repaired; 5,200,000 francs have been employed for that purpose.

The machine for supplying water at Marly has been replaced by a pump worked by steam; the cost will be a sum

of 3,000,000 francs. Works to the amount of 2,450,000 francs have been carried out.

Fontainebleau and Compiegne have been restored, at an expense of 10,600,000 francs.

Ten millions eight hundred thousand francs have been laid out on the palaces of Saint Cloud, Trianon, Rambouillet, Stupinis, Laken, Strasbourg, and Rome.

The crown diamonds, which were pawned at the time of our troubles, have been redeemed ; additional acquisitions have been made for the purpose of completing them.

In like manner the furniture for the royal palaces, which by the statutes should amount to 30,000,000 francs, has been also rendered complete.

Thirty millions have been employed in the purchase of pictures, statues, objects of art and antiquity, which have been added to the collection of the immense Napoleon Museum.

All these expenses have been discharged from the revenues of the crown and of the extraordinary domain.

MILITARY WORKS.

The safety of our fortresses has not been for a moment lost sight of. The system of defence of the Helder, which is the key of Holland, has been consolidated by great additional works, on which 4,800,000 francs have been laid out; this fortress may now be considered as impregnable.

Forts Lasalle, L'Ecluse, Duquesne, and Morland, which defend the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, and that of the Texel, will stand a siege of sixty days. This year they will be fitted out to stand a ninety days' blockade, as was the original intention. If these works had been in existence fifteen years ago, Holland would not have lost two fleets.

Eight million four hundred thousand francs have been

order to complete the excavation of the basin at Antwerp; it is now one of our strongest fortresses.

Flushing has received much attention from the officers of the corps of engineers. Since 1809, we have laid out 11,300,000 francs upon it. This fortress can now stand an attack with open trenches of 100 days; it has bomb-proof casemate accommodation for more than 6,000 men. In 1809 it had none at all.

Ostend has received very considerable improvements; two stone forts have been erected on the Downs, at a cost of 4,000,000 francs.

The fort of Cherbourg is now surrounded by a vast enclosure, which, at an expense of 13,700,000 francs, has been rendered capable of sustaining a siege. Four forts upon the heights have been completed this year.

Brest, Belle-Isle, Quiberon, and La Rochelle have been strengthened; new forts have been erected on the Isle d'Aix, on the Isle d'Oleron, at the mouth of the Gironde, at Toulon, on the Hieres Islands, at Spezzia, and at Porto Ferrajo.

At all our posts the most important batteries have been enclosed by arched bomb-proof towers, mounted with cannon.

The strength of Corfù is annually increasing; the whole island is covered with fortified camps.

On the land side, our line of defence on the Rhine has been everywhere strengthened. Kehl is completed.

At Cassel, 5,700,000 francs have been expended on the works, and at Mayence 3,800,000; while the amount expended at Juliers and Wesel has been 4,700,000 francs.

NAVAL AND SEAPORT WORKS.

The vast plans adopted by his Majesty for the establishment of Cherbourg amount to 73 millions.

A harbour excavated in the rock, at the depth of 28 feet

beneath low water, will in a few months be ready for the reception of our largest ships. Twenty-six millions have been expended. The dike, which will make the road as secure from the attack of an enemy as from the violence of the storm, will be complete, as will also all the other buildings necessary for the establishment of a great sea-port, before ten years are past.

Antwerp formerly possessed no maritime establishment; that town now contains an arsenal in which twenty ships of the line are in course of construction at once, and a floating basin where our whole fleet may ride. Henceforward it will afford safe and commodious asylum for 42 ships of the line. These works have cost 18 millions.

Flushing has been repaired at an expense of 5,600,000 francs; the quays and magazines have been rebuilt; the lowering of the sluice-gates by four feet has produced the advantage, which was not in existence before, of being able to admit the largest ships of the line. Six vessels may come in or go out during a single tide.

The Nieuw-Dypp seemed pointed out by nature as the arsenal, port, and dockyard of Holland; but as it was bordered by bad dykes, destitute of quays, vessels found but an insecure asylum there. Works to the amount of 1,500,000 francs have been erected, and now 25 ships of the line may moor to the quay, and remain there in safety: in three years the works of the Nieuw-Dypp will be complete.

The port of Havre was seldom accessible to frigates. A bank of pebbles was constantly forming at the mouth of the canal. Locks have recently been constructed there, which secure freedom of passage. The quays and the basins are extended; the works already done have amounted to 6,300,000 francs. In two years they will be complete.

A considerable part of the territory which forms the flat

shore of Dunkirk, was a mere marsh, and its port was choked up. Five million francs are destined to the construction of a sluice at the end of the canal, and to ensure the draining of the marsh. 4,500,000 francs have been already laid out, and 500,000 francs will complete the work before the end of the year. Six vessels may come in or go out during a single tide.

The canal at Ostend was much choked with mud, and all parts of the port had suffered from long neglect: the noble sluice of Slikens was in need of repair. 3,600,000 francs have been employed in these works, and the construction of locks now ensures the free passage of the canal.

The port of Marseilles, at all times but small, was becoming useless from the great accumulation of mud: 1,500,000 francs have been spent upon clearing it.

Beside the great projects which I have narrated, 50 millions have been bestowed upon the other maritime establishments; viz., at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Genoa, La Spezzia, Dieppe, Calais, St. Valery, Bayonne, and those innumerable ports of minor importance which girdle our coasts.

ROADS.

In the Alps the road from Paris to Milan by the Simplon, that from Paris to Turin by the Maurienne and Mont Cenis, and that from Spain to Italy by Mont Genève, are open the whole way. These roads cost 22,400,000 francs. The entire plan was estimated at 30,600,000 francs. The construction of hospices, and some further improvements, will take the remaining sum of 8,200,000 francs.

The road by Lyon to Genoa by the Lantares has cost 1,800,000 francs, out of 3,500,000 francs which are to be spent upon it. That from Cézanne to Fenestrelles, by the defile of Sestrière, will cost the same sum as the preceding;

it will be completed in 1813, at an expense of 1,800,000 francs.

The road from Nice to Genoa will cost 15,500,000 francs; 6,500,000 have established the communication between Nice and Vintimille, and between Savona and Genoa. The nine remaining millions will complete this road, which, without quitting a mild and temperate climate, will conduct the traveller from Marseilles to Rome.

In the Apennines, the road from Savona to Alexandria is opened; the entire plan estimates the expense at four millions, 2,600,000 of which have been laid out.

The road from Port Maurice to Ceva, that from Genoa to Alexandria by the defile of Giovi, that from Genoa to Placentia, and that from Spezzia to Parma, which form a line of connexion between the whole sea-coast and the interior of our Italian departments, are in course of construction. All the plans together amount to 13,600,000 francs, and work to the value of three millions is already done. By the end of the year it will be practicable to go from Spezzia to Parma direct.

There was formerly no road between Bordeaux and Bayonne; the sands of the Landes could not be passed without incalculable trouble and delay. Eight millions are designed for the construction of a paved road there; 4,200,000 francs have been expended. The road will be finished in 1814; it would have been so now, if the discovery had been sooner made of some brown-stone quarries in its vicinity, by the help of which its firm and solid construction is secured.

Between Antwerp and Amsterdam, the communication, when not entirely closed, was rendered slow and difficult by the sands and marshes, intersected by dikes and ditches. Two-thirds of the road which it was found necessary to make, are already paved; it will be complete in 1813. Of

6,300,000 francs, its estimated cost, 4,300,000 have been expended.

The road from Wesel to Hamburg was not in existence three years ago: it is now open throughout, and complete in many places. Its cost will be 9,800,000 francs, of which six millions have already been spent upon the work.

Between Maestricht and Wesel, there was not even so much as a trace of a road across the sands. A road which cost 2,100,000 francs has been constructed there.

The road from Paris into Germany was barely sketched out between Metz and Mayence; at a cost of five millions it has been made one of the finest roads in the Empire.

Besides this outlay, 219,000,000 francs have been employed in the course of the last nine years upon those numerous roads which traverse the Empire in every direction, and which are improving every year.

BRIDGES.

Twelve millions have been employed in the construction of bridges which are now complete,—those of Verceil and Tortona, across the Sesia and the Scrivia, and those of Tours over the Loire, and Lyon over the Saöne, near the Archbishop's Palace; together with all those bridges on the road from Lyon to Marseilles, which was formerly unsafe from the rivers and torrents which traverse it.

Two great bridges are in course of construction in our transalpine departments; that of Turin over the Pô, upon which 1,850,000 francs have been expended, out of 3,500,000 francs, its estimated cost, and the bridge of Ardissona, on the Doria, which has already taken 1,100,000 francs, and will be completed this year, at a further expense of 820,000 francs.

A butment of several piles of the bridge of Bordeaux which have been driven, seems to promise complete success

It has cost one million; and at an expense of six millions, this bridge, which it was formerly considered impossible to be constructed, will be completed.

The bridge of Rouen will cost five millions, if we include the necessary expense of repairing the quays; 800,000 francs are already expended.

The stone bridge at Roanne, on the road from Paris to Lyon, has already cost 1,500,000 francs; 900,000 more will complete it.

Twelve additional millions have been expended upon bridges of minor importance.

CANALS.

The St. Quentin canal has joined the Rhone to the Scheldt, Antwerp, and Marseilles, and has made Paris the centre of this extensive communication. Its construction cost eleven millions. The navigation of this canal, which for three leagues of its course is underground, is entirely open. In the eight first months of the year 1812, 756 coal barges, and 231 laden with corn, followed this new route, which has been proportionably frequented by the other branches of commerce.

The canal of the Somme, which is to join that of St. Quentin at the bridge of St. Valery, will cost five millions; the works now complete amount to 1,200,000 francs.

The canal between Mons and Condé, leading from the rich coal mines of Jemmappe into the Scheldt, will cost five millions; three millions have been already expended upon it.

Numerous sluices have been constructed, in order to perfect the navigation of the Seine, the Aube, and the Marne. These improvements are still in progress, the entire plan being estimated at fifteen millions, of which six millions have been laid out. Among the sluices which have been

constructed, that of the bridge of l'Arche deserves notice from its great span.

The Napoleon canal will be finished in four years; it will join the Rhone to the Rhine, and is to cost 17 millions. 10,500,000 francs have been already expended upon it; and the funds requisite for completing the sum by the remaining 6,500,000 francs have been created and secured.

The Burgundy canal, an important communication to be established between the Saône and the Loire, and between the Napoleon canal and Paris, is to cost 24 millions. Up to the end of 1812, 6,800,000 francs had been expended on it; the remaining works, amounting to 17,200,000 francs, have special funds for their erection, and will be complete in ten years.

It will very soon be practicable to communicate between St. Malo and the mouth of the Vilaine, without doubling the coast of Brittany. The Rama canal will be completed in six years; it is to cost eight millions, five of which have been laid out upon it.

Canals have been run through Le Blavet, and the navigation is open from the new town of Napoleon (Pontivy). 500,000 francs, which are still to be laid out, will, in addition to the 2,800,000 expended on the works already done, complete the sum estimated for the entire plan; that is, 3,300,000 francs.

The canal between Nantes and Brest has been just begun; it is to cost 28 millions, and 1,200,000 francs have been laid out upon it already.

The canal from Niort to La Rochelle, which, as well as answering the purposes of navigation, will be serviceable in draining a considerable tract of country, will cost nine millions; 5,100,000 francs have been expended upon it.

The formation of the canal at Arles is attended with similar advantages. It will cost 8,500,000 francs, including

the expense of constructing the post of Bouc, at the point where it ends: 3,800,000 francs have been laid out upon it.

Easy and convenient navigation throughout the valley of the Cher is to be secured by a canal; it will bring nearer to the Loire those coal mines and forests which are now so difficult to work: its estimated cost is six millions, of which 1,100,000 francs have been already expended.

DRAINAGE.

The principal works of drainage undertaken are those of Rochefort and the Cotentin; the plans amount to the sum of 11,500,000 francs, and the works now complete have taken 5,600,000. Rochefort in particular has already derived much benefit from it.

The dikes on the Scheldt and those of Blankenburg have been repaired by works to the amount of 5,800,000 francs: those on the Pô have cost a million; these dikes protect whole tracts of country from the invasion of the sea and the inundation of rivers.

The peninsula of Perrache, which had been intended for the site of a purposed extension of the city of Lyon, was subject to inundations of the Saône. At an expense of four millions, a plan will be put in execution to rescue it from this inconvenience. Two millions have already been laid out for the construction of a dike, and to commence the raising the level of the soil.

Beside the 67 millions employed on the works which I have just enumerated, 55 millions have been laid out upon various undertakings.

WORKS OF PARIS.

The capital wanted water carried through its different districts, it required more halls and markets, and was in

The rivers Beuvronne, Therouenne, and Ourcq will be carried on to Paris; the junction of the first is already formed; three principal fountains pour forth its abundant water, which is again distributed by sixty smaller fountains throughout the city. The waters carried to Paris, being united, feed the canal of Ourcq, which is complete through almost the whole of its course, as far as the La Villette basin. A branch already cut will join this canal to the Seine, at St. Denis; another branch will lead into that river, near the bridge of Austerlitz.

These two tributaries will shorten the navigation by cutting off three leagues of winding turns described by the Seine; and by the whole time occupied in the passage of the bridges of Paris.

These works will cost 38 millions, and will be complete in five years; those now done amount to 19,500,000 francs. The requisite funds are supplied by the city of Paris from the product of its *octroi*.

Five vast buildings have been set aside for the reception of all animals destined for the consumption of Paris, immediately on their admission into that capital. The amount required for their erection will be 13,500,000 francs: half of this sum has been expended.

The building of a hall sufficiently large to contain 200,000 barrels of wine or brandy will cost 12,000,000 francs. Part of this hall has been appropriated to commerce: the amount now expended is 4,000,000 francs.

The iron dome of the corn market has recently been constructed at a cost of 800,000 francs. The space between the corn market and the marché des Innocents will be occupied by a provision depôt, for the erection of which 12,000,000 francs are required: the houses to be taken

markets: the buildings already constructed amount to four millions; 8,500,000 francs will complete the entire plan.

The 46,800,000 francs which the erection of halls, slaughter-houses, and markets will cost the city of Paris, will bring it in a revenue of nearly 3,000,000 francs, without loading the wares themselves with any additional tax. The store-rent, payable by the dealers in provisions, will be lower than it is in the present state of things.

The construction of corn magazines, that of the mills and magazines of St. Maur, will complete the system of buildings relating to the provisioning of Paris.

The reserve corn magazines require eight millions; of this, 2,300,000 francs have been expended.

The mills and magazines of St. Maur will also cost eight millions; one million has been spent upon the works now complete; and the bridges of Austerlitz, Jena, and the bridge des Arts, now connect those districts of Paris which were divided by the Seine: their construction has cost 8,500,000 francs. The bridge of Jena will still require an additional outlay of 1,400,000 francs.

Eleven millions have been employed in the construction of quays; they will be completed, in an uninterrupted line along both banks of the Seine, at an expense of four millions.

Five new Lyceums are in course of formation; 500,000 francs have been employed in making new acquisitions. The total expense will be five millions.

The church of St. Genevieve, that of St. Denis, the Archepiscopal palace, and the Metropolitan edifice, have been restored. Of the 7,500,000 francs devoted to these buildings, 6,700,000 have been expended; all the works will be completed this year at a cost of 800,000 francs more.

Hotels for the minister of foreign affairs, and the Post Office, are in course of erection; the foundations are already

laid; they have cost 2,800,000 francs, and a sum of 9,200,000 francs will complete the plan.

A palace, in which the grand archives of the Empire will be deposited, will cost twenty millions; the ways and means for one million have been provided.

The front of the Corps Legislatif, the column in the Place Vendôme, the Temple of Glory, the Exchange, the obelisk of the Pont Neuf, the triumphal arch de L'Etoile, the fountain of the Bastille, together with the statues destined for the embellishment of these monuments, will cost 55,900,000 francs. 19,500,000 francs have been employed in the construction of some, and the completion of others.

A sum of fifteen millions has been spent upon the other works of Paris.

VARIOUS WORKS IN THE DEPARTMENTS.

In the departments the depôts of mendicity and the prisons have been particularly objects of attention to the government. Fifty depots have been built, and are now in operation; thirty-one are in course of construction, and plans for forty-two others are under consideration. In seven of the departments there seems to be as yet no need of them; twelve millions have been employed upon these works, and seventeen more are necessary for their completion.

The most important prisons are those for the reception of culprits condemned to more than a twelvemonth's detention. Twenty-three of these establishments will suffice for the whole empire: they will contain 16,000 criminals. Eleven of these houses are now occupied; nine are nearly built, and three more exist only on paper.

When they are once complete, the common prisons, houses of correction, and those of arrest and justice, will no longer be crowded; and it will be practicable to distribute

The number of these last houses amounts to 790; 292 have been repaired, or are in good condition, and 291 are still to be repaired; 207 to be rebuilt.

The sums expended amount to six millions, and what remains to be done to twenty-four more.

12,500,000 francs have been devoted to the erection of the new town of Napoleon, in La Vendée, and for the opening of the roads leading there, of which 7,500,000 francs have been already expended.

1,800,000 francs in rewards have been promised to such inhabitants of the above department, and that of Deux Sèvres, as shall first rebuild their dwellings; and up to the present time 1,500,000 francs have been thus distributed.

Of 3,600,000 francs, the sum necessary for the re-establishment of the bath houses, they have already absorbed 1,500,000 francs.

It was of essential importance to protect the ruins of ancient Rome from any further desecration; the works for that purpose, those for the navigation of the Tiber, and the embellishment of the second city of the Empire, will cost six millions, two of which are realized.

The 118 millions expended upon the other works in the towns and departments, have been laid out upon the numerous buildings necessary for the administration of affairs, places of worship, courts of justice, and halls of trade, which in all cities demand the attention of government.

Such have been the uses to which the 1000 millions devoted to public works of all kinds, since his Majesty's accession, have been applied, and the manner in which the eighty millions have been spent, which have completed the royal furniture, and have increased the rich collections of the crown.

undertakings, the results of which will be grand and lasting.

The general estimate for plans of this nature is 1061 millions; a sum of 576 millions is still necessary in order to complete them. Our experience of the past will show us, that a very few years will suffice to raise the requisite sum.

These works, Gentlemen, are spread over all parts of this vast empire. You, as delegates from all the departments composing it, know that not a single district is forgotten; they give the same animation alike to new as to old France. Rome, the Hanseatic departments, Holland, as well as Paris, and our ancient cities, are all equally present and equally dear to the thoughts of the Emperor, whose anxious care for all knows no repose while any good remains to be done.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERIOR.

The different religious communions have received marks of interest and protection. Supplementary grants have been assigned to those of the clergy beyond the Alps whose income was not sufficient for their maintenance.

The decree of the 7th November, 1811, by subjecting the communes to the payments necessary for the support of the vicars whom they require, secured the enjoyment of their whole income and salary to those old *curés* whom age or infirmity precluded from the fulfilment of their pastoral functions.

Episcopal palaces and seminaries have been purchased.

Everything is prepared for the definitive organization of the reformed and Lutheran forms of worship in the north, and their pastors have received provisional salaries.

The number of suits in the civil courts has sensibly

sions less embarrassed. This is one of the advantages resulting from our new civil code; henceforward every man knows his rights, and when and how to exercise them.

Complaints have been made to the government of the enormous expense incurred for the advocates' fees, and the salaries of the judicial officers; and the Emperor has therefore given orders to the Chief Justice, to take into consideration the means of diminishing this outlay.

Criminal suits have still more visibly decreased than those in the civil courts. In 1801, the population consisted of thirty-four million souls; in that year the number of criminal cases was 8500, in which 12,400 accused persons were implicated. In 1811, with a population of forty-two millions, there have not been more than 6000 prosecutions, in which 8600 accused persons were interested.

In 1801, 8000 accused were condemned;—in 1811, 5500. In 1801 there were 882 criminals sentenced to capital punishment; in 1811 only 392. This decrease has gone on gradually, year by year, and if there were any need for further proof of the influence of our laws and prosperity in the support of public order, we might remark that this decreasing progression takes place principally in the annexed departments, and becomes more perceptible as their incorporation with France grows to be a matter of longer date.

The administration of the departments, that of the communes, and the public charities, is conducted in an energetic and careful manner, and concurs zealously with the improvements projected by government.

The municipal chests are kept with the same care as all others of which account is rendered.

850 towns possess a revenue of upwards of 10,000 francs; most of their budgets for 1813 have been settled.

OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In 1809, the number of pupils at the Lyceums only amounted to 9500; 2700 of whom were day scholars, and 6800 boarders.

The number of pupils at present is 18,000, of whom 10,000 are day scholars. Instruction is given in 510 colleges to 50,000 students, of whom 12,000 are boarders.

1877 schools, or special institutions, are now attended by 47,000 pupils.

31,000 primary schools give the first rudiments of instruction to 929,000 boys. In this manner 1,000,000 young Frenchmen receive the benefit of education at the public expense.

The normal school of the University forms pupils distinguished in science, in the arts, and in the mode of imparting these to others; and they bring to the Lyceums an annual tribute of valuable traditions, and improved methods.

The thirty-five academies of the University contain 9000 scholars; two-thirds of these pursue the study of law and medicine.

The Ecole Polytechnique furnishes annually 150 young men, who have already distinguished themselves by their acquirements, to the schools of engineering, artillery, roads and bridges, and mining.

The schools of St. Cyr, St. Germain, and La Flèche, annually furnish 1500 young men intended for a military career.

The number of pupils in the veterinary schools has doubled. A better organization of these schools was demanded by our agricultural interests.

The Academy of La Cuesca, at Florence, the repository, so to speak, of the purest idiom of the Italian tongue, toge-

ther with the Institute of Amsterdam, and the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, have been newly regulated, and have received liberal endowments.

The labours of the Institute of France are still carried on: a third of its dictionary is already complete, and the whole may be finished in two years: very many of its members are busied in researches concerning our language and history.

The translations of Strabo and Ptolemy are an honour to those learned and useful men to whom they were entrusted; the tenth volume of the "Collection of the Ordinances of the Kings of France" is now published.

THE NAVY.

In the course of events France had sustained some considerable losses by sea; and in these had perished her best naval officers, together with the flower of her mates and seamen.

Since that period our fleets were manned by very inexperienced hands. The insufficiency of the naval Register was acknowledged, and every year saw the force which it exhibited decreasing; the inevitable result, indeed, of the constant superiority of the enemy, and the almost total annihilation of our maritime commerce.

We could no longer dissemble the fact, that either we must abandon the idea in despair of re-establishing our navy during war time, or else have recourse to some entirely novel expedient for that desirable purpose. If the first of these measures had been adopted, we should have pursued the same course as was followed by government under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Discouraged by the defeat of La Hogue, and by the consequences of the war in

were directed to maintaining the land forces, and the other departments of government; but the consequences of thus giving up all hope proved very fatal to the glory and prosperity of France.

It is hardly possible to undertake anything at Brest, or rather, it is extremely difficult to carry out any plan there, when the port is blockaded by a fleet superior in number.

Thanks to the excellent administration of the finances of the Empire, we are now in a condition to sustain the expense consequent on the establishment of a large naval force, as well as to bear the burden of continental wars: but indeed, the energy of our government, added to its firm unyielding determination, would have been sufficient alone to overcome even greater difficulties than those presented.

Still, the naval authorities felt the necessity for adopting a fixed and well-weighed system, which should bring forward as primary objects the formation or re-establishment of sea-ports, the building of ships, and instruction of seamen.

Nature, in the Channel, has done everything in favour of England, and against us. Ever since the reign of Louis XVI. the necessity of having some port upon this sea had been felt. The plan of Cherbourg had been adopted, and the foundations for it laid; but at the time of our intestine troubles, all these works, being interrupted, had much deteriorated.

Everything was a problem, even the question of locality, insomuch that the question was mooted whether La Hogue would not have been a better selection than Cherbourg.

Government turned their attention to this very important question; the decision in favour of Cherbourg was confirmed, and incessant labour was carried on in order to raise the dike for the shelter of the road. This latter, unfortunately, had all the inconveniences of an open roadstead, and the careening of vessels was either impossible or a matter of great difficulty.

Government hesitated not, either at the expense to be incurred or at the inconvenience of locality; and a port, excavated in the rock, was undertaken, capable of holding fifty men of war, and dockyards sufficient for the construction of a fleet.

After ten years' labour, success has justified all these undertakings. A squadron is building in the docks of Cherbourg, and this year the basins will be capable of containing the most numerous fleet.

It was a great deal to have remedied the want experienced since the battle of La Hogue, and much to possess a port in the Channel; but it was of no less importance to have one in the North Sea, and to be enabled to profit by the numerous and safe roadsteads of the Scheldt.

The basin of Flushing, together with that of Antwerp, has cost many millions; twenty vessels may easily be in course of construction at one time in the dockyards of this latter port, and more than sixty may find a safe asylum in the harbours of that city and Flushing.

It was considered by government that there was but one real port, one dockyard, one single remedy for all difficulties of locality, in the whole of Holland; and therefore all the maritime forces of that country were transported to Nieuw-Dypp. Although but two years have elapsed since the plan was conceived, we already enjoy all its advantages, and by this means we find that we possess yet another port at the extremity of the North Sea.

The engineers belonging to our army have pushed on the works with the greatest and most praiseworthy activity. The Helder, Flushing, Antwerp, and Cherbourg are in such a condition that our fleets are safe in those ports from any insult, and can remain there long enough to give time to our armies to come to their assistance, even were they in the heart of Italy or Poland. Whatever art could add

to the natural advantages of Brest and Toulon, had been effected by the former government.

This was not the case at the mouth of the Charente. The roadstead of the Isle d'Aix was not suited for the reception of a great number of vessels, and government judged it necessary to possess a more secure asylum on the coast of Gascony.

The road of Saumouard had been examined and fortified, as have also those of the Gironde, and an inland communication for the largest ships has been perfected; so that the roads of the Isle d'Aix, the Saumouard, Talemont, and those of the Gironde, form, as it were, one port.

Next to Toulon, Spezzia is the finest port in the Mediterranean; it was necessary to have it fortified both on the land and sea side, before our fleets could be in safety there, and these fortifications already present the requisite degree of resistance.

Thus hardly have six years elapsed since the continuous system of maritime war was put a stop to, and the ports of the Texel, the Scheldt, Cherbourg, Brest, Toulon, and Spezzia, are rendered secure, and now present every desirable advantage in a military and naval point of view.

At the same time that the sea-ports were being constructed and fortified, care was taken to establish dockyards for building ships: under the former dynasty, the number of these was reduced to less than twenty-five.

At the very most, Brest could only furnish us with the means of re-fitting: we must either give up all idea of building, or else establish a dockyard on the Scheldt, where twenty three-deckers, eighty's or seventy-four's, might be constructed at once. This dockyard, provisioned as it is by the Rhine and the Meuse, as also by all the markets of Germany and France, is constantly supplied in abundance with all things needful, and at a very low rate.

It was known to be possible to build frigates and seventy-fours, on our own plan, in the dockyards of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, while those of Nieuw-Dypp, and the establishments there, are yet in course of construction.

Three-deckers of eighty and seventy-four are building in the docks of Cherbourg, and vessels are being built at Genoa and Venice, by which means use is made of all the resources of Albania, Istria, Friuli, the Julian Alps, and the Apennines.

The docks of Lorient, Rochefort, and Toulon continue to display all the activity of which they are capable, and employ those materials presented to their use by the rivers destined for their supply.

In a few years we shall have 150 vessels, twelve of which are three-deckers, and a still larger number of frigates: the French navy, in its greatest prosperity, never yet possessed more than five three-deckers. We can easily build and arm from fifteen to twenty great vessels a-year.

Thus government had so far succeeded in the construction of ships, but the most difficult part remained to be done. It was asked where seamen could be found to man these fleets? An army, by the aid of camps and drilling, may be formed in a very few years;—but what could supply the place of these military helps to the naval service?

The idea was conceived by government, of supplying the naval forces in the same way as the army, by having recourse to conscription, without, however, giving up those resources which the register might produce.

The maritime departments were partially exempted from the conscription for the army, and all their youth were subjected to the naval conscription. It was the opinion of men long experienced in naval matters that this conscription ought to be drawn as early as at ten or twelve years old, they declaring it to be impossible to form sailors of full-

grown men; but how could we conceive the possibility of crowding together 60,000 or 80,000 children on board our ships?

The expense that would have been necessary to give them ten years' instruction, and, above all, the loss of life it would have occasioned, were frightful to think of.

A middle course was taken; lads of sixteen or seventeen were drawn in the conscription, and it might reasonably be hoped that after four or five years' navigation, when they would have attained the age of one-and-twenty or two-and-twenty, we should have skilful seamen.

But how were we to teach so many young persons navigation, when the sea was everywhere closed against us.

Flotillas were constructed: 500 or 600 ships, gun-sloops, and schooners navigated the Zuyder Zee, the Scheldt, and the roads of Boulogne, Brest, and Toulon, protecting our coasts, and bringing them necessary supplies.

At the same time our fleets in the ports of Toulon, the Charente, the Scheldt, and the Zuyder Zee were armed. The crews, who were always kept on board their ships, manœuvring in the face of an enemy, repaid the hopes entertained of their success; conscripts formed into seamen. The young men of eighteen, after a sea-training of five years, have now attained their twenty-third or twenty-fourth year, and serve in the most difficult manœuvres with remarkable agility and skill: and our fleets perform their evolutions, now, with as much promptitude and precision as at any period of our naval history.

During the five years which have passed since this system was first adopted, 80,000 young men, drawn in the conscription, have been thus brought up to increase our naval population.

Much firmness was requisite to resolve on the many sacrifices which such a system [illegible]

Of 100 ships, we now possess 65 armed, equipped, and provisioned for six months, always in motion, getting under sail daily, and in such a position, that at the moment of weighing anchor, no one knows whether it is merely to exercise the ship, or whether she is bound on some distant expedition.

England may have as many vessels, and as many soldiers as she pleases; she may extend her commerce in whatever direction she chooses; but we lay claim to the same rights.

It appeared to me, Gentlemen, that a plain statement of our internal situation, supported by reports and calculations, together with that of our maritime condition, would suffice to make you understand our immense resources, the solidity of our system, and the gratitude we owe to the vigilant government whose labours are constantly devoted to all that is great and serviceable for the glory of the Empire.

III.

BUDGETS UNDER THE CONSULATE* AND THE EMPIRE.

	Francs.
1800	600,000,000
1801	545,000,000
1802	503,000,000
1803	589,000,000†
1804	700,000,000
1805	680,000,000

* The receipts nearly amounted to this sum; the equilibrium was attained. The finances of no state in Europe were in so prosperous a condition, or one so little burdensome to the people. Before the revolution a larger sum was annually paid into the treasury by twenty-five millions of people than was paid by thirty millions in 1802.

† Receipts and expenditure equally balanced. The increase arose from the outlay of large sums upon the high roads, internal navigation, the canals and the seaports; and lastly, the war which broke out with England, caused an increase of thirty-five millions—which brought this year's budget up to 624,500,000 francs.

	Francs.
1806	689,095,913
1807	720,000,000*
1808	772,744,445†
1809	786,740,214
1810	795,414,093‡
1811	954,000,000§
1812	1,030,000,000‖
1813	1,150,000,000

The augmentation was caused by the war; by further liquidation of the national debt; by the payment of ten million francs to the sinking fund for its endowment; by the increase of the judges' salaries, &c.

† The Empire then contained 114 departments.

‡ The budgets of 1808, 1809, and 1810, had been settled at 740 millions. These estimates were exceeded in consequence of the union of several countries with the Empire.

§ The budgets of Rome, of the Illyrian provinces, and of Holland, were included in this figure. Since 1802, the territory had been enlarged by 15,000 square miles, and the population by 15,000,000 souls.

‖ Up to the report of 1811, the progress of the finances had been regular; the receipts and expenditure compensated each other. Beginning with 1812, all previous calculations were overturned by the disasters of war.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1688 & 1830.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THE "Fragmens Historiques—1688 et 1830," were written by Prince Louis Bonaparte, with the view of contesting certain positions of M. Guizot, in a work which the latter had recently written, entitled "L'Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre." In the course of the work in question, this eminent statesman sought to establish a parallel between the British revolution of 1688, and that of the French in 1830; he also sought to exemplify what should be the conduct of a constitutional sovereign in regard to great questions of policy, which he contended should be rather that of a moderator or manager of diverse active influences in the state, than of a leader of public opinion.

The first of these positions has been signally disposed of by the course of events; the *régime* set up in 1830 having already been destroyed and thrown aside amongst the things of the past by two subsequent revolutions, to say nothing of what are yet to come, whilst the principles established in England in 1688 remain to this day the bulwark of our constitutional liberties. The second field of disquisition is that especially taken up by the Prince in the subjoined essay, as the result of which he would impress these principles upon the rulers of the earth:

1. "Monarchs, march at the head of the ideas of your age.
2. "If you march behind them they will drag you on.
3. "If you march against them they will certainly cause your overthrow."

How the Prince establishes these three positions upon the experience of the history of England, the reader will be curious to know, and he must judge for himself, on perusal, of the weight of the arguments by which they are supported.

For our own part, we may be permitted briefly to suggest a very opposite view of the question, and to contend—1st. That our great revolution has been successful and permanent, because it was wrought out by the consenting voice of two estates in the nation—the aristocracy and the commonalty, united upon a great question involving religious liberty and constitutional right against the representative of the third estate, attenuated and degraded in the persons of the Stuarts; and 2ndly, that under that constitution, the royal will and intelligence, although undoubtedly independent of the others, does not commonly put itself in advance of the will and intelligence of the community, but, more usefully, watches the tendency, and weighs the importance of these, as a guide to those measures of policy which it ought properly to sanction. The recent conduct of Prince Louis Bonaparte in France shows that he has all along entertained a very low opinion of what, in the language of debate, is called "the sense of the nation," and that, although in all his writings he has flattered the vanity of a susceptible people by a pretended deference to their authority as a power-creative power, he will not allow them any consultative voice in the preparation of measures for the common welfare; in

PREFACE.

I AM induced to publish the following extracts from my historical studies, through a wish to repudiate the false accusations that have been made against me, and which will be fully contradicted by this simple statement of my thoughts and convictions.

I am aware that silence best becomes the unfortunate: it were absurd to accuse fate of the evils we suffer from mankind: but when the victorious party have so far sullied their victory as to call in the aid of calumny and falsehood—which are the natural arms of weakness and timidity,—resistance becomes a duty, and silence would be an evidence of cowardice.

It is not my intention to renew an argument in which the passions have always the advantage over reason; I only wish to prove, in defence of my honour, that if I rashly embarked on a stormy ocean, it was after having reflected seriously on the causes and effects of revolutions, alike on the instability of success, and on the yawning abyss of shipwreck.

While in Paris the Emperor's mortal remains are deified, his nephew is buried alive in a narrow enclosure; but I smile at the inconsistency of man, and I thank Heaven that, after such bitter trials, I am allowed an asylum on the French soil, even though that refuge be a prison.

Supported by an ardent faith, and a pure conscience, I am resigned to my misfortunes, and I derive consolation at the present moment from anticipating the future fate of my enemies, which is written in indelible characters in the history of nations.

NAPOLEON-LOUIS BONAPARTE.

Citadel of Ham, the 10*th of May*, 1841.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND was convulsed by a great revolution in 1649; the king was beheaded, and the Republic proclaimed, which lasted eleven years.*

In 1660, the son of the king who had been beheaded, was brought back to London in triumph.

Charles II. reigned a quarter of a century; but at his death, in 1685, he left his brother a very tottering throne, which James II. could only keep for three years.

At length there was another revolution in 1668, which came, as it were, to mediate between the parties that had divided England for forty-eight years.

We have also had a revolution in France, which has overturned the ancient dynasty,—a scaffold, a Republic, an Empire, a restoration, and a new revolution; but will the year 1830, in imitation of that of 1688, be regarded by future ages as the beginning of a new era of glory and liberty? This is an interesting question to all.

It would be easy, on the primâ-facie view of the subject, to reject any comparison of the events which took place in

* The Republic was first proclaimed in 1649. The Commonwealth was established in 1653. Cromwell died in 1658. Two years after his death, the restoration took place.

the two countries, to show that it was only the shadows of the two histories which resembled each other, and to prove that, in the beginning of the two first revolutions, English society differed widely from the French. It would not be difficult to prove that the Empire—that immortal monument of civil and military glory—could not be compared, on any point, with the sanguinary and bigoted commonwealth; and that the restoration of the Bourbons differs on many points from the return of the Stuarts.

But, following the example of many eminent writers, we will pass in review all these points of difference, and we will admit for a moment the similitude of the two last periods, that we may judge if the causes which consolidated the revolution of 1688 will consolidate that of 1830.

People's lives are made up of whole dramas and single acts. When we embrace all the events of a drama at one view, we can account for every circumstance, for the connexion of each idea, and the cause of all the changes; but if we only take a separate act, these great social convulsions appear as the effect of chance and of human inconsistency.

If we bring together detached periods of the history of England, without reflecting on their philosophical connexion, we shall see the people of England adoring the arbitrary rule of Elizabeth, and overthrowing the less arbitrary power of Charles I. We shall see them revolting against this prince for the illegal levy of some taxes, and allowing themselves afterwards to be taxed and governed without control and without law,* by Cromwell's Long Parliament; we see them, again, coming with their own free will to abjure the revolution at the feet of Charles II., and afterwards cursing his reign and upsetting his brother.

* I say, *without law*, because neither the Long Parliament nor Cromwell rendered their power legitimate by a free election.

What contradictions this hasty glance at facts comprises! And yet, if we cast a look at all the historical drama which began in the sixteenth century, and the catastrophe that took place towards the end of the seventeenth, we shall see that the English always wanted the same things, and that they did not rest until they had obtained the object of their wishes. From the sixteenth century the English tried to get,—

Firstly—and above all things—The establishment of their reformed religion, which comprehended all national interests.

Secondly,—The preponderance of their navy, and, consequently, an increased influence on the continent.

Thirdly,—The full use of their freedom.

Elizabeth confirmed the triumph of the cause of Protestantism, she added to the national glory, and her memory was revered. The Republic and the Protector concealed their despotic and selfish views under the name of the national dignity. They passed away.

The Stuarts went counter to the three great wishes of the majority of England. They fell.

William III. alone confirmed at once the religion, the glory, and the liberties of his country. He consolidated his work.

It is not, then, chance which rules the fate of nations; it is not an unforeseen circumstance which overthrows or supports thrones: there is a general cause which regulates events, and which makes them really dependent on each other.

A government may often violate the laws, and even liberty, with impunity; but unless it truly puts itself at the head of the great interests of civilization, it can only have a transient existence! and the plain philosophical reason, which is the cause of its death, is called *fatality*, when it is wished to avoid giving the true reason.

To attribute the fall of empires to secondary causes, is to mistake for the danger itself what has only been the means of bringing it forth.

England required nearly a century of struggles between society and the evil passions of those in power, and *vice versâ*, before she could erect that immense *English structure* which we have hated, which we have tried to overthrow, but which we cannot but admire.

The national cause had these contending obstacles to overcome, because it was divided in opinion when no longer guided by Elizabeth's superior understanding: and it was sometimes the victim of tyranny, which is the error of the vicious; and sometimes led away by fanaticism, the mistake of the virtuous.

In all countries, the wants and complaints of the people are expressed in set forms, generate into principles, and form parties.

These associations of individuals, which arise from a common cause, but who are of different ways of thinking, have each their faults and their passions, but they have each their truth. Urged to action by the general ferment, they clash and destroy each other, until the national truth, regulating itself by all these partial truths, has risen by common consent above political passions.

A government requires representatives who have only its interest at heart to consolidate this cause.

In England, doubtless, with her antecedents and organization, the revolution was the sincere expression of this national truth, and William III. its faithful representative.

This is proved by the revolution of 1688 having already procured for England 153 years of prosperity, grandeur, and liberty.

Will the revolution of July bestow the same blessings on

wishing to pry into the mysteries of Providence, let us content ourselves with examining the causes and effects of these great political dramas, and seek in the history of the past some consolation for our ills, some hope for our country.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

James II.—William III.

ENGLAND, like every other country which has been exhausted by several successive revolutions, was dispirited and undecided under James II.; all energy was gone, all principles confounded. How could it be otherwise, when within fifty years many systems had been changed, without remedying the ills of society?

In 1640, the parliament had admitted as a principle that the nation might defend its *rights* against the attempts of the king: in 1649 it had come to the opinion that the nation alone possessed sovereign power; in 1661 it decided that power is entirely and exclusively in the king's hands.

The first declaration produced a revolution—the second, usurpation—and the third, tyranny.

The public mind wavered between all these ideas, which recalled how far the ambition of the first moment had surpassed its object.

Tired of civil wars, undeceived as to the sacredness of the parties and the excellence of the regal power, England had preserved but one object of hatred, one of love, as the result of her struggles,—hatred of popery,* and love of power.

* In recording the principal facts of the revolution in England

Whom could she confide in, when in the ordinary space of human life she had been deceived by all whom she had loved.

The Long Parliament had usurped her laws, and engendered civil war; the Presbyterians had been as intolerant as the Catholics and the Anglicans; they had had no foresight, and could not establish anything. The Independants had only produced military despotism and anarchy.

The King had brought with him from exile, reaction and arbitrary rule.

The people in the time of Charles II. had confided in the patriotism of the chiefs of the parliamentary opposition, and these chiefs were for the most part ambitious men, or men bribed by foreigners.*

closer investigation, we see the justice of disliking those who, by their blind zeal and rashness, compromised and rendered the true doctrine of Christ unpopular in England, by making it a handle for a party, and the instrument of their passions. Their conduct should be branded; for never had the Catholic religion found so genial a soil as that of England, to rule by the purity of its principles and its moral influence. Persecuted by the royal power, it followed the example of the aristocracy, and to avenge its wrongs, put itself at the head of the national liberties. This was an admirable position for action, for it was independent of the temporal power, only acknowledging as chief the chief of the universal church, while the Anglicans then only derived their rights and privileges from the will and power of the head of the government. But the Catholic clergy, dazzled by worldly interests, lost themselves, by joining the oppressors of the people instead of joining the oppressed. Every enlightened mind was so well convinced that the Stuarts were about to ruin the cause of religion, that Pope Innocent IX. loudly expressed his displeasure at the imprudent conduct of James II.; and the cardinals of Rome said, jestingly, "that James II. ought to be excommunicated, as a man who was about to destroy the remnant of Catholicism that was left in England." But it is most remarkable, that the Prince of Orange, the chief of the Protestant line, was joined by the Pope, Spain, and Germany against a Catholic sovereign, which proves that a cause which is nobly and frankly defended, will always have followers, while even a friendly cause is deserted when led by folly and cowardice.

* Barillon's despatches prove that a great many English members of parliament received presents or money from France; Hume gives the names of sixteen among them. Vol. x. p. 55.

A general mistrust pervaded the country, and the nation preferred leaving events in the hands of chance to running the risk of being again mistaken in creating them; this feeling accounts for the almost unanimous acclamations which welcomed the accession of James II. The prejudices were forgotten which existed against the duke of York in the preceding reign, because it is easier for the disheartened to forget than to hate; and lassitude engendered hope, just as enthusiasm had previously done.

James II. was liberal of promises, which flattered the national prejudices. He said, in his first speech, "I risked my life formerly in defence of the nation; and I am as ready as any one to expose it again to preserve its just rights and liberties."*

It was said, on all sides, in 1685, "We have a king now, whose bravery and dignity will be respected in other countries, and which will raise him to the highest pinnacle of glory and power, and who will know how to oppose Louis XIV.'s pretensions and humble his pride."†

But James II. was a man who hastened catastrophes instead of averting them. He had abjured the religion of his ancestors during his exile, and all his ideas and belief were opposed to those of the English. He felt the necessity of being perjured to the nation or to himself, and a similarity of opinions, which begets confidence, not existing between them, dissimulation and violence were the only support of his authority.

The first act of James II. was to demand subsidies of a foreign potentate;‡ he broke his promises, committed the most arbitrary acts, openly favoured the Catholic religion,

* Hume, vol. x. p. 263.

† Boulay de la Meurthe's *History of James II.*, vol. i. p. 5.

‡ Mazure's *History of the Revolution of* 1688, vol. i. p. 395.

and made use of the parliament only as a cloak to make his tyrannical intentions legal.

The duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II., knew the public feeling, and was very popular; a considerable party had even been anxious to have him acknowledged as heir to the throne to the exclusion of the duke of York.

The duke of Monmouth, who had been sent in exile to the Pays-Bas, thought he ought not to give James II. time to execute his arbitrary intentions, and resolved to subvert him in the first year of his reign.

Trusting to his own courage and to the goodness of his cause, he landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with only eighty-two followers. As soon as the people knew of his proclamation they ran in crowds and enlisted under his banner, and his army amounted to several thousands, when it was routed at Sedgemoor, — himself made prisoner, and carried to London and executed.

James, alarmed by the danger of an expedition which had nearly caused a general insurrection, was not content to act with all the severity of the laws against the vanquished. He further revenged himself on the ill-fated duke by spreading reports calculated to cast a stain on his memory.* It was too barbarous to rob him of both life and honour; but there is not anything so irritating to an unpopular government, as to find that a fallen enemy is still to be dreaded.

The duke of Monmouth's enterprise was much approved in England; what was, then, the reason it did not succeed?

* In one of Barillon's dispatches, when French ambassador to Louis XIV., he says: "The court spreads every report most calculated to affect the memory of the duke of Monmouth in the opinion of the Anglicans and the people."—Mazure's *History of the Revolution of* 1688, vol. ii. p. 9.

Was it irrevocably decreed by the destinies of England, that there should be a lapse of twenty-eight years after the restoration, before a constitutional government could be established? Were not twenty-five years enough to re-temper the courage and to confirm the belief of the English?

Yet the duke of Monmouth's death was productive of good results: he had paved the way for William, three years later. The repression of this revolt, and the attempt made by the duke of Argyle, which took place some time before in Scotland, only increased James's presumption and blindness. The most fatal gift that Heaven can bestow on a weak government, struggling with national feelings, is that of easy victories; it is intoxicated by success, and it mistakes a momentary triumph for a sign of strength.

James thought he might govern as on a field of battle; sometimes making feigned marches, at other times, feigned retreats, to fall on his enemies among his own subjects, when he imagined he had succeeded in dividing them.

Sometimes he would call tyranny to his assistance, at others he would invoke liberty; but public opinion never approving of his enterprises, he could neither gain believers in his strength nor in his moderation. The opposition soon manifested itself in the House of Commons, and among the nobility and clergy. Like all falling powers, he was desirous of replacing the moral strength, which had given him up, by the armed power; and he rested his hopes entirely on the counsels of a foreign ambassador and his standing army, which he had increased to forty thousand men, which was reckoned an immense number for England.*

But the army is a weapon that must be wielded by glory, and James could not handle it. England anxiously watched

* Mazure's *History of the Revolution of* 1688, vol. iii. p. 134.

the king's imprudent career, who trampled on her religion, her liberties, and all her civil rights, and who at the same time lessened her glory and weight among other nations; yet all things remained quiet, so strong is the disinclination to change among sickly societies. The people shed many tears for those who perished in their attempts against the government; and every acquittal by the juries from the vengeance of power, was hailed by loud acclamations, and shouts of delight, but they were too weary and too much divided to help themselves.

Was England, then, to perish? were so many disinterested efforts for the progress of civilization, and so much bloodshed, to end only in despotism and disgrace? Men felt such a result to be impossible, without, however, divining whence salvation could be hoped. It was not long in showing itself. A man was living in Holland, who, at the age of twenty-two, had preserved his country from the united fleets of France and England, against the armies commanded by Turenne, Condé de Luxembourg, and Vauban. When the whole country despaired of the fate of the United Provinces, he alone, depending on the popular enthusiasm, replied to the ambassadors, who offered him a disgraceful peace, "I will defend my country with my last breath, and I will die in the furthest intrenchment." William, Prince of Orange, was the head of the Protestant league in Europe; he was thus doubly entitled to the love of the English by his reputation and his religion. Since his marriage with the eldest daughter of James II., then duke of York, he had taken an active part in the affairs of Great Britain. The events daily passing before him plainly pointed out his line of duty, and what England expected from him. Fully impressed by this idea, he meditated great things, and resolved on landing and delivering the country from the yoke it laboured under; these cogent reasons determined him to

undertake this perilous design, which would have dimmed the lustre of his horizon had it been a failure. By those who are ever ready to impute evil motives as the spring of action, this will be attributed to personal ambition. There are many who only give men credit for low and sordid passions; but great actions have their origin in far higher motives, as William must have felt on saying to himself: "I am the representative of the Protestant cause on the continent, which cause is based on liberty, and has the majority of the English nation in its favour. I will defend it now that it is oppressed. I will pass the channel, spite of Louis XIV.'s fleet, and I will offer myself to England as her liberator. The revolution which I shall effect with my soldiers will possess the advantage of being made without endangering the quiet of the country, and the country may freely speak her wishes. I shall have a sufficient army to restrain all the evil passions which spring from political disturbances. I shall overturn the government, and preserve the inviolability of the king's person. I shall establish liberty, and maintain order and power without violence. In justification of my attempt and personal intervention in so serious a struggle, I shall explain my hereditary rights to some, to others my principles, and to all the common interests of the Protestant religion, and the necessity of opposing it to the aggrandizement of France; but I will not accept anything but from the free vote of the nation, for one cannot force either one's will or one's self on a great people!"

Such were the ideas by which William was guided; every action of his life was derived from these principles.

On the 10th of October, 1688, the Prince of Orange published a manifesto, which contained the enumeration of the chief abuses of James's government; and the result was positive proof, that James II. had sold the honour and

interests of the English to foreign nations, and that he intended to subvert the laws and religion of the country.

The Prince presented himself as having been called by numbers of the clergy and nobility, and by the vows of the people; he asserted that the rights of his wife, as well as his own rights, rendered it necessary for him to watch over the safety of the constitution and of religion; his sole intention was to repair the injury that they had sustained, and to put the nation in the way of doing themselves justice; for this end they must have a *free parliament*, formed after the ancient usages and statutes, and not after the new charters, which had deprived the cities and boroughs of their rights, for he did not come as a conqueror, but for the sole object of seconding the wishes of the nation.*

Great undertakings very rarely succeed at the first attempt; it appears as though they require the spur of obstacles of every kind: William embarked his army in the Texel on the 30th of October, and was driven back by a dreadful storm, which dispersed his fleet, and occasioned him the loss of the principal resources he could depend on; but nothing could daunt his courage; he re-embarked on the 12th of November, and on the 15th he reached England and landed at Torbay. He bore on his standard a device which went to every English heart:—"I will maintain the Protestant religion and the liberties of England." And he kept his word.

James was astonished on hearing of William's landing: he revoked a part of the arbitrary and unjust measures he had taken, and disavowed his alliance with Louis XIV.; but the day had arrived when concessions were only regarded as signals of distress, and when kings only acknowledge their errors to expiate them.

The Prince of Orange reached London without oppo-

sition. The most distinguished families had terrible accounts to settle with James; the nation had grievous wrongs to complain of, and the army could not remain faithful to a government which had made common cause with the enemies of the country.

The rallying cry of the English people was, "A free parliament, no popery, no slavery!"

James ran away; then he returned to London, and then ran away again, to avoid being taken to Ham House,* where William and his council had determined on incarcerating the fallen monarch.

The Prince of Orange did not abuse his triumph on the first feeling of enthusiasm which the people entertained for their deliverer. William did not come to take a crown by assault; he came to consolidate the destinies of England; he had destroyed the principle of hereditary succession, a principle hitherto regarded as inviolable and sacred; and he could only combat it by another principle, that of the sovereignty of the people. An acquired and acknowledged right can only be done away by giving in its stead another right, legally acquired and acknowledged. Counsellors were not wanting who advised him to take possession of the government by right of conquest, as William the Conqueror had done, forgetting that six hundred years of civilization had added more to the strength of the national right than to that of the sword. Others also urged him to seize the crown, representing the dangers of anarchy, that convenient phantom, which always serves as an excuse to tyranny.

William remained firm: he would not be an usurper.

The peers and bishops then in the capital had assembled at Westminster, and formed a sort of provisional government; they presented him with an address to take the reins of government temporarily; but it did not accord with

* A private house, situated near London, on the banks of the Thames.

William's views to accept the government even for a time from the hands of the aristocracy only. He immediately assembled all the members of the two last parliaments held under Charles II., which alone were considered free, James's house of commons having been elected under the dominion of the law which destroyed the liberty of elections: he joined to these the lord mayor, the aldermen, and fifty of the common-councilmen of London;* and after convening them together with the house of lords, he urged them to take the most efficacious means for convoking a free parliament, as he had declared essential before. After deliberating, these two chambers went to St. James's Palace,† and begged the Prince to accept the government until a national assembly was convoked.‡

William, being thus authorized by those who might in the first instance have represented the nation in the most legal manner, undertook the civil and military administration of the country temporarily, and sent out circular letters to have the elections carried on conformably to the ancient statutes and usages. The troops were sent away from every part where the elections were to take place; the greatest order as well as perfect liberty reigned; and on the 2nd of February, the parliament (which took the name of the convention) met to proceed legally to settle the destiny of England. In this assembly all the fundamental questions were freely discussed and argued. It was settled that a fundamental contract existed between the king and the people, which James II. had violated, by which the throne became vacant; that William and Mary should be elected King and Queen of Great Britain, but that the Prince alone

* Hume, vol. i. p. 370.

† The Prince of Orange remained at St. James's until the day the convention came to offer him the crown, in the banquet-hall at White-Hall, which was then the royal residence.

‡ See the documents—the Address of the House to the Prince of Orange.

should have the reins of government. During the month, which was occupied by these important discussions, the Prince of Orange maintained a strict neutrality. Considering that the only duty he had now to perform was that of maintaining order, he even discouraged a petition to parliament in his own favour, because it was carried in a tumultuous manner to the house of commons.* His conduct was reserved and dignified; he had remained unmoved amidst the passions which raged around him, and had not entered into any intrigues either with the electors or the members of parliament. He was frequently blamed for his cold and distant manner to those whose interest he required; but William's great mind disdained popularity acquired by meanness.

He did not speak till towards the close of the discussion, and then announced that if the government was not offered him in a manner that would satisfy his views and conscience, he would return to Holland, and leave the convention to settle its affairs alone, adding, that he preferred private life to a position of immense difficulties, which would deprive him of the means of being of use to the country. This was, indeed, a sublime proof that he was not dazzled by the splendour of a crown, but that he was desirous of fulfilling his mission, and of rendering his cause triumphant.

The convention did not think their task was completed when they had chosen a new sovereign: they had added to their recognition of William a Declaration of the Rights of the English nation, in which all the guarantees they had formerly claimed were sanctioned, and the king's prerogative reduced to just bounds, and more clearly defined than ever.†

* Hume, vol. i. p. 381.

† See the papers relating to this—the Address of the National Convention. What still further legitimatized the decision of the assembly was, that the parliament that succeeded, in 1690, confirmed all the acts of the convention.

The Prince of Orange acted towards Scotland as he had acted towards England. He convoked a parliament in the most favourable manner for the freedom of voting. This parliament offered him the crown, and proclaimed the rights of the people at the same time; and as Ireland was in open rebellion against England, he went in person to quiet it.

William was now the legitimate sovereign of the country, as he had been elected by the free suffrages of a parliament which had been freely elected for this purpose by the nation. We will now see how he consolidated his government, which, besides the embarrassment contingent on a new government, was besieged by innumerable dangers arising from the circumstances of this epoch.

He was threatened constantly from the exterior by a formidable foe. James II. retained a footing in Ireland, and he was supported by the arms of the most powerful sovereign in Europe, whose will was generally obeyed, because he had great men to enforce it. William's allies on the continent called for all the assistance he could give against Louis XIV.'s encroachments. At home it was essential that he should conciliate all parties, soften all asperities, and heal all the breaches which had arisen from his having induced the two houses, composed of such different elements, to concur with his wishes.

It was no longer with boundless power, like that enjoyed by Elizabeth, but with liberty, that he was to organize a country in fermentation, and repulse an enemy who had only to *will*, to be obeyed. Wherever he turned, he saw motives of dissension and trouble. The republicans lamented his installation; and James's partisans were always ready to attribute any ill success to error, and every error to crime. The religious sects, which are always political, both abandoned him; and if he favoured one, he displeased all the others.

The chamber of peers was divided into two parties—

one or other of which had always the upper hand; whilst the minority avenged its position by a turbulent opposition.

The house of commons was chiefly composed of men who favoured the revolution, though they were very suspicious of the royal authority, and filled with animosity against their own foes. It was necessary for William to convince them, and at the same time to control their reactionary passions.

The only means by which he could surmount these difficulties was, by remaining faithful to the cause of the revolution which had summoned him, and to render it triumphant at home by its justice, and formidable abroad by its boldness.

We cannot but admire William's tact in uniting the independence of a chief with the flexibility of a constitutional monarch. He yielded all that could be granted with honour, and he adhered to all that he thought useful to the country which had entrusted him with her destinies.

When the parliament wished to pry into the causes which occasioned the failure of any important undertaking; when it was desirous of adding to its privileges, or of examining into treaties, or diplomatic negotiations; when it impeached ministers, or blamed their appointments;* when it disputed the king's right to the confiscated estates in Ireland;† and urged William from jealousy of the military power to dismiss his old battalions who had assisted him in all his battles;‡ the king yielded, but in return the political chief was inflexible when it was a question of the national glory or of some great measure of justice.

How admirable was his perseverance in supporting a

* The parliament murmured because the king had not named the magistrates from a higher grade of society.

† Hume and Smollet, vol. xi. p. 397.

‡ The commons, led by a spirit of intolerance, repulsed this last measure, though it was in the interest of the revolution.

bloody war against the enemies of his country until he had obtained an advantageous peace ; and at home his constancy and perseverance were no less to be admired, when, having proposed a bill for a general amnesty, which was rejected by parliament, he brought in another bill, in the hope of reconciling all parties, for abolishing the punishments decreed by former laws against the nonconformists : when, with the same view, he several times urged the parliament to unite the Presbyterians and Anglicans into one church, which would have amalgamated the religious dogmas of a large majority of the nation. He constantly opposed the severe measures which were proposed to him against the Catholics,* and he forgot offences and forgave injuries.

As William derived all his power from the national glory, he was always strong enough to be just. While James II. had only irritated the nation by his declaration in favour of the liberty of conscience, because it was supposed that under the shelter of this liberty he was anxious to protect popery, William, on the contrary, strengthened his power by tolerance, the people not imagining there was any reservation in the sovereign whose creed was the same as their own.

In the beginning of his reign, William showed much anxiety for the good of his subjects ; he abolished the fire-tax, which had weighed very heavily on the poor ; he evinced great impartiality in naming the new judges, and in selecting the most eminent and the most independent men.

Nevertheless there were then, as there are after all great political changes, men of disappointed ambition, and contrary interests, who had recourse to plots to overturn the new government ; but it is worthy of remark that they

* When the deputation from the Scotch Church brought William its declaration, they said to him, among other things, that they hoped he would destroy heresy. He interrupted them to declare, that he did not understand persecution.

were never the men of the revolution who employed these extreme measures.

Though there was a party opposed to the new state of things, which was called the republican or revolutionary party, they kept quiet, which proved that if they did not make common cause with William, they still thought that he guaranteed the general interests against the common enemy.

When charges were brought for political crimes, the accused were never taken away from their natural judges. Sometimes the parliament brought bills of *attainder;* but then it was not the highest chamber which descended to the melancholy task of an exceptional tribunal; it was the whole national representation which was anxious to prove by the sentence its attachment to the government and its hatred to all who menaced its existence.

There were also some of those fanatics who place the destinies of their country on the point of their dagger, who attempted the king's life; but they were sent back with contempt to the ordinary tribunals, under the idea that giving too much publicity to an attempt at assassination was encouraging others.

The plot against William's life, which was discovered in 1696, only served to bring out the general attachment to his person. The two houses of parliament again declared that he alone had legitimate rights, and they drew up an act of association by which they engaged themselves to defend the king and constitution against all the world. This manifesto, which was signed by an infinite number of the citizens of every class, was a second popular sanction to William. Although the parliament was sometimes carried out of a steady policy by reactionary passions and trifling jealousies, yet it must be confessed that it frequently showed itself worthy of the great interests it had to sustain: in the

pressor in a conscientious and dignified manner, and frankly established the basis on which the new government was to rest: it confirmed the necessary guarantees against encroachments of the crown. It was anxious to repel any share in the tyrannical acts of the preceding reigns, and not only reversed the judgments passed on Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and other victims of Charles II.'s despotism, but even named a committee charged with an inquiry as to the authors and accomplices of the sentence which had condemned them to death.*

The parliament at first was desirous of keeping the king in a state of dependence on it by voting the civil list from year to year; and it was not till the year 1697, when William had assured an advantageous peace to England, that it fixed the civil list for the remainder of his reign, so that nothing had been precipitate, and the parliament only showed its confidence after nine years' trial of the exercise of the royal authority.

Important ameliorations were then adopted by the two houses: among other changes, a yearly supply was allowed to every branch of the service.

It was resolved that each person should be taxed according to the just value of his real and personal goods, whether in land or in commerce, in professions, places, or pensions.

The protection of individual liberty was further secured by a new bill, which extended the benefits of the Habeas Corpus to those charged with high treason; and confiscation of property was no longer one of the penalties for political offences. The triennial bill, which fixed the duration of the parliament for three years, was passed.

It was decided that the resolutions taken by the privy council should be signed by all those who had recommended or approved of them; that any one holding a lucrative em-

* Hume, vol. x. p. 77.

ployment, or enjoying a pension from government, could not be a member of the house of commons; that the judges should receive a fixed salary, and that their appointment could only be legally revoked by an address of the two houses; and that no pardon sealed with the great seal of England could avail against an accusation in parliament by the house of commons.*

Thus, while the king established order, and added lustre to the English name, the parliament confirmed the general liberties of the country. If William's interior policy was great and national, his foreign policy was still more so. From the hour when in great alarm the Dutch had confided the government to him, William followed the same line of conduct whether as a prince of Holland or as king of England.

Louis XIV.'s power had long excited the jealousy of the sovereigns of Europe. Holland, Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, had been forced by the peace of Nimeguin to acknowledge almost all the French conquests. This peace had been chiefly the fruit of Charles II.'s treachery, who had from cowardly motives sold the honour of his country, as well as the interests of his allies, to France, and who had thus missed the opportunity of assuring the preponderance of England. This treaty then remained as a monument of shame, or, at least, a proof of the dependence and weakness of the government.

But William had not accepted the crown to perpetuate the policy of the Stuarts. He had hardly arrived in London when, so far from courting foreign favour, within twenty-four hours he sent back Louis the XIV.'s wily ambassador, Barillon, to Versailles—a man who had been so fatal a counsellor of the Stuarts, and so devoted a servant to his king.

As soon as he was at the head of the English, he asked

* Hume and Smollet, vol. xi. p. 428.

parliament for subsidies to equip his fleets and increase the number of his troops.

He reconquered Ireland at the battle of the Boyne; and by his naval victory at the Hogue (in 1692) he destroyed all James's hopes, and repaired the damage that his fleets had met with at sea.

But Louis XIV.'s arms were always victorious on the continent. William was beaten at Fleurus, at Steinkerke, at Neurwinde, at Marseilles, in Piedmont, and the Low Countries, on the Rhine, and the Ter;* and the attacks on Dunkirk, Saint Malo, and the coasts of Brittany, by the English squadron, completely failed. But William's fertile genius derived more advantage from his defeats than his enemies from their successes. Louis XIV., who had formerly conquered great part of Holland and Flanders, and the whole of Franche-Comte, without firing a shot, was not able to encroach upon the United Provinces, after the greatest undertakings and the most bloody victories.

William was the soul of the coalition, and encouraged Spain, Holland, and Germany to continue the war. He went every year to the continent to decide the plans for the campaign, and to put himself at the head of the armies; he returned each year to England to quiet the fears of the parliament; to assemble his ministers, to explain his great designs to them, and to demand the necessary subsidies for carrying on the war. The houses of parliament sometimes met him with complaints, but the people always followed him with acclamations.

On opening the session of 1696, he declared that, in spite of the proposals for peace, it was with drawn swords that a treaty must be made with France; and the parliament replied, that though the nation had made great sacri-

* The Marshal de Noailles gained a battle in Catalonia, on the banks of the Ter.

fices of men and money, they would support him against all his enemies, at home and abroad.

At last, in 1697, his perseverance triumphed over Louis XIV.'s good fortune, and his efforts were crowned with success. The peace of Ryswick was signed between France, England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor of Germany.

Louis XIV. by this treaty acknowledged William III., and abandoned the cause of the Stuarts. It was in every respect favourable to the honour and the commercial interests of England and the Low Countries. It restored to William's allies many of the towns which had been taken from them, and Lorraine to Charles V.'s son.

Thus William, in nine years, surmounted all the interior and exterior difficulties which opposed his designs. He frustrated all James's designs, he had the majority of the nation in his favour, and he succeeded in restoring to England all her influence in the congress of crowned heads.

On the 3rd of December, 1697, the king went to the houses of parliament to announce that he had attained his object by the completion of an honourable peace. The ruler of proud Albion was no longer, like Charles II., the vassal of France; she became one of the arbitrators over the destinies of Europe, and throughout every quarter of the globe she is consulted on all occasions.

The war in Hungary, which had lasted above fifteen years, between Turkey and the Emperor of Germany, was concluded by her mediation; and by the assistance she sent to Charles II., Poland and Denmark were forced to conclude a peace with Sweden.

Louis XIV., in concert with Charles II. of Spain, whose death appeared imminent, disposed beforehand of the succession to the Spanish crown. Several treaties of eventual division were agreed on between them; but it would have

been difficult for two such haughty characters to have agreed long in their intentions.

The king of Spain's will, which declared the duc d'Anjou sole heir of that monarchy, revived all the jealousies against France: the fate of Europe hung on England's adhesion or opposition. Louis XIV., who was unable to gain over the king as he had done the Stuarts, tried, by means of bribery, to corrupt the influential members of parliament, and William was compelled, by the attitude of the houses, to acknowledge for a time the accession of a Bourbon to the throne of Spain.

But William was not alarmed by the evil dispositions of the parliament; he rested on the people, and knew that by rousing the national spirit he should crush the obstacles which arose to prevent his supporting his allies and his country's important interests on the continent. The public voice was soon heard. "We will not," said the English in the celebrated petition of Kent, "be the slaves of parliament any more than of the king." William dissolved the parliament, and when he had convoked a new one, on the 13th of December, 1701, he opened the session by a speech in which he developed all the depth and patriotism of his policy. He begged them to support him in his views, to confirm the public credit, to interest themselves in the condition of the poor, to encourage trade, and to improve the public morals. He implored them above all not to yield to their common enemy, by abandoning the fruits of all their efforts on the continent; he urged them to seize this opportunity of insuring the preponderance of England, by putting herself at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe; in fine, he appealed to all the honourable feelings of the nation.

This appeal was not made in vain. The house of commons voted subsidies without a dissenting voice. The house

of lords showed the same enthusiasm; and William's speech was printed and bought up by the populace, and hung up framed in cottages as the most faithful representation of the conquests and policy of the revolution. It was William's political testament;—he died on the 8th of March, 1702, a few months after;—but he must have quitted this world with the intense satisfaction that a great man always feels who has assured the prosperity, the liberty, and the honour of his country.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLICY OF THE STUARTS.

The First Part.—Charles I.

We have recited the principal acts of William's life; they will serve to show the difference between the events of that period and those now (since 1830) passing in France.

The policy of 1830 is not that of 1688; it is totally opposed to it.

It is not the system of William III., but that of the Stuarts, which has been taken for a model.

In proof of this assertion, we will proceed to analyze the causes of the events which agitated England for a period of sixty-three years.

In retracing this interesting era of the history of England, we shall find how much analogy the disorganized society of 1640 and 1660 had to our own at present, as exemplified by their passions and dissensions; and we shall be brought to the painful conclusion that the events of the last eleven years in France which have elapsed since 1830, are more like those which have preceded revolutions than those which have terminated them.

As it is not a dramatic, but rather a philosophical comparison, we wish to establish, we think it reasonable to compare the periods in which there was the greatest similarity in the ideas which governed society through the ruling powers, although the principal events differ.

The difference in the framing is unimportant, if the pictures we compare have the same shades and represent the same subjects.

In 1625, England had already undergone two great revolutions. The first took place as far back as the thirteenth century, the period of the proclamation of the Great Charter; the second occurred in the sixteenth century, from the growing weakness of the nobility, the feudal system under Henry VII.,* and the religious reform violently executed by Henry VIII.

The first revolution had established popular rights; the second had established a new order of property by distributing the wealth of the nobility and clergy among the nation.†

As all great movements require conceits, colours, or banners to represent them, Protestantism became the emblem of all these national conquests in England.

Elizabeth had done more than confirm the interests begotten in these revolutions—she saved them; so that her despotism was more popular than any amount of liberty.

James I., the first of the ill-fated dynasty of the Stuarts, thought that he could preserve Elizabeth's absolute power

* Among other things, Henry VII. abolished the feudal laws, which interfered with the sale and subdivision of the fiefs.—Guizot, *History of Charles I.*, vol. i. page 11.

† In the division of the tenures made by William the Conqueror, the clergy had had 28,015 manors for their portion, which was more than a third of the wealth of the kingdom.

The nobility alienated the greater part of the vast domains which Henry VIII. distributed among them.

without her genius, and enjoy the same authority in a far different spirit and with other objects in view. He sapped the foundations of the throne, and led to the revolution which exploded over his son.

James I.'s reign was regarded with contempt; the royal prerogatives, which in Elizabeth's time had been considered the rights of the crown, were now only esteemed as abuses.

The aristocracy had bowed the knee before the throne since the accession of the Tudors, but reserving to themselves the privilege of rising with the liberties of the people. The people frequently give a motive for leading them, but never for crushing them.

When Charles I. came to the throne, he was the head of almost absolute power over a people who already possessed all legal means of subverting tyranny.

The meetings of parliament occurred regularly and without interruption; the trial by jury was in force; the towns had preserved their charters; the corporations their franchises; and men of talent had exercised themselves in religious controversies until they had become good political orators.

The English knew all the theories of liberty, if they were ignorant of the practice; and now that the government did not follow the march of national liberty, they redemanded the free and entire enjoyment of the blessings that had been left them by their forefathers; for there is no enjoyment where there is a fear of loss.

The popular confidence had passed from the throne to the parliament, because that alone seemed to guarantee the liberties that had been acquired, and the prayer that had been addressed to heaven.

The ills of society were evident, and a vague and undefined desire existed throughout the nation for a better state of things.

Years may roll away before a nation is able to point the finger to the seat of its diseases; the more easy it seems to proclaim real ills, the more do the minds of men run into mystic theories.

In 1625, Great Britain had arrived at one of those solemn periods when a man may not remain at the head of a society in ferment, except under the condition of directing it, and can only direct, upon condition of favouring and regulating the newly developed ideas.

"Charles I.'s reign opened under happy auspices: England promised herself happiness and freedom under a king that at length she could respect."*

This hope was soon gone. From the commencement discontent showed itself; the government was blamed for protecting the Roman-Catholic religion, which had descended to being a political matter,—it was blamed for its negotiations, its alliances, its neglect of commerce, and for its employment of the subsidies. The government, instead of silencing these murmurs, by repressing the abuses they pointed out, contradicted the authors: want of confidence increased; the parliament became more imperious, and the king more irritated.

Charles, wishing to turn the public attention from domestic affairs, by an expedition in favour of Protestantism, equipped a fleet to assist the besieged city of La Rochelle.

But some governments are death-stricken at their birth, and whose measures, conceived in the most national spirit, only inspire mistrust and discontent.

Charles I. asked for twenty vessels to equip his fleet, and

* Guizot's *History of Charles I.*, vol. i. page 3. We have imagined that it would not be possible to describe the situation of England under Charles I.'s reign better than by quoting several passages of Monsieur Guizot's brilliant history.

the City of London replied, that Elizabeth had required fewer to repulse the Grand Armada under Philip II.* The king, however, insisted upon having them; and yet in spite of these powerful resources he was twice defeated by Richelieu's firmness.

The parliament continued to declare itself more hostile, and its popularity increased with its hostility. Charles, after having frequently dissolved it, summoned it again, and avowed his mistake.

In 1628, the celebrated bill, known by the name of the Bill of Rights, was sanctioned by the king and the two houses of parliament. This was not an extraordinary innovation; the bill consecrated acknowledged liberties, or repressed abuses which were universally blamed. The king and the nation must have been much estranged from each other, when one regarded as a signal defeat what the other considered a complete victory, and which after all was only the renewal of ancient rights.

Weak and short-sighted governments imagine that they have done all, when, after struggling for some time against the public opinion, they are obliged to yield, though in truth they have only evinced their bad intentions and their feebleness.

Charles thought his trials were ended when they had only begun. The commons expressed their hatred of the duke of Buckingham, and threatened to impeach him. The king thought he had shown sufficient deference to the wishes of parliament, and that the time for concessions was past. He imagined that he could save his minister by keeping him near himself. The duke of Buckingham was assassinated, and the people were intoxicated with joy. Charles, feeling irritated by so many insults, dissolved the

* Guizot, *History of Charles I.*, page 32.

parliament, and resolved to govern alone; for eleven years England appeared calm, but the agitation had only disappeared from the surface to spread into the heart of society.

"For some time the government was yielding; the citizens only occupied themselves with their private affairs, thus no great debate, no important feeling, disturbed the gentlemen in their county meetings, the citizens in their municipal assemblies, the sailors in their ports, or the apprentices in their workshops. The nation was not languishing in apathy, but her activity had taken another course; it appeared that she forgot in activity the reverses her liberty had sustained. Charles was more haughty than enthusiastic, and his despotism troubled itself but little in this new state of things. He did not project vast designs—had no desire for a great and hazardous renown: it was enough for him to enjoy his power and rank as sovereign. The continuance of peace prevented the necessity of exacting great sacrifices from his people, and they gave themselves up to agriculture, commerce, and study, without being constantly cramped in their undertakings, or their interests compromised by an ambitious and meddling tyranny; thus public prosperity made rapid strides, order reigned among all the citizens, and this flourishing and orderly condition shed a semblance of wisdom over the government, and of resignation over the country."*

But evils are not remedied by suppressing complaints; and the march of government had not become more smooth, or more upright, though emancipated from the interference and opposition of parlimentary discussions.

"In spite of the energy and zeal of the principal counsellors, in spite of the quiet of the country, in spite of the king's dignity of manner, the government was weak

* Guizot, vol. i. page 64.

and unpopular. Assailed by internal dissensions, led in turn by contrary influences, sometimes shaking off the yoke of the laws in an arrogant manner, at others yielding to the slightest opposition, the king was ruled by no plan of conduct, and constantly lost sight of his own designs."*

As soon as Charles had freed himself from the control of the parliament, he hastened to conclude peace with France (in 1629), and with Spain (in 1630), thus abandoning the Protestant cause in Europe.† The influence of England had been constantly on the decrease, yet was the British flag surprised to find it no longer inspired the same respect as in the time of Elizabeth.

"The Barbary pirates came into the Channel, and even into St. George's channel, infesting the whole coasts of Great Britain."

"So much incapacity, and its consequent dangers, did not escape enlightened men. The foreign ministers resident in London reported it to their masters; and soon, notwithstanding England's well-known prosperity, it was a generally received opinion throughout Europe, that Charles's government was feeble, imprudent, and unstable. At Paris, Madrid, and the Hague, his ambassadors were several times treated slightingly and contemptuously.

"There must be a constant increase of tyranny with a frivolous and unskilful tyrant; the tyranny of Charles was, if not the most cruel, at least the most iniquitous and most marked with abuses that England had ever endured. Without being able to allege as an excuse any political necessity, without dazzling the minds of the people by any great result; but to satisfy hidden designs, to accomplish objects without any meaning, it acted in contempt, not only of the ancient rights, but of the new desires of the

* Guizot, vol. i. page 75. † Ibid.

people, having no respect either for the laws or the opinion of the country, nor for the avowals and promises of Majesty itself; making use, at all hazards and on all occasions, of every species of oppression, adopting the most rash and illegal measures, not to confirm the triumph of a rational and formidable system, but to sustain a tottering power which was always in trouble: some subtle adviser constantly searching into old registers to discover some example of long-forgotten iniquity, and sedulously dragging forth the abuses of by-gone days, and erecting them into prerogatives of the crown. Whenever there was any doubt of the complacent character of the judges, or a wish not to exhaust their influence, exceptional tribunals—the Star Chamber, the court of the north, and a number of other jurisdictions, struck out of the common law, were called into operation in their place."*

In 1636 the Star Chamber was called on to punish the publication of puritan writings.

"The iniquity of the procedure was only equalled by the barbarity of the sentence.

"If the discontent in any county became general, the militia was disarmed, and soldiers were dispatched there, whom the inhabitants were obliged to lodge and feed."†

"In the cities the higher orders of citizens, in the country a great portion of the middle classes, and almost all the free tenantry, were more violent, in religious matters especially, than any other persons.

"There reigned among these a passionate love of reformation; an ardent desire to adopt the consequences of their religious and political opinions; a profound hatred of everything approaching to popery, or that recalled the remembrance of it, for the reformation had proclaimed the

* Guizot, vol. i. page 112. † Ibid., vol. i. page 94.
‡ Ibid., vol. i. page 103.

freedom of civil society, and abolished the usurpations of the spiritual power in temporal matters."*

"In political matters the ferment, although less general and less unruly, was on the increase. Among the lower classes, as the result either of increased ease, or of religious belief, ideas and demands of equality were circulating widely, till then unknown.

"In the more elevated ranks, some rough and haughty spirits, who detested the court, and despised the inefficiency of the ancient laws, gave full vent to their ideas, and dreamed in their solitary readings or secret conversations of more simple and more efficacious institutions.

"Others, influenced by motives less pure, strangers to every faith, cynics in their morals, and thrown by discontent or chance among the discontented, aspired to a convulsion which should afford scope for their ambitious views, or at least free them from all restraint.

"Fanaticism and licence, sincerity and hypocrisy, respect and disdain for the old institutions, legal wants and ill-regulated desires, all combined to foment the national anger; all rallied against a power whose tyranny inspired the same hatred in men of such diverse passions, while its imprudence and weakness gave hope and activity to the wildest dreams."*

"The government, though much embarrassed, was confident and haughty. As a justification of its acts, it frequently spoke in an emphatic tone of the bad spirit which was spreading, but its momentary fears never awakened its prudence; and though fearing them, it disdained its enemies. Even the necessity of daily increasing the rigours of oppression, did not enlighten it, and it gloried the more in its strength as the increasing danger necessitated it to use more severity."†

Charles I., without intending it, had entered on that fatal path where it is no longer a question of government or justice, but of terror. The common people had been the first victims of persecution.

"Hitherto the martyrs had been confined to the lower class; not any were eminent by their name, their talents, or their station. Several, indeed, had been little thought of, for their professions before their trial, and the opinions they had supported, were on many points in accordance with those fanatical sects especially accredited by the multitude. Glorying in their courage, they very soon accused the upper classes of weakness and apathy. *Now*, they proclaimed, *honour, which generally inhabits the heart, has, like the gout, descended to the feet.*"

But very soon the upper classes of society met with the same insults, and underwent the same persecutions; the opinion of the public revealed itself, and obliged the king to convoke a new parliament in 1640, which was not to be dissolved again until it had destroyed him.

Nevertheless, at the period of the convocation of this assembly, which went afterwards by the name of the *Long Parliament*, the nation was still wavering.

"Whatever discontent was felt, any violent intention was foreign to its ideas. The sectarians, the mob in some places, and some men already compromised as chiefs of new parties, nourished more gloomy passions or more extended ideas. The public had approved and supported them in their opposition, but without associating themselves with other projects, or even suspecting them. Long reverses had occasioned many good citizens to doubt, if not of the legitimacy, at least of the warmth and obstinacy of the recent parliaments. Men recollected not with blame, but only with regret, the rudeness of language, and the disorderly scenes which had agitated them; and under the

influence of this feeling, they resolved upon a greater exercise of moderation for the future. The elections formed a house of commons in opposition to the government, composed of men determined to redress complaints, and whose previous opposition to government had made them popular —men who for the most part were quiet citizens free from all engagements of party spirit, mistrustful of passions, of secret combinations, and hasty resolutions, and flattering themselves that they should reform the abuses without alienating the king or hazarding the tranquillity of the country.

"In this state of mind the moral position of the parliament was a false one, for it was by it, and for its advantage, that the revolution was in course of accomplishment. Constrained to work towards that revolution, and to deny it at the same time, its acts and its language contradicted each other in turn, and it wavered painfully between boldness and subtilty, violence and hypocrisy.

"Day by day it was obliged to take opposite measures and try contrary efforts: what it asked for in respect of the church it rejected as regarded the state. As it was constantly changing its tone and position, it sometimes invoked principles and democratic feelings against the bishops, and monarchical dogmas or aristocratic influences against the new-born republicans. It was a curious spectacle to see the same men demolish with one hand and support with the other; sometimes preaching in favour of innovations, at other times cursing the innovator; alternately rash and cowardly, rebellious and despotic; at the same moment persecuting the Episcopalians in the name of the rights of liberty, and the Independents in that of power; in short, arrogating to themselves the privilege of insurrection and tyranny, while each day declaiming against both."

This state of uncertainty and contradiction could not last. Subsequent to the opening of parliament, Charles had been obliged to yield to the torrent of opinion; but these concessions had been as fatal to him as his former resistance. Wishing to regain some popularity, without, however, satisfying the just demands of the people, he sought to flatter popular prejudices by persecuting the Papists, now the devoted victims to the reconciliation of the prince and the country.

But injustice has never consolidated a throne. The king had opened the door to revengeful feelings, without knowing where they would stop, without considering whom they might strike. The vengeance of parliament fell first on the unfortunate Lord Strafford, probably the only man who could have saved the monarchy, at the beginning of the reign; and who was now about to become the victim of the measures he had executed contrary to his own opinion, and from attachment to his sovereign. Charles abandoned his minister to his enemies; but when Lord Strafford's head fell, every *prestige* of royalty fell with it. This renunciation of his favourite was the greatest proof of the weakness of the king and the cowardice of the man.

The contending parties had used up all their legal resources; every resource of reason and justice was exhausted. The passions alone remained in prominence. The struggle was on the eve of commencement. The whole world knows how it ended.

Second Part. — Charles II.

CHARLES I. paid most dearly for his own and his father's faults; but how many causes had he to expiate his errors! Educated, as he had been, in the principles of absolute power, the example of the kings who had preceded him had

only misled his judgment, and made him mistake the just complaints of the people for discontent, and the ebullitions of a disorganized society for low sedition.

But after his reign it would have been insanity to have been deceived; for his example, written in the history of England in letters of blood, pointed out where were the rocks, and where the harbour of safety. Yet thirty-nine years more were to elapse, and five more governments in England were to be wrecked, before England was destined to enjoy her liberties.

It is not our object to describe the march of events which followed the death of Charles I.; we shall only touch on the eleven years which intervened before the restoration of his son.

The struggle which had overthrown the English government, had not been, like the more recent revolution in 1789, a social, political, and intellectual one,—a revolution of necessity which must attack all received ideas, all the higher classes, all existing interests, and shake the country to the foundations, because in it a whole people rise simultaneously to free themselves from feudal oppression, to obtain a liberty which was denied to them, to conquer rights they were never in the possession of.

In England, civilization had taken several ages to effect what in France was performed in one day.*

This is the great difference between the two revolutions; indeed, there was no feature in these two events, excepting the royal catastrophes, could be compared: neither the causes which produced them, nor the effects which resulted from them.

The English revolution made no change either in the morals or the institutions of the country, and left nothing

* See the reflections at the beginning of the preceding chapter.

after it but an immense measure of national pretension, known by the name of the Navigation Act.*

Cromwell, who for five years occupied the first place, because the existing political and religious fanaticism required a chief, was not able to establish anything. He was merely a skilful helmsman during the tempest: he was brought by a storm into power, and a calm would have swamped him. Instead of creating new interests, he had always to war against the old habits of liberty, which were deeply rooted in the nation.† There was also a striking difference in the popularity enjoyed by the men of the two revolutions. The conventionists who had voted the death of Louis XVI. in France, were employed as ministers by a prince who returned with the support of all Europe; while Charles II., who was recalled freely by the people, not only put the regicides to death, and exhumed Cromwell's skeleton to hang it on a gibbet, but twenty-nine years later, and after a new revolution had taken place, Ludlow,‡ who returned to his country, could not remain, and was obliged to fly, to avoid the pursuit directed against him by parliament.

These reflections have appeared essential to explain the enthusiasm with which the people returned to monarchy.

The assembly which recalled Charles was the first free parliament that had been convoked since the year 1649; and it is worthy of observation that the Convocation Bill emanated from the remains of the Long Parliament, and excluded all those who were openly known as royalists, or who had taken up arms in favour of Charles I., from the assembly.

* The famous Act of Navigation proposed by the council of state to the parliament of 1681.

† See Villemain's *History of Cromwell*, page 382.

‡ Ludlow, who had voted the death of Charles I., and who had been exiled under Charles II., returned after the revolution of 1688, and

What occurred in England in 1660, may, therefore, be considered a real revolution, having the people to support it, the parliament to speak for it, and a general to effect it. In fact, Monmouth,* who had remained neutral until the last moment, would not have supported the return of the king, if he had not judged that this restoration was desired by the majority of the nation.

Whatever material power a chief may possess, he cannot dispose as he pleases of the destinies of a great nation; he has no real strength but by making himself the instrument of the views of the majority. Henry VIII. changed the religion of the country, because this alteration was already in the minds and to the interest of a great many; without that he would not have succeeded. The Stuarts failed in the same attempt, from contrary causes.

The national movement in 1660 was quite in favour of the recal of Charles II., and everything combined to conciliate the people in his favour.

This prince at sixteen had fought for his father, and had tried to save him at the head of a part of the English fleet which had mutinied against the government. Later he came, sword in hand, to claim the crown, and it was with difficulty he escaped from Cromwell's victorious arms after the battle of Worcester. He was recalled by the national wish, and presented himself with glorious antecedents, and that feeling of interest which is always inspired by misfortunes that have been overcome.

The graces of his wit and the urbanity of his manners prepossessed all persons in his favour, and filled every heart with hope and joy. But during his exile Charles had become a stranger to the manners, the institutions,

* See, in support of this assertion, *History of Cromwell*, by Villemain.

and the religion of his country; misfortune, which either tempers the mind or corrupts it, had exhausted his energy. He returned with opposite interests to those of the people who recalled him, and he forgot that he only found England calm because she was weary; but that she was still divided by "the same questions of religious toleration and political liberty, which must be resolved, and which cannot be suppressed."*

Four parties then represented under a religious form four different politics: the Independents, or republicans; the Presbyterians, who, with the other Protestant sects, formed the Nonconformists; and the Anglican royalists and the Catholic royalists.

The Presbyterians had brought about the revolution by allying themselves with the Independents; they effected the counter-revolution by joining the Anglicans: they formed the majority of the nation by uniting themselves to that party.

It would seem that plain reason ought to have led the king to lean on that majority, which had recalled him, by favouring its wishes and its creed; he should have tried to cement the union of the Nonconformists and Anglicans, and profited by the national feeling in his favour to appease the dissensions, and confirm the liberties of England by wise laws, and his own power beyond seas by upright conduct.

But Charles II. was, from his nature and character, opposed to this line of politics.

By nature, that is, the Stuart nature, he could not feel confidence in the Presbyterians, who were the authors of the revolution, nor in the Independents, who had brought about so fatal a catastrophe to it; the Anglicans and

* Villemain, *History of Cromwell*, page 446.

Catholics appeared to him to be the natural support of his throne.*

From his character, Charles II. could not adopt a system of grandeur and conciliation. The varying scenes which had agitated his life from infancy, instead of inspiring with profound belief, had filled his mind with doubts; he despised men and destiny; men, because he saw around him the champions of every government, successively the adulators of Cromwell's republic and of royalty: he despised destiny, because he only saw a game of chance in the continuation of so many contrary events. Deeply impressed with this political atheism, he thought that clever cunning would suffice to deceive men, and chance to avoid all dangers. He thought that by replacing the ideas of honour and glory by the development of material interests, by destroying faith by low cunning, and conscientiousness by corruption, he should extricate himself from the labyrinth of political passions; as for the nation, he cared not how much they suffered by it.

The acclamations which had greeted the return of Charles I.'s son still sounded long after the king had displeased all parties. Fearing to support the old royalists (called Cavaliers) from the dread of annoying the men of the revolution: not daring to confide in these last, from a natural antipathy, he was ungrateful from cowardice, and unjust from suspicion.†

A nation should never have faith in princes who, to

* He could never overcome his repugnance to Monk Admiral Montague, on account of their republican antecedents; and the Anglicans soon inspired him with suspicion.

† The royalists who were obliged to capitulate at Colchester, were sent by Cromwell to America, and sold as slaves: when Charles II. was restored to the throne, he forgot to redeem them.— Chateaubriand, *Mélanges Historiques*, page 152.

mount the throne, require to tranquillize spirits by declarations, and to flatter parties by promises; for the necessity of such manifestoes plainly proves that they have not the same interests as the nation; and that their person inspires alarm which their word could not dispel.

The declaration of Breda bore on two essential points: the disbanding the army and a general amnesty.

The army was disbanded, but to be immediately reorganized. The amnesty was rendered null by the numerous exceptions made to it; Scotland and Ireland were not included in it.

The fear of anarchy was taken advantage of by the government, to excuse arbitrary measures. A riot in London brought about by some sectarians, was the signal for persecuting the Nonconformists and the Presbyterians. A bill was passed for the safety of the king and the government; they were not content with punishing acts; by the law in question, penalties were extended to simple projects, writings, opinions, even to mere words; any *enterprise* against the king's person was qualified as a crime of high treason. "This word *enterprise*," says Boulay de la Meurthe,* "was certainly very vague; had it been replaced by the word attempt, as we have seen in our time, the law would not have been more just, nor the crime better defined."

Charles II. had one thought which engrossed him, that of procuring money enough to pay his frivolous expenses; he assembled the parliament, and spoke of national glory, under the sole idea of obtaining subsidies. After abandoning Dunkirk to France, for five millions, he sold the interests and honour of his country to Louis XIV.; this line of conduct soon renewed the hostile feelings of the parliament and the nation; the more so, as the secret pro-

* Boulay (de la Meurthe), *History of Charles II.*, vol. i. page 60.

tection that was afforded to the Catholics contributed to the general mistrust.

To divert these ideas, Charles determined, in 1664, to make war with Holland, a country which he detested, on account of its republican form of government, and which he reproached for having given an asylum to his discontented subjects, forgetting that when he was exiled* he had found protection there.

This war, which had been begun in caprice, ended from weariness, after some victories and some reverses; but the peace concluded by the treaty of Breda, in 1667, was regarded by the English as very disgraceful to them; and as if Providence wished to stamp his reign with the seal of its reprobation, the plague came and desolated the kingdom, and a dreadful fire destroyed a great part of London.†

Whilst in England the sovereign used all his adroitness to set traps and ambushes for the parties who wished to bring about an honourable policy; in France, on the contrary, was a young king whose thoughts were solely bent upon the glory of his country.

Louis XIV. claimed all the Spanish Low Countries, as the patrimony of his wife, a daughter of Philip IV.; and had taken possession of Flanders and Franche-Comte. This unexpected invasion alarmed all Europe. Holland, though allied to France, contemplated with apprehension so formidable a neighbour. The Emperor of Germany prepared for war; Sweden dreaded the alliance of France and Denmark, and the public opinion in England participated largely in the alarm on the continent. The king was forced to yield to these manifestations, and charged

* Boulay (de la Meurthe), *History of Charles II.*, vol. i. page 98.

† It is curious to observe, that all the reigns which have been fatal in the history of nations, have been marked by some great calamity—the plague, inundations, fire, or famine.

Sir William Temple, a man whose patriotism was equal to his capacity, to conclude the treaty of the "triple alliance," which opposed to France the united forces of England, Sweden, and Holland. But Charles had acted contrary to his wishes in this line of policy; every day he saw more plainly that his cause was not that of the nation, and that he could only reign by leaning upon a foreign power, which would give him the means of daunting his internal enemies, and of getting rid, in the end, of the system of national representation.

In the execution of so dangerous a design, he was obliged to have recourse to all those means which cunning is apt to devise, which policy allows, but which morality always disapproves.

Governments which are not sufficiently popular to govern in union with their subjects, nor strong enough to keep them all in general subjection, can only maintain their position by nourishing discord between parties.

Charles II., who at first persecuted the Nonconformists himself, gave them up afterwards to the persecutions of the Anglicans, in order, as he said, that they might better understand the repose they would enjoy if the Anglicans got the upper hand.*

He congratulated himself on his first success in this crooked path, observing to Lord Essex, "I have kindled the war so well between the Anglican clergy and the Nonconformists, that they will not in future venture to unite together to oppose my designs.'† But, however clever wickedness may be, she is wrong to boast of her triumphs, for in the long run it is justice alone that triumphs. Charles's hopes were not realized in the end. The fear of impending danger which threatened both parties equally,

* Mazure, vol. i. page 88.

† Boulay (de la Meurthe), vol. i. page 133.

their common antipathy for the Catholics, induced the Nonconformists to unite with the Anglicans in resisting the encroachments of the government; and from that period the embarrassments increased, and the opposition became formidable.

In the parliament of 1670, Lord Lucas uttered this accusation:—

"Everything had been hoped," he said, "from the restoration of the king. His subjects were to have been relieved, the nation was to have been made happy and flourishing; and instead of that, the public burthens had never been so heavy, and the real power, the glory of England, was daily diminishing."*

Charles II. signed the treaty of the triple alliance, with the firm resolution of not adhering to it, and of meanly abandoning his allies. The Emperor of Germany had proposed to him to enter into this alliance against France, and he had refused. The Duke of Lorraine had made him the same offer; and when he was attacked by France, and robbed of everything† on account of this offer, he refused to afford the duke any assistance when applied to, coldly adding, "that it was a misfortune that must be borne."

The king had already divided his enemies by exciting them against one another; now, in the height of his wily wickedness, proceeded to make popular men conclude disgraceful treaties, and to defeat Protestantism by the hands of Protestants. To attain this object he always had a double policy and a double council; he opposed in an underhand way all the measures ostensibly taken by his ministers; he threw upon them all the responsibility of the embarrassments which he himself had occasioned; he frustrated all the negotiations of his ambassadors at foreign

* Boulay (de la Meurthe), vol. i. page 135.

† Louis XIV. took possession of Lorraine in a fortnight in 1670.

courts, by arranging matters, through secret agents, with the enemies of his country. By the captivating influence of his words he managed to obtain the concurrence of men of reputed patriotism in his anti-national schemes, which gave him the double advantage of throwing the scandal of the perfidy of his intentions upon the instruments he made use of, and of rendering those men unpopular who might become dangerous heads of parties.

It was upon this principle that Charles, in 1670, caused a petition to parliament to be presented by the Lord Chancellor Bridgman for subsidies, alleging the necessity of arming against France, and of supporting the Protestant cause, whilst at the same time, unknown to his minister, he assured Louis XIV. that his fleet should only act with the French, and that he only increased his army on land in order to subdue the ill feelings amongst his people, and for the purpose of establishing the Catholic religion.

In this manner he rendered unpopular or made use of all the men he employed, and he attempted to serve Sir William Temple in the same manner. But this statesman was one who would not allow himself to be duped by the king, and who by a striking popularity and a vehement opposition revenged himself for the share he was destined to have taken in a contemptible government. It was Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, who, during this reign, was at once the author of the most unpopular measures, and the most fervent instigator of the opposition in parliament, and of the laws the most favourable to liberty.*

But Louis XIV. had promised the king 200,000*l.* a-year, on condition that England should assist France in the conquest of the republic of the United Provinces, and

war was accordingly declared with Holland in 1670 for the second time.

Strong in this alliance, Charles revived the martial laws, which had been formally abolished by the petition of rights; he fixed heavy punishments for seditious language, and had recourse to a new artifice to deceive the popular feeling. The Nonconformists, whom he persecuted, and afterwards made the Anglicans persecute, he now pretended to take under his protection, and published an Act of Toleration, which was framed solely with the view of favouring popery.

The parliament which was convoked in 1673, was provoked in the greatest degree by this measure, and represented to the king that he had no right to suspend the laws; that the Act of Toleration could not be promulgated without the consent of parliament.

It was in vain that Lord Shaftesbury, to turn the current of these remonstrances, made use of all his eloquence to rouse the national feeling in favour of the war with Holland; the house returned to the exposition of their complaints; and, in the mean time, every English heart began to beat in favour of the young Prince of Orange, who had stopped the progress of Louis XIV. by bringing to bear against his victorious armies the Emperor, the Empire, and Spain.

The government was in an alarming position; the king received the most imprudent advice, and a *coup-d'état* was to be dreaded; but Charles's disposition rejected extreme measures which compelled tyranny to be frank. He went to the house and appeared to yield with a good grace, then tore up the edict which had stirred up so many recriminations. Shaftesbury, the responsible minister and adviser of this unpopular act, felt that all the animadversion of the public would fall upon him; of a sudden he

turned against his colleagues, and with all the superiority of his intellect, and the brilliancy of his powers of eloquence, attacked a financial measure of the grand treasurer's, whom he delivered over to the public contumely, and joined the opposition, saying that a king who abandons himself deserved to be abandoned by others.

The ministry was dissolved, the parliament was appeased, and the national party thought they had gained an important conquest. But the ministers alone were changed, the policy was to remain the same. The country very soon saw what was the real state of the case,—successive prorogations of parliament showed that the court dreaded the expression of discontent engendered by the continental war, which was tediously protracted.

In the session of 1674, the grievances of the nation were loudly proclaimed: the Commons, among other things, declared that the religion of the country was endangered by the marriage of the heir to the throne with a princess who did not profess the dominant religion; they inquired who the counsellors were who had broken the treaty of the Triple Alliance; who had concluded the last treaty with Louis XIV.; and whether an army were encamped at the gates of London under the idea of intimidating the parliament? And what, they asked, has been done with those subsidies which we have so lavishly granted with the view of sustaining the power of England against France? and why has war been waged against the States-General without our sanction?

These energetic complaints proved to the king that the moment had arrived again to yield to public opinion. No one knew better than himself how to dispel the storm by a feigned return to the wishes of Parliament. In the preceding year he had torn up the act of toleration, without giving up his favourite projects in favour of catholicism;

now he preferred the peace, with the fixed determination of being equally useful to Louis XIV. by his neutrality as by his co-operation; and, in the same manner as his apparent concession on the religious question in 1678 allowed him to continue an unpopular war, so also the satisfaction he gave in 1674 on foreign policy, would, he hoped, enable him to silence the lamentations about domestic abuses.

Peace was ratified with the States-General, and the parliament separated, delighted to have obliged the court to concede; so easy is it for a sovereign to content a parliamentary opposition, and to inspire a belief of his good faith by deception and promises!

During the four years which intervened before the peace of Nimeguen, political intrigues of every colour infected English society. On the one hand, the king bought the votes and consciences, and deferred the sittings of parliament as much as he could, that he might not be forced to a more active policy against France; on the other, Louis XIV. purchased the king and the opposition with his gold, that the intestine divisions of England might retain her in a condition of dependence upon him. The honour of the country was also to be sold to the highest bidder. And in the midst of this universal corruption, the national interests were as a vessel beaten about by every wind, which, having neither rudder nor pilot, has nothing else to hope for but that the waves may drift her upon the shore.

But the inactivity of the government, in continental affairs, created amongst the people a want of confidence; the king offered the belligerent parties his mediation in procuring peace, with the intention of turning this interposition in favour of France; and to give greater colour to the national spirit of his intentions, he again named Sir William Temple to proceed to the Hague as ambassador extraordinary.

This minister, who was really a man of worth, recollecting the unfortunate result of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, wanted, before he would accept this new mission, to know the king's own views, and to tell him the truth in return. He endangered the policy of government both at home and abroad. He assured the king that he could not resist the people's will, and that his troops would not be sufficient to enable him to do so; and then he cited a maxim of a man who was much esteemed by Charles: "That the King of England would be the greatest of kings if he would be the man of his people; but that he would be a nonentity if he wished to be anything more." The king, who knew better than any one else how to cloak his dissimulation under the appearance of candour and the most gracious frankness, replied, by squeezing his hand, saying, "Go! set off! I will be the man of my people."*

Temple, convinced by this assurance, departed on his mission, and was cruelly deceived. Here we may observe how much it is to be deplored that men, who have a great love for their country, and a great desire to see it powerful and esteemed, should consent to serve a government which converts them into the instruments of its unworthy designs. Proud in their own intelligence, and the purity of their intentions, they think that on entering upon public business they may be able to impress a new character upon the policy of the day; but their will becomes shattered by a stronger will. They cannot save the power they serve; and by attempting to do so, they become, contrary to their inclinations, traitors to the cause they wished to render triumphant.

Negotiations were opened and broken off several times before 1677, according to the different chances of war;

* Mazure, vol. i. p. 139.

but when Louis XIV., who had fought successfully against almost all Europe, had taken the three strongest holds in the Low Countries, England was alarmed, and the parliament demanded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States-General. The Prince of Orange came to England at this period to snatch Charles from the influence of France.

The king received him with pleasure, gave him his niece in marriage, and promised to declare war with France if he did not procure complete satisfaction for Holland. But at the same time, he intimated to Louis XIV. through his ambassador, that he would make all possible sacrifices to remain at peace with him: "For," said he to Barillon, "I had rather depend on the king your master, than on my own people."*

Louis XIV. being thus warned, eluded all the weak menaces of the ambassadors; he increased his pretensions, and pursued his conquests.

Nevertheless, the king again assembled parliament on the 15th of January, 1678;—he spoke of the danger to which Holland was then reduced; obtained two millions of pounds sterling of subsidies to equip eighty vessels, raised 20,000 men in six weeks, and sent them to Flanders. Temple concerted vigorous measures with the United Provinces against France. This skilful negotiator concluded a treaty in six days, which obliged England to declare war if Louis XIV. did not abandon Flanders and Belgium in two months. There were preparations made to renew the struggle in England and Holland. The nation thought that its honour was about to be avenged, and its interests warmly taken to heart; but they were soon aware that everything was altered; that through the mediation of a subaltern agent, Charles had tampered with the foreign

* Mazure's *History of the Revolution of* 1688, vol. i. p. 204.

powers, that Temple had been deceived, and England betrayed, and that the courts of France, Sweden, and England had agreed between themselves at Nimeguen as to the conditions of peace.

In fine, six millions of money had purchased Charles's neutrality, together with a promise not to assemble parliament again for six months, and to disband the army. This treaty of Nimeguen (1678) reserved to France nearly all her conquests, and sacrificed alike the interests of Holland, Spain, Germany, and England. Charles II., who might have been the arbiter of Europe, preferred being the slave of Louis XIV.

The English were much incensed when this treaty came to their knowledge; they said—"This then is the result of our sacrifices for the last eighteen years. The immense sums we have voted for the equipment of our fleets, and for the support of so large a standing army, have only been turned to our own disgrace and the loss of our influence in Europe."

"While Spain, Holland, the Empire, and the princes of Germany," according to Hume, "called loudly on England to conduct them to victory and liberty, and expected to make her more glorious than she had ever been, her king, from sordid motives, had secretly sold her to Louis XIV., and had allowed himself to be corrupted into betraying the interests of his people."*

This was the most glorious period of the reign of Louis XIV., and the most debased of that of Charles II., for the French king gave him nothing for the advantage of England in exchange for his condescension; on the contrary, he levied duties on English manufactures, which was in those days a species of innovation,† and forbade English vessels to trade with Genoa; a striking proof that cowardice never prospers.

The peace of Nimeguen had terminated the differences

* Hume, vol. x. p. 61.

† Mazure, vol. i. p. 371.

between Great Britain and the continent; but Charles's trials were not over; he was ever after subject to Louis XIV.'s disdain, a prey to the factious hostility of the parliament, and unceasingly threatened by plots and popular movements.

Nothing is a better evidence of an uneasy condition of society than to find an unforeseen and trifling incident awaken all those passions and produce results, which, in ordinary times, only the greatest events are capable of calling forth.

The protection so deceitfully and perseveringly accorded to the Catholic party by the king, had inspired so much alarm and distrust in the nation, that one day, a vulgar fellow of bad repute was listened to with great avidity, who asserted that he came to unfold the improbable secrets of a popish plot against the king and country: and this vague declaration of a man without faith led Lord Stafford, and other victims of this infernal machination, to the scaffold.

When this storm had blown over, the opposition began their plots, and chose their chiefs from the king's former ministers; and even his own son; and Lord Russel, Lord Sidney, and many others, paid with their heads for their too impetuous desire for liberty. At length the king thought that the social decay had arrived at a stage which would allow of his executing the project which he had meditated for many years; he broke up the parliament at Oxford, and proceeded to reign without control.

If glaring facts were wanting whereby to judge Charles II., we should already have a just idea of the fatal influence he possessed over the minds of the men he employed, and how completely he sacrificed them to the varying interests of the moment. Clarendon, to whom in great measure he owed his crown, was abandoned by him to the animosity of parliament, and exiled. Charles neglected the

virtuous Ormond, outwitted Temple's devotion, and towards the end of his reign bestowed all his regards upon Jeffreys,* and reposed great confidence on him, because this judge possessed the invaluable talent of twisting the laws to every iniquity. The end of all governments is to throw a shadow of its colouring on all who serve it; thus Charles II. made all men insignificant, and blighted their characters, by his missions, who, better employed, would have become good citizens. For instance, Churchill was sent by him to Louis XIV. to stipulate for the price of the dependence of the English crown, and the same Churchill was Marlborough, who, though at that time he negotiated a disgraceful treaty, under the reign of William III. and Anne knew how to direct his talents for the honour of his country.

Charles II. for twenty-five years maintained a power which had begun in the midst of the most violent expressions of noisy joy, and which ended in solemn grief; the history of a reign is very dull which is only marked by political trials and disgraceful treaties, and of which the remains are, a germ of revolution for the people, and a shameful example for kings.

"One wonders," says Monsieur Boulay de la Meurthe, "how so disgraceful a reign could last so long? It was, doubtless, that the recollection of the preceding period was too universal and too strong in people's minds, and that the royalist party, which was numerous, powerful, and united, took advantage of it; the friends of liberty, although far more numerous, never agreed on the means or objects of their efforts. Charles's most dreadful acts were not known in his life-time; his falsehood covered the perfidy of his views. Cowardice caused him more than once to make a

* He loaded him with honours, and gave him a ring as a proof of affection, when he was setting off to prosecute his iniquitous judgments.

timely retreat before the storm which threatened to annihilate him."

Charles II. died in 1685. "There have been princes," continues Monsieur de Boulay, "who have been more wicked and more sanguinary than him, but not any who carried further their disregard of their duties and their dignity. In other countries, he might have played a glorious and important part, had he only taken advantage of circumstances, and followed the noble impulses of nature. At home, it is true, he was often in so embarrassing a position that it would have been difficult not to excite much discontent; but the difficulty of this position was in a great measure his own work. It must not be forgotten, that he was recalled by an immense majority of the nation; and, without the assistance of any foreign power, he found himself, on his return, invested with confidence, and with more than sufficient power, to calm any remaining irritability, and to reconcile all parties; to accomplish this end, he only required a little wisdom in his views, a little generosity of disposition, a little frankness and decision in his conduct."

"No person," says Temple in his *Memoirs*, "was more agreeable, or more easy of access; far from being haughty or reserved, he had not the least leaven of pride or vanity. He was the most affable and civil of men; he never treated his subjects as vassals and dependents, but as so many noblemen, gentlemen, and free private individuals. The tone of his compliments was plausible, and his manners most winning; he influenced the hearts even while losing the esteem of his subjects; and he often caused them to hesitate between their judgment and their inclination."

Monsieur de Chateaubriand describes more philosophically than any one the reign of Charles II. in his *Historical Memoirs*. "This prince," says this great writer, was one

of those men who place themselves between two historical periods, to conclude one, and to form a commencement to the other; to abate resentments, without being powerful enough to extinguish principles;—one of those princes whose reign serves as a passage or transition to great changes of institutions, of morals and ideas, among nations; one of those men expressly created to fill void spaces, which, in the order of political events, often separate the cause from the effect."

CONCLUSION.

We propose to sum up, in this concluding chapter, the causes of the fall of the Stuarts, and of the greatness of William III.

The descendants of the unfortunate Queen of Scots were endowed by nature with brilliant qualities; they possessed that affability of manner which wins all hearts. William was dry, cold, and reserved. Nevertheless the reign of the Stuarts commenced under the most favourable auspices; everything seemed to smile upon them. William, on the contrary, from the beginning, was surrounded by numberless difficulties and dangers. Why did the first fall, with so many chances of success, while the second triumphed, with so many chances of death?

The Stuarts came to the throne at a time when the progress of civilization had divided England into two distinct parties; the old ideas were strengthened by the consecrating hand of time; the new, by the ascendancy of reason.

Instead of uniting these two national interests, they supported only the ancient rights, and commenced the

struggle. But the general welfare was only to be obtained by an intimate fusion of the two conflicting causes; and as all fusion requires fire to produce it, it was the civil war, under the Stuarts, which accelerated a solution, which William perfected by his patriotism and genius.

The Stuarts were always in a false position; the official representatives of Protestantism, they were Catholics at the bottom of their hearts.

Forced to represent a system of liberty and toleration, they were by nature absolute; representatives of English interests, they were devoted or sold to France.

William, on the contrary, was truly by nature and from conviction what he appeared to be on the throne.

The Prince of Orange must have had an immense advantage over the Stuarts from the manner in which he established his government. He was neither Charles I. nor James II., inheriting a throne already discredited and debased; neither was he like Charles II., called to power by a momentary agreement amongst opposing parties, and therefore obliged to be either their plaything or their tyrant. He was the founder of a new order of things, of which his skill and courage had hastened the establishment.

The opening circumstances of a reign have an influence upon its duration, just as a building defies the inroads of time, or crumbles away in a few days, according as the foundation is well or ill laid. Generally revolutions, conducted by a chief,* turn exclusively to the advantage of the people; for to ensure success, the chief is obliged to give himself up to the national spirit; and to support himself, he must remain faithful to the interests which carried his triumph; whilst, on the contrary, revolutions

* It must be apparent that I only mean revolutions which have taken place in free countries, where the moral force has more influence than physical force.

made by the multitude often turn to the profit of the chief only, because the people think on the morrow of victory that their wish is accomplished, and it is in their nature to discontinue for a long period all the efforts which were requisite to obtain that victory.

So it was with William III., who by his want of legitimate claim had no interest in common with the preceding reign,—who, by himself and his great feats, was the chief of his cause and of the revolution,—who, in fine, by his free election, had acquired an incontestable right, and had fixed the basis of his throne deeply in the soil of England. Let us now consider the personal conduct of these different sovereigns.

The Stuarts possessed courage, intelligence, and perseverance; but they made use of these qualities to oppose the wants of their people and the course of events. They resisted where they should have yielded, and they yielded where resistance was a duty. They had no consistency except in their animosities,—never in their regards; and when once drawn towards a revolutionary tendency, there was always a deficiency of the only virtue which can save amid great dangers—the impulse of feeling.

A tranquil and well-regulated nation may be by the sole gift of understanding; but when violence has taken the place of right, and the methodical march of intellect has been broken, a sovereign can only regain the sway he has lost by adopting those grand and spontaneous resolves which the heart alone inspires.

When Charles I., in resisting the revolutionary torrent, was blockaded in Oxford, in 1644, by the parliamentary army, it was not by dwelling minutely on the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of parliament, that he could have regained his past influence, but by adopting one of

please by their greatness,—as, for instance, the suddenly appearing alone and unattended in London, and relying on the generosity of his people.*

When James II. learnt the hostile intentions of the Prince of Orange, it was not by imploring the assistance of Louis XIV. that he could have strengthened his crown, but by making an appeal to the fidelity of a free parliament, and by using that lofty tone which sounds so well coming from the throne.

A struggle can only be sustained by equal weapons, and when, amid the whirlwind of revolution, vice and virtue, truth and error, are confounded in the conflict of passions, it is only by the generous emotions of the heart that the revengeful feelings of parties are subdued.

The Stuarts bore on their lips what William had in his heart; they possessed that polished form of vice which apes virtues it has not ;—William boasted that blunt virtue which despises all paint and all borrowed lustre.

Protestantism had become the emblem of all the national interests in England in the sixteenth century. The Stuarts would only have had to put themselves frankly at the head of this cause to render themselves powerful both in and out of England. Far from that, they abandoned it abroad, and used all their efforts to crush it at home.

But there never has been among free people a government sufficiently strong to repress, for any length of time, liberty at home, without seeking to substitute the glory of foreign achievements in its stead. Thus the march of government under the Stuarts daily manifested, by its con-

* The alarms of our enemies sometimes point out our interest to us better than our own feelings. In 1644, the parliament thought that the king intended to put himself, in London, at the head of the people in the city, who were devoted to him. They were seized with a panic, and took the most energetic measures to prevent Charles I. realizing a

tradictions, that it sometimes violated the rules of justice, at other times those of policy.

Charles I., though he abandoned the Protestant cause in Europe, could not prevent Gustavus Adolphus, that hero of Protestantism, from recruiting partisans and soldiers in his dominions.

Charles II. was obliged, in order to satisfy the public mind, to give his niece in marriage to the Prince of Orange, the chief of the Protestant league.

James II., though a papist and a persecutor, was forced to give an asylum to the victims of the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

So that the Stuarts constantly awakened sympathies in favour of the cause they wished to sacrifice, and their protection, far from being a sign of their generosity, was only a proof of their weakness and cowardice.

But the reasoning faculties of the people are not violated with impunity. To maintain peace by awakening the symbols of war—to protect the persecuted by making common cause with the persecutors—constantly to draw the springs of power without even guaranteeing the public tranquillity: these were the inconsistencies of which the people were sooner or later to ask an account. The Stuarts, who were always in a state of hostility with the nation, had by turns recourse to the laws and the people; to the most holy, and the most profane things—as to arms of attack or defence.

Making use of the Protestant ministers to re-establish popery, and sending the Catholics to the scaffold—using political men to debase the parliaments, and afterwards abandoning them to parliamentary vengeance, they were constantly entangled in their projects, and drawn into an opposite path to their wishes, and apparently without an object, from not venturing to name one.

The Stuarts never sought by the application of any great principle if they could assure the prosperity and independence of their country, but by what little expedients, by what hidden intrigues, they could support their always troubled power.

They never inquired by *what*, but by *whom* they could maintain themselves, always putting private interest in the place of public interest, making question of personal interests instead of question of principles, and intrigue in the place of lofty political conceptions.

William, on the contrary, trampled on all obstacles, and united all differing opinions, as all individuals opposed to one object, the interest of the country.

The Stuarts only made war to support their tottering power by a semblance of glory.

William made it to increase the influence of England.

The Stuarts asked for peace after being defeated, William only accepted it after being victorious.

The greatest blame that could attach to the two last Stuarts is, that of having always been the slaves of Louis XIV. When they found themselves in embarrassments, they always appealed to foreign aid, forgetful that frequently everything is forgiven in a sovereign except a want of nationality.

Men of all ranks place their honours somewhere—the Stuarts placed it as a relic in the holy archives of the royal prerogatives—William placed his in national glory.

All men are more or less actors in this world; but each chooses his theatre and his audience, and uses all his efforts as well as his ambition to obtain the suffrage of this pet of his adoption; like Alexander, who, on the banks of the Indus, reflected on the approbation of the Athenians as the most brilliant reward of his labours.

The Stuarts were only desirous of the praise of one faction and of one foreign sovereign. William gloried in meriting the praise of posterity.

While the first did not know how to profit by the fruits of the earth under a cloudless sky, the second could gather in during a tempest.

The Stuarts assembled parliament to deceive it: William, to convince it. The first dissolved or prorogued parliament whenever it was question of national honour or liberty. The second dismissed it when it was inspired by reactionary principles, or sentiments in opposition to the glory of the country.

The Stuarts reigned by dissimulation and intrigue: William governed by frankness.

The Stuarts always spoke loudly of their alarms to conceal their guilty hopes: William loudly avowed his hopes to dispel fears.

While the Stuarts were hesitating, William went on. While the Stuarts, ruled by means of the crowd, and beheld only confusion around them, William saw the object at once, rushed forward, and drew the crowd after him.

The example of the unfortunate Stuarts proves that when a government combats the ideas and wishes of the nation, it is always met with results opposed to its designs.

The Stuarts desired to re-establish popery, and annihilated it for ages in England. They wished to elevate royalty: they only compromised it. They were anxious to assure order; and they brought confusion on confusion.

It is a true saying that the greatest enemy to religion is the man who would impose it; the greatest foe to royalty, he who degrades it; the greatest enemy to the repose of his country, he who renders a revolution unavoidable.

William III. succeeded in closing the gulf of revolutions, and in confirming the destinies of England, from the circumstances alone, that his line of conduct was exactly opposite to that of the Stuarts; for had he followed the same track, and walked in the same steps, he would have implicated instead of consolidating the institutions of the country.

Let us now consider what would have been the consequences, if the Prince of Orange, after having dethroned James II., and violated the hereditary principle, had accepted the throne from James II.'s last parliament; and instead of convoking a national assembly—the free expression of the popular will—had held his authority from a bastard assembly, who would not have had any right to present him with it.

Let us suppose, that instead of destroying the treaties of the Stuarts, he had, like them, implored the aid and benevolence of a foreign power. We will suppose that instead of supporting the Protestant cause on the continent with arms in his hand, he had abandoned it. Supposing that, under the idea of revenging England for all the insults she had received, he had preserved a large standing army in London to intimidate parliament, and to suffer humiliation from foreigners: that instead of pursuing a great object, he had, like the Stuarts, only made useless expeditions to check military ardour, and to make a diversion in the public opinion. Suppose that, instead of supporting the general interests, he had equally wounded the old and new interests; and that, like the Stuarts, he had broken his faith with those who had seconded him, and the promises he had sanctioned in his manifesto;—if, instead of speaking to the parliament in a dignified tone, he had only appealed to low feelings, to grovelling passions, and the dread of

anarchy, retailing among them the responsibility of the arbitrary acts of the preceding reigns.*

Let us imagine, that instead of confirming the cause of the revolution of 1688, he had been a traitor to it,—that in lieu of raising the English name, he had disgraced it, and, instead of relieving the people, he had crippled them with taxes, without adding to their fame, their commerce, or industry; that he had retrenched their privileges without assuring the public tranquillity. Doubtless another revolution must inevitably have followed; for nations do not endure these shocks, which frequently compromise their existence, only to change the head of the government: they are convulsed as a means of getting rid of the system they are suffering from, and of healing their suffering; they call imperatively for the reward of their exertions, and are not quiet until they have obtained it.

William III. satisfied the exigencies of his reign, and re-established public order; but had he followed the Stuart policy, he would have destroyed it; and the enemies of the English nation, on again witnessing a desire for change, would have accused the people of inconsistency and frivolity. It would have been asserted that England was an *ungovernable* nation. It would have been called, as James II. terms it in his Memoirs, an *infected* nation; but spite of these accusations, the national cause would sooner or later have triumphed,—for God and Right were on her side.

Let us observe, in conclusion, that from the study of the periods we have recalled may be deduced clear and unvarying principles, which are applicable to all nations.

The example of the Stuarts proves that foreign support

* If, for instance, the parliament had repudiated the responsibility of the judicial murder of the Lords Russel and Sydney, instead of vindicating their memory, which was what they did.

is always inefficient to save governments which are obnoxious to the people.

And the history of England calls loudly to monarchs—

"MARCH AT THE HEAD OF THE IDEAS OF YOUR AGE, AND THEN THESE IDEAS WILL FOLLOW AND SUPPORT YOU:

"IF YOU MARCH BEHIND THEM, THEY WILL DRAG YOU ON;

"AND IF YOU MARCH AGAINST THEM, THEY WILL CERTAINLY CAUSE YOUR DOWNFALL.

CORROBORATIVE DOCUMENTS.

I.

Address from the House of Lords to the Prince of Orange, tendering him the Provisional Powers of Government.

WE, the Lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this juncture, implore your Highness to take on yourself the administration of public affairs, as well civil as military; to take the disposal of the public revenues for the preservation of our religion, and the rights, laws, liberties, properties, and peace of the nation; and especially to watch over the present state of Ireland, and immediately to interpose between the dangers which threaten her.

We also implore your Highness to undertake the government until the assembly of a Convention, on the 22nd of January, (2nd of February in the Gregorian style,) in which we doubt not that the necessary measures will be adopted

for the establishment of all things on a sure and legitimate foundation, to prevent all future infringements.

Given at the House of Lords at Westminster, the 25th day of December, 1688, (5th of January in the Gregorian style.)*

The House of Commons made a similar address.

II.

Declaration of the National Convention, which invested William and Mary with royalty, and limited the regal power.

On the day fixed for the ceremony (24th of February, 1689), William and Mary being seated upon a bench in the form of a throne, the two Houses presented themselves in a body before them, and the Clerk of the Crown read an address in their names, in which, after enumerating the principal complaints with which James was reproached, it was further said—

The Peers and Commons of the kingdom, assembled in a complete body, and representatives of the whole nation, acting as their ancestors did in similar circumstances, for the maintenance of their ancient rights, declare :—

"That suspending the execution of the laws or dispensing with them, raising money upon the subjects, or employing money given for another use than that designed for it, raising or keeping up a standing army in the kingdom in the time of peace, creating courts or commissions for ecclesiastical affairs, are, when done by the crown, without

* Mazure, vol. iii. p. 295.

the consent of parliament, so many illegal and pernicious acts;—

"That it is a subject's right to present petitions to the king, without the possibility of the exercise of this right ever giving place to any imprisonment or prosecution.

"That the elections of parliament shall be free: that the liberty of discussion or procedure in Parliament can never be the object of deliberation or question out of parliament;

"That Protestant subjects may carry arms according to their condition, and as it is permitted by the laws;

"That the nomination and report of juries shall be made without fraud, and that juries chosen in trials for high treason shall possess landed property;

"That excessive bail shall not be required, nor exorbitant fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments

"That all promis of fines or confiscations on private individuals before their conviction are unlawful and null;

"That for the maintenance or correction of the laws, and for redressing abuses, it is necessary to have frequent parliaments;

"That they insist on all and each of these articles as so many rights which belong to them, and which shall never be infringed;

"That in the full confidence that his Highness will finish the work he has so gloriously begun, will maintain them in all these rights, and will preserve them from all other attacks on their religion, their laws, and their liberties, they have resolved, and do resolve;

"That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, are declared King and Queen of England, &c., to possess the crown and the royal dignity during their lives, and the

life of the one who shall be the survivor, and that the sole and entire power rests in the hands of the Prince of Orange in the name of the said Prince and Princess while they are both alive: and after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity shall belong to the heirs of the body of the said Princess, and in default of such issue to the heirs of the above-named Prince of Orange.

"That they pray the Prince and Princess to deign to accept it conformably."

The Prince replied—

"We accept the crown you offer to us, and as my sole intention in coming here was to preserve your religion, your laws, and your liberties, you may rest assured that I shall strive to maintain them, and that I shall be ever ready to do all in my power to conduce to the welfare and honour of this nation."

These are the words of the contract formed between the nation and the new king, and in this manner ended in England the celebrated revolution of 1688.*

* Boulay (de la Meurthe), vol. ii. p. 191.

END OF VOL. I.

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