PARIS
IN DECEMBER
1851

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FROM THE
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Francis Lieber.
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1870

PARIS IN DECEMBER, 1851,

OR,

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF NAPOLEON III.

BY

EUGÊNE TÉNOT,

EDITOR OF THE SIÉCLE (PARIS) AND AUTHOR OF "LA PROVINCE EN DÉCEMBRE 1851."

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRTEENTH FRENCH EDITION,

WITH MANY ORIGINAL NOTES,

BY

S. W. ADAMS, AND A. H. BRANDON.

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TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

THE work of which a translation is herewith respectfully submitted, was first published in Paris, in July 1868, since which time it has reached its fifteenth French edition. As the object of its author was to supply a long-needed, correct version of the acts of violence and unlawfulness whereby Louis Napoleon supplanted the Republic of France by the Empire of which he became the head; so the object of the translators has been, to give to the "plain, unvarnished tale" a form and style which should make it intelligible and popular in the hands of American readers. It is for this reason that they have added a copious appendix of historical, biographical, and explanatory notes. Some of these may appear trivial and unnecessary, but it seemed more desirable to explain very fully, than to err, possibly, by the omission of anything that might render the text more thoroughly understood. For the same reason, they have added an Alphabetical Index.

The work has been translated into the Russian, German, and Italian languages; but this is believed to be the first English version thereof.

M. Ténot states that he has not deemed it expedient to comment unfavorably (to the French Government) upon the facts which he has recorded in his work. Nevertheless, it may not be amiss to remark, that his publishers, in order to avoid the risk of public prosecution, struck out from the manuscripts of the author,

certain passages which even he, with all his pains to keep within the French penal enactments relating to the press, had ventured to submit for publication.

It seems to the translators, that a political crisis in the Napoleonic régime will soon be reached. All the under-currents of public opinion in France, especially in the great cities, which in that country are the seats of intelligence and education, and are least controlled by the Romish priesthood, all the indications of popular sentiment, point to the approaching collapse of the dynasty, — the "Strong Government," heretofore administered by Louis Napoleon, with the assistance of a vast army of soldiers, and another army composed of the clergy, and servile officials appointed by the Emperor, and well paid (many of them for life) from the national treasury. That the intelligent, thinking, and patriotic people of France are Republicans, is shown by the results of the elections of 1869. And if the votes of the clergy, and of the underlings (civil and military) of the government, be deducted from the whole, there remains an Opposition majority. This is notwithstanding the vast power and influence exercised by the government, through its ministers, prefects and police, over those who have the right of suffrage.

For these reasons, the present seems an opportune moment for offering for perusal, — by the American reader who desires to be informed as to the origin of the present imperial rule in France, — a work which shall contain, in a small compass, a true story of the *Coup d'Etat* of President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

S. W. A.
A. H. B.

January, 1870.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Two and a half years ago, I published the account of the opposition which the *Coup d'Etat* of the 2d of December met with in the Departments. (See Note 1.)

When writing that work upon "The Province in December, 1851," I had in my mind a twofold purpose: —

1st. To furnish some useful materials to future historians, by narrating important though contemporary facts, in danger of being forgotten.

2d. To refute by a simple and impartial narrative, supported by strong proofs, the tradition of the demagogic "jacquerie" (Note 2) in the provinces in December; a tradition which was becoming more and more accepted as an incontrovertible historical fact.

This latter part of my task, I ought to say, more particularly demanded my attention. I had been pained by the odious accusations, of murder, pillage, rape, incendiarism, with which it had been sought to blight the Republicans, who in 1852 had made armed resistance in the Departments, to the *Coup d'Etat* of December 2, and whom the Councils of War and the Mixed Commissions had cast by thousands into Cayenne, into Africa, or into exile.

A Republican myself, — although I was then but a youth, — I experienced, with the lively sensibility of that age, a much deeper grief than I could express, on

seeing that no one responded to these accusations. How many times have I felt humiliated, afflicted, when I saw those very persons who refused to believe in them reduced to the impossibility of responding by some positive proof, to those — and God knows whether they were numerous, — who, in veritable good faith, repeated tales of revolting excesses, committed by bands of "Jacques" (Note 2), led to murder and pillage by demagogues, under the pretense of defending the Constitution and the Republic against the *Coup d'Etat.*

When, twelve years later, various favorable circumstances had placed me in a condition to search out and establish the truth concerning these events, to abate this heap of calumnies, of shameless inventions, which the majority of the French people had believed to be true, I thought I should do a useful work by giving to the public the result of my patient and (I have a right to say it) conscientious researches.

The reception which a great number of men, as distinguished for character as for talent, gave to this work, permitted me to believe that I was not mistaken.

Since the publication of the "Province in December, 1851," I have often been importuned to complete that impartial study of the events of December, by the account of the *Coup d'Etat* in Paris.

I hesitated for a long time, being conscious of my inability in presence of so arduous a task; one consideration determines me to-day.

The years pass away. Almost seventeen have flowed by since the 2d of December. A whole generation has grown up, that knows not, that cannot know, how was accomplished that celebrated *Coup d'Etat*, the beginning of the règime under which it lives.

Where shall it go in order to draw forth the exact knowledge of the facts? Where is the book, honestly written, that relates these events? The few accounts published in France on this subject, in the first months of 1852, are frightfully partial. Therein the facts are drowned in a muddy mass of calumnies, falsehoods, disfigured incidents, and mutilated documents. These recitals can serve those only who have time and means to separate the real from the false therein, while carefully governing each assertion through the application of a sound and severe criticism. [It is in this manner that I have myself proceeded. These recitals, whose perusal often causes nauseas of disgust, have served to establish for me certain facts which I knew from another source, but which it was well to support by the authority of writers who were admirers of the 2d of December, and whose books or pamphlets had appeared in France.]

I have resolved then, to relate the *Coup d'Etat* of December at Paris. I make no pretense of writing a history, in the complete and lofty sense of the term. I relate the facts. I neither appraise nor judge them. I seek not to ascertain whether the *Coup d'Etat* was rendered necessary by high considerations of public safety, or whether its authors obeyed different motives. I do not inquire, moreover, whether that act was or was not legitimate; I no more blame than praise the means made use of to execute it; nor do I controvert in the matter of the *plebiscitum* (Note 3) of the 20th December. I show the figures, and give the official speeches pronounced on that occasion.

My method consists then, in searching for the truth of the facts; in presenting them as far as possible under

their true light; in advancing nothing except upon serious proof: in citing only exact documents, without being in any manner engrossed with the results which the reader might deduce therefrom, or with the judgments that he might carry thence.

I proved sufficiently, I think, in "The Province in December," that I was not of those who torture facts in order to adapt them to a theory, or to the necessities of a case. When compelled to show the excesses committed by men who formed part of the Republican bands, not only have I done so conscientiously, but I think I have strengthened the colorings rather than weakened them.

I am persuaded — although many think the contrary — that a narrative of this sort, impartial, true, as far removed from defamation as from apology, may be produced without inconvenience to-day. It seems to me that it would be a grave insult to a government proud of its origin, which is based upon two *plebiscita* carried by immense majorities; which has governed, without having had to repress either insurrection or serious riot, for sixteen years; which finds in universal suffrage, in each legislative election, a compact and devoted majority; which has itself just proclaimed that the time has come for crowning the consolidated edifice of the institutions of 1852, by liberal reforms; — it seems to me, I say, that it would be a grave insult to that government to suppose it incapable of suffering a conscientious and impartial narrative of the facts anterior to the *plebiscitum* of the 20th of December; facts *absolved* (the expression is Louis Napoleon's) by that *plebiscitum*.

I might, before there was any question of the liberal

reforms of the 19th January—have conscientiously related the 2d of December in the Provinces without engrossing the attention of the authorities the least in the world. With still stronger reason I am convinced that they will be no more concerned on seeing me apply the same historical method to the narrative of the 2d of December in Paris. I place this new work under the protection of its elder.

One last word, after which I shall release the reader from these too personal preliminaries, which I thought necessary, but which he is not bound to read to the end if they appear idle to him.

I thought at first that it was proper to take for my point of departure of the story of the 2d of December in Paris, the opening of the session of the Legislative Assembly, November 4, 1851; the opening so closely followed by the deposit of the proposition of the Quæstors (Note 4). On due consideration, however, I felt convinced that in proceeding in that manner I should have missed the aim I had proposed to myself. The reader would not have seen the chain of events that had determined this decisive crisis; the facts would have stood out before him as an incomprehensible enigma. I should have been unfolding before his eyes a panorama in a camera obscura, of which, like the monkey in the fable, I should have forgotten to light the lantern.

The new generation, for whom I am writing, is already sufficiently acquainted with the Revolution of 1848, and from that time up to the presidential election. Many first-rate works have been published to that date. But I know of none where one can learn of the events that transpired between the 10th December 1848 and the 4th November, 1851.

These are the very events which prepared and brought about the *Coup d'Etat.* I have therefore devoted my first chapter to a succinct analysis of the events of that period. Obliged as I am to present only its most prominent features, it has not always been possible for me to do so without letting my own personal sentiments manifest themselves with regard to these events. But the few appreciations which have slipped into this first chapter have reference only to facts that transpired considerably before the 2d of December, concerning which, besides, I have not the same reasons for withholding my judgment, that I would have with regard to those that directly concerned the *Coup d'Etat* itself.

EUGÈNE TÉNOT.

PARIS, *July* 14, 1868.

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PARIS IN DECEMBER, 1851.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE COUP D'ETAT.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE approaching the narrative of the events which destroyed the Republican Constitution of 1848, it is proper to say what that Constitution was, and by whom and how it was applied, up to the second of December, 1851.

The fundamental law of the Republic (Note 5 [1]), definitively enacted by the Constituent Assembly (Note 6) November 4, 1848, was a compromise between the democratic aspirations of France and its monarchical traditions. Profiting with skill by the impression produced by the sad days of June, the reactionists of the Assembly succeeded in introducing as much as possible of monarchism into the Constitution of the Republic (Note 7). The authoritative prejudices of a certain number of the Republicans contributed also, in a great measure, to this result.

That Constitution preserved intact all the despotic organism built up by the first Bonaparte after the 18th of Brumaire (Note 8). It maintained absolute centralism, which smothers all independence, all local life; develops functional action in exorbitant proportions; paralyzes the initiative freedom of citizens; entangles all France in the meshes of an immense net, whose strongest cord is at the Ministry of the Interior.

[1] The notes, indicated by figures, are found in the Translator's Appendix; the few notes of Mr. Ténot are found in the body of the work.

It confirmed for the Catholic Church the bastard régime of the Concordat (Note 9). The clergy, the enemy of democratic liberty, thus received from the Republic subsidies oftenest destined to combat it (Note 10).

It preserved a magistracy for life, chosen by the executive power, kept dependent thereon by the hope of advancement and honorable distinctions; composed, moreover, of men deeply hostile to the strengthening of republican democracy.

Finally, the institution most incompatible with the existence of a free republic, the permanent army, recruited by conscription, was maintained (Note 11). Five hundred thousand soldiers, having but one dogma, passive obedience, knowing but one law, — the command of the recognized chief, — continued to encamp, in full peace, in the heart of the disarmed nation.

Nor is this all. The Constitution of 1848 delegated the plenitude of the executive power to a president, elected by universal suffrage. It clothed him with very extensive powers, superior even, in some respects, to those at the disposal of sovereigns of several of the parliamentary monarchies. The president exercised the supreme authority over the two great organized forces by means of which France is held: the administrative army, and the army properly so called; five hundred thousand functionaries, and five hundred thousand soldiers. Besides, in his origin, he drew a considerable prestige and authority. The president alone was incontestably the elect of the majority of the people. While each member of the Assembly, in fact, represented only the few thousands of electors who had chosen him, the president received his investiture from millions of citizens.

The Constitution opposed to the president a National Assembly (Note 12) sovereign in financial matters, imposts, and legislation; sovereign too — theoretically at least — as to the direction of the external policy of the government.

In principle, the president was subordinated to the National Assembly. In the spirit of the Constitution, the Assembly was to be the brain which thinks and commands; the president, the arm which obeys and executes.

The event of a refusal of obedience of the president to the decisions of the Assembly, had been carefully anticipated by the Constitution. The National Assembly had the right to accuse the president and his ministers and to send them before a high court of justice.

It is true that the Assembly possessed no material means of coercing the rebellious president; it had reserved to itself the moral force which results from a right inscribed in a legal enactment, but it had given up all material power into the hands of the President of the Republic.

It had judged that the grand principle of the separation of the powers required that it should be so.

This unfortunate conception condemned the direction of the Republic to a fatal dualism. The two rival powers thus placed at the head of the state, would naturally tend to enter into conflict. How dangerous might such a conflict become for the new institutions, if the president should happen to be the inheritor of an ancient dynasty, rightfully or wrongfully suspected of aspiring to the throne, whilst the Assembly itself professed but a mediocre attachment for the republican Constitution?

These considerations were very strongly developed, we would fain say with a prophetic intuition — by many of the Republicans composing the Constituent Assembly.[1] The majority overruled the point. It wanted a "strong power."

Notwithstanding the grave faults which might be charged against it in a democratic point of view, the Constitution was loyally accepted by the great majority of the Republicans. It presented, in fact, divers precious advantages. It instituted universal suffrage; it guaranteed, essentially, the

[1] See the discussion on the Grévy Amendment, and later the Leblond Amendment.

liberty of the press, and of public meetings; it imposed a serious sanction to the responsibility of the president and of the representatives, by the limited duration of their powers. The president was elected for four years only, and the representatives for three. No president could be reëlected before an interval of four years. Finally, the Constitution was not unchangeable. Each triennial Assembly, arrived at its third session, had the right to decide the revision of the fundamental pact, and to convoke for that purpose a special assembly. One restriction only, and withal a very sage one, was imposed upon this privilege. The convocation of an assembly of revision could be decided only by a majority of three-fourths of those voting. A similar precaution exists in the United States, for the adoption of any constitutional modification.

It would have seemed that this semi-monarchical constitution, on account of the strength accorded to the executive power, might have easily rallied the conservatives. It was not so. Their work as soon as they came into power, consisted in abolishing it, piece by piece. The principal reef of the Constitution of 1848 was, as we have already said, the probability of a conflict between the Assembly materially powerless, and an ambitious president invested with the disposal of organized forces.

The authors of the fundamental pact had thought to have sheltered the Assembly from any attack on the part of the chief of the executive power, by a very simple means, and one which denoted, on the part of the Constituents of 1848, a very implicit confidence in the excellence of human nature. They had given as a bulwark to the National Assembly, two articles of the Constitution, the articles 68 and 48.

Here is the first of these articles:—

"Art. 68. The President of the Republic, the ministers, the agents and depositaries of the public authority, are responsible, each in his own department, for all the acts of the government and its administration.

"Every measure by which the President of the Republic *dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or puts an obstacle to the exercise of its power, is a CRIME OF HIGH TREASON.*

"By this single fact, the *President is deprived of his functions, the citizens are bound to refuse obedience to him, the executive power passes ipso facto to the National Assembly,* the judges of the High Court of justice immediately convene under pain of forfeiture of office, they convoke the jury in the place they designate, to proceed in the trial of the President and his accomplices, they themselves name the magistrates charged to fill the offices of public ministry (Note 13).

"A law will determine the other cases of responsibility, as well as the forms and conditions of the prosecution."

Article 48 is thus worded: —

"Art. 48. Before assuming his functions, the President of the Republic takes, in the presence of the National Assembly, the oath of the tenor following: —

"In the 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 fulfill all the duties that the Constitution imposes upon me."

In order to appreciate the importance which the Constituent Assembly attached to this last article, it is well to recollect that the political oath had been abolished for all the functionaries of the Republic; the president alone was excepted; he alone was thus bound, so much more solemn ought to be, in the minds of the authors of the Constitution, the task which it imposed upon him.

It is known that the two principal candidates for the presidency of the Republic, were General Eugène Cavaignac (Note 14), the head of the executive power since the 24th of June, 1848; and the Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Note 15).

It is not essential to the object of this work to dwell on the first of these candidates; it will suffice to say that in the opinion of many enlightened persons, General Cavaig-

nac, was perhaps, in his time, the man most capable of suitably fulfilling the duties of a president without there having been reason to fear any attempt at usurpation on his part.

The second candidate, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, was the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon I., his heir in virtue of the *Senatus Consultum* (Note 16) of Floréal, year 12 (Note 8).

His history, anterior to 1848, is well enough known for it to be sufficient to recall its prominent features.

All his acts up to this epoch tended only to one sole aim: to renew the pact which, in his opinion, the French people had concluded in 1800 and 1804 with Bonaparte; a pact which the foreign invasion had broken in fact, but not of right. This end Louis Napoleon had twice attempted to attain: at Strasbourg in 1836 (Note 17); and at Boulogne in 1840 (Note 18) by provoking military insurrections. It seems that he had dreamed in his youthful years, of renewing the great interview of 1815, between the soldiers and the man of a hundred battles (Note 19), and of realizing for himself by means of the troops of the monarchy of July, a triumphal "return from the Isle of Elba" (Note 20). His two attempts had completely failed. Judged and condemned by the Court of Peers, after the affair of Boulogne, he had been imprisoned in the Fort of Ham (Note 21). There he wrote much. His books, and his articles in the newspapers, strongly imbued with democratic and liberal ideas, were noticed; but it would be quite inexact to say that these writings had produced an effect of any weight upon the minds of contemporaries.

It is known that Louis Napoleon had succeeded in escaping from Ham, and that the revolution of the 24th of February found him in England.

He hastened to Paris and addressed the following letter to the Provisional Government:—

"PARIS, *February* 28, 1848.

"GENTLEMEN, — The people of Paris having destroyed by their heroism, the last vestiges of the foreign invasion, I arrive from exile to take my stand under the flag of the Republic which has just been proclaimed.

"With no other ambition but that of serving my country, I come to announce my arrival to the members of the Provisional Government, and to assure them of my devotion to the cause which they represent, as well as of my sympathy for their persons.

"Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of these sentiments.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

In spite of this spontaneous adhesion of Louis Napoleon to the Republic, the Provisional Government did not deem it prudent to permit him to sojourn in France, inasmuch as the National Assembly had not decided the fate of the ancient reigning families, which the laws maintained in exile.

Louis Napoleon returned to England. (Note 22.)

He left in Paris a few devoted friends, who exerted themselves zealously to gather together a Napoleonic party. Newspapers were started, pamphlets were circulated, and every means of propagation were adopted, in order to popularize the name of Louis Napoleon. The prodigious influence that the remembrance of the first Napoleon exercised still over the people of the cities and the country, rendered this work easy. Therefore, did it meet with a success as rapid as it was considerable.

From the first days of May to those of June, the cry of "Vive Napoléon" was often the dominant one in the popular agitations.

The National Assembly was concerned. Louis Napoleon sent to it the following letter from London: —

"LONDON, 24th *May*, 1848.

"TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, —

"*Citizen Representatives:* I learn by the newspapers of the 22d, that it has been proposed in the Committees of the Assembly

to maintain against me alone the law of exile, which has affected my family since 1816. I come to ask of the Representatives of the people, why I should merit such punishment?

"Is it for having always publicly declared that in my opinion France was not the property either of a man, of a family, or of a party? Is it because that, desirous of causing the principles of the National Sovereignty to triumph, without anarchy or license, which alone could end our dissensions, I have been twice victim of my hostility to the government which you have overthrown?

"Is it for having consented, through deference to the Provisional Government, to return to a foreign land, after having hastened to Paris at the first sound of the Revolution? Is it, lastly, for having refused, through disinterestedness, the candidacies to the Assembly, proposed to me, resolved never to return to France until the Constitution should be established, and the Republic consolidated?

"The same reasons which caused me to take up arms against Louis Philippe (Note 23), would impel me, if my services were demanded, to devote myself to the defense of the Assembly, the result of universal suffrage.

"In presence of a king, chosen by two hundred deputies, I might remember that I was the heir of an empire, founded by the consent of four million Frenchmen. In presence of the National Sovereignty, I cannot, and will not, reassert any other than my rights as a French citizen; but those I will claim unceasingly, with the energy which gives to an honest heart the sentiment of never having merited ill of the country.

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

"Your fellow-citizen,

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

This letter, in which the declarations of adhesion to the Republic, and the recognition of the rights of the Assembly were so categorically affirmed, was not without its influence on the vote by which the laws of exile against the Bonaparte family were abrogated by the Constituent Assembly.

In the interval, Louis Napoleon was elected Representative of the people, in the partial elections by the Depart-

ments of Charente Inférieure, of the Yonne, of the Seine, and Corsica. He declined this mandate. Shortly afterward he was reëlected by these four Departments, as well as by that of the Meuse. He accepted, and took his seat in the Constituent Assembly on the 26th December, 1848.

The speech he pronounced on this occasion, is remarkable in divers respects; it should not be omitted in this work. Here it is, extracted from the *Moniteur Officiel* (Note 24):—

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES:—

"I cannot permit myself to remain silent after the calumnies of which I have been the subject. I desire to distinctly expose here, and that on the first day on which I am permitted to sit among you, the true sentiments which animate me, and which have always animated me. After thirty-three years of proscription and exile, I again find my country and all my rights of citizenship! The Republic has caused me this happiness, let the Republic receive my oath of gratitude, my oath of devotion, and let the generous compatriots who brought me into this arena, be certain that I shall strongly endeavor to justify their suffrages, by laboring with you to maintain tranquillity, that first necessity of the country, and to develop the democratic institutions which the people have a right to claim.

"For a long time, I have been able to consecrate to France only the meditations of exile and of captivity. To-day, the course in which you walk is open to me; receive me, then, within your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiment of affectionate confidence that I bring hither. My conduct, always inspired by duty, always animated by respect for the law, will prove, in the encounter of the passions which have sought to blacken me, in order to proscribe me still, that no one here is more resolved than I to devote himself to the defense of order, and to the enfranchising of the Republic."

Two months after, Louis Napoleon was the candidate of the "Party of Order," for the presidency of the Republic.

It is known that the influential men of the ancient monarchical parties had coalesced under that denomination. In

general, they sustained the candidacy of Louis Napoleon. The all-powerful preoccupation at this moment amongst the majority of the country, was the necessity of maintaining order and of safely guarding public security. They were still under the influence of the sanguinary days of June.

The electoral manifesto of Louis Napoleon, dated the 27th of November, 1848, gave satisfaction to this sentiment, at the same time that it impressed, with a singular energy, the strictly constitutional and purely republican character of his candidacy. One may judge of this by the following extract from his manifesto: —

. . . . "There must be nothing equivocal between you and me. I am not an ambitious one, who, at times, dreams of Empire and war, at times of the application of subversive theories. Brought up in free countries, in the school of misfortune, I shall ever remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages impose on me, and to the wishes of the Assembly.

"If I were elected President, I would recoil before no danger, before no sacrifice, in order to defend society so audacioulsy attacked. I would devote myself entirely, and without afterthought, to the enfranchising of a Republic, wise in its laws, honest in its intentions, great and strong in its actions.

"I would make it a point of honor to leave, at the end of four years, to my successor, the power consolidated, liberty intact, and a really accomplished progress."

The presidential elections took place the 10th of December, 1848. Louis Napoleon was elected. His election was due much more to the prestige caused by the name of Napoleon than to the support of the electoral committees of the "Party of Order." It was, moreover, a sincere election, made in full liberty, against the validity of which no serious claim was ever raised. On the 20th December, Louis Napoleon was installed President of the Republic. The session of the National Assembly in which this memorable act was accomplished, has its conspicuous place in

our narrative. The following report is taken from the *Moniteur* : —

"NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

"SESSION OF DECEMBER 20, 1848. PRESIDENCY OF CITIZEN ARMAND MARRAST.

"CITIZEN WALDECK ROUSSEAU, *Reporter of the Commission, charged with verifying the elections for the President of the Republic.*

"'Citizen Representatives: The suffrages received throughout the Republic, should be divided in the following proportions, among the various Candidates designated, as established by the labors of your Commission : —

Votes cast	7,327,345
Of these Citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has obtained	6,434,226
Citizen Cavaignac (Note 14)	1,448,107
Citizen Ledru-Rollin (Note 25)	370,119
Citizen Raspail (Note 25)	36,920
Citizen Lamartine (Note 25)	17,910
Citizen Changarnier (Note 25)	4,790
Votes lost	12,600

"'Citizen Representatives: it is about six months since you proclaimed upon the threshold of this palace (Note 26) the Republic arising from the popular struggles of the 24th of February. To-day, you impress upon your work the seal of national ratification! Have confidence; God protects France.'

"CITIZEN GENERAL CAVAIGNAC, *head of the executive power.* — 'Citizen Representatives: I have the honor to inform the Assembly that the ministers have this moment remitted to my hands their respective resignations.

"'I have now remitted in my turn, into the hands of the Assembly, the powers which it had been kind enough to confide to me.

"'The Assembly will understand, better than I could express them, what are the sentiments of gratitude which the remembrance of its confidence, and of its kindness toward me, will leave behind.' (Very good! Loud and lively applause).

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT. — 'The National Assembly accepts the resignation of powers, and grants a record thereof. I now put to vote the results of the commission.'

(These results put to vote are unanimously adopted).

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT. — 'The Assembly has adopted the results of the Commission. Therefore, —

"'In the name of the French People:

"'*Whereas*, Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Paris, fulfills the conditions of eligibility prescribed by Article 44 of the Constitution;

"'*Whereas*, in the ballot opened over all the extent of the territory of the Republic, for the election of the President, he has united the absolute majority of the suffrages.

"'By virtue of Articles 47 and 48 of the constitution, the National Assembly proclaims him President of the French Republic, from the present day, until the second Sunday of the month of May, 1852.

"'In accordance with the terms of the decree, I invite the Citizen President of the Republic to be pleased to advance to the tribune (Note 27) in order to take the oath there.

(Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the Republic, ascends the tribune.)

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY. — 'I proceed to read the form of the oath:

"'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 fulfill all the duties which the Constitution imposes upon me.'

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, raising his hand. — 'I swear it!'

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY. — 'We call God and man to witness the oath which has just been taken; the National Assembly takes official notice of it, and orders it to be transcribed in the journal, inserted in the "Moniteur," published and posted in the form of the legislative acts.'

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. — 'I ask for the word.' (Note 28.)

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY. — 'You have the word.' (General marks of attention.)

"THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. — 'The suffrages of the Nation and the oath that I have just taken, command my future conduct. My duty is traced out; I shall fulfill it as a man of honor.

"'I shall see enemies of my country in all those who attempted

to change, by illegal means, that which all France established. (Very good! Very good!)

"'Between you and me, Citizen Representatives, there can be no real disagreement; our wishes are the same.

"'I wish, like you, to reëstablish society upon its bases, to consolidate democratic institutions, to seek out all proper means for alleviating the sufferings of that generous and intelligent people which has just given me so signal a testimonial of its confidence. (Very good! Very good.)

"'The majority which I have obtained, not only moves me with gratitude, but it will give to the new Government, the moral force without which there is no authority.

"'With peace and order, our country may rise again, heal its wounds, bring back misguided men, and calm the passions.

"'Animated by this spirit of conciliation, I have called around me men, honest, capable, and devoted to the country, assured that in spite of the diversities of political origin, they harmonize, in order to concur, with you, in the application of the Constitution, to the perfection of the laws, to the glory of the Republic. (Approbation.)

"'The new administration, on entering upon business, ought to thank that which has preceded it, for the efforts which it has made to transmit the power intact; to maintain public tranquillity. (Marks of approbation.)

"'The conduct of the honorable General Cavaignac has been worthy of the loyalty of his character, and of that sentiment of duty which is the first quality of the head of the state. (Renewed applause.)

"'We have, Citizen Representatives, a great mission to fulfill: it is to found a Republic in the interest of all, and a firm, just government, animated by a sincere love of progress, without being reactionary or utopian. (Very good.)

"'Let us be men of the country, and not men of a party, and God helping, we shall at least do well, if we cannot do great things.'"

(After this address, the whole Assembly rises, and repeatedly raises the cry, *Vive la République!* Citizen Louis Bonaparte goes to the bench where General Cavaignac has been standing, and they shake hands.)

At the moment when the presidency of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte commenced, the reactionary current which had already been developed for several months against the men and affairs of February, still preserved all its force.

This reaction was due to many causes, whose examination would draw us on too far. We shall limit ourselves to some brief indications. The country had been badly prepared for the operation of republican institutions; it had neither anticipated nor desired their advent; if, the first moment of surprise being past, the Republic had been received with an enthusiastic impulse, sincere on the part of many of those even who were soon to renounce it, that sentiment, so unanimous in the months of March and April, had lasted but briefly. The violence of the extreme revolutionists of the 15th of May, the attacks of the authoritative Socialists (Note 29) against the principle of property, the horror produced by the lamentable struggle of June (Note 30), had thrown back the masses towards "the great party of order," organized by the old parliamentary royalists, who entitled themselves "honest and moderate republicans." The means of action of the reactionary coalition had, nevertheless, not always been marked with the stamp of honesty and moderation. The central committee of the party — become famous under the name *Poitiers Street Committee* — had directed against the most upright men of the republican party, a campaign of pamphlets and calumnious libels, of which the committee defrayed the expenses, and which were disseminated by hundreds of thousands of copies.

Moreover, the intestinal divisions of the republican party contributed very largely to cause this party to lose its former ascendency over the masses, whom universal suffrage had rendered sovereign.

The elections of May, 1849, for the Legislative Assembly, were held under this impression. Their result was deplorable, as regarded the consolidation of the Republic.

Of the seven hundred and fifty representatives who composed the Assembly, more than five hundred belonged to the reactionary coalition. The Orleanists were there in great number; Legitimists also exercised a considerable influence therein. (Note 31.)

There could scarcely be counted in the Assembly two hundred and twenty to two hundred and thirty Republicans, of various shades of opinion.

Perhaps it would be inexact to say that the royalist majority of the legislature aspired to a violent overthrow of the republican institutions. Strongly inclined to overturn the Constitution by hypocrisy, it would have recoiled before a brutal violation. What it desired above all, was to guaranty, at any cost, the maintenance of material order, and of the private interests of the middling class.

Unfortunately, a sad passion ruled this majority. It was afraid of the people who had elected it; it was afraid of liberty; it was afraid of universal suffrage; it was afraid of the Republicans. The idea that the latter might, in a few years, take regularly, legally, the direction of affairs, frightened it equal to an irremediable catastrophe.

It is to this sentiment, above all, that it is proper to attribute the sad measures which aroused popular resentments against the Legislative Assembly, and hollowed the abyss into which it fell, dragging in its fall the Republic and liberty.

At the beginning, the accord between Louis Napoleon and the Assembly was complete.

The destruction by force of the Roman Republic, the restoration of the temporal power of the pope, the vigorous repression of the attempts of protest against that expedition of Rome, which the Republicans considered the violation of a principle inscribed in the fundamental pact, were the first result of that cordial understanding between the executive and the legislative power.

It is not without interest to recall here, that the first attack of Rome, the 29th of April, 1849 (executed contrarily to the wishes of the Constituent Assembly, suspended after a formal vote of that Assembly), had been recommenced by order of President Louis Napoleon, as soon as he had known the result of the elections for the Legislative Assembly.

The majority of the new Chamber had covered, by its vote, this excess of power. The effort of protestation of the *Montagne* (Note 32), on the 13th of June, resulted only in the proscription of a great number of republican representatives.

From this moment commenced the unheard-of spectacle of a republic, under which the quality of republican was a cause of suspicion and persecution. The government gave itself up to a careful purifying of the public administration.

Every functionary suspected of republicanism was removed.

The remembrance of the prodigious number of unfortunate primary instructors who were victims of this reaction, in which clerical rancors were mingled with political hatred, has not been forgotten. Prosecutions of the press multiplied; democratic newspapers were seized under the slightest pretext, while royalist or Napoleonic sheets enjoyed an unbridled license. The prosecuted press found, nevertheless, in the jury (its sole judge, by the terms of the Constitution), a powerful guarantee; thus it was able to preserve up to the latest moment, a sum of liberty which it has never since regained. Accusations of complots or of secret societies, followed by long months of *détention préventive* (Note 33), became for the Republicans a common occurrence. The departments were subjected to the régime of the state of siege, under futile pretexts. All the political laws passed in this period were monuments of distrust and restraints. All liberties were trespassed upon;

there remained of them that only which was covered by the formal prescriptions of the Constitution. It was the *coryphæi* of parliamentary liberalism, Thiers, Berryer, Barrot, Molé, Montalembert, Falloux (Note 34), who headed this work of insane reaction — a blindness which they were subsequently to expiate most cruelly.

Two incidents which it were well to note, occurred in the latter part of 1849: the speech of Louis Napoleon at Ham, and his message of the 31st of October.

The President had wished to revisit the scenes of his captivity. He was there received with solemnity.

In answer to a toast by the mayor of Ham, he pronounced the following remarkable allocution: —

"Mr. MAYOR: — I am profoundly touched by the affectionate reception which I receive from your fellow-citizens; but believe me, if I came to Ham, it is not through pride, but through gratitude.

"I had at heart to thank the people of this town, and of the environs, for all the marks of sympathy they never ceased to show me during my misfortunes.

"The chosen one to-day of all France, since I have become the legitimate chief of this great nation, I cannot glorify myself for a captivity which had for its cause an attack against a regular government. When one has seen how many misfortunes the most just of revolutions bring after them, one can hardly realize the audacity of wishing to assume to one's self the terrible responsibility of a change. I do not therefore complain of having expiated here, by six years of imprisonment, my temerity against the laws of my country; and it is with true happiness, that in the very place where I suffered, I now propose a toast in honor of the men who are determined, notwithstanding their convictions, to respect the institutions of their country."

The presidential message of October 31, 1849, was a veritable theatrical stroke. Louis Napoleon dismissed his ministry summarily, and installed another, without its being possible to discover any political motive for this change. The Barrot-Dufaure ministry (Note 35) had

governed in perfect harmony with the President and the majority of the Legislative Assembly. The message explained this ministerial crisis only by vague reasons, unappreciable to the observer ignorant of the secret springs which might determine the President of the Republic.

Here are some of the prominent passages of this message: —

"In order to re-strengthen the Republic, threatened on all sides by anarchy, to assure order more efficaciously than it has existed to this time, and to maintain externally the name of France at the height of its renown, there must be men who, animated by a patriotic devotion, understand the necessity of a firm and unique direction, and of a plainly expressed policy; who do not compromise power by any irresolution; and who are as preoccupied with my proper responsibility, as with their own, and by action as well as by word.

" . . . . . France, uneasy because she does not discover how she is directed, seeks the hand, the will, the flag of the elect of the 10th of December. . . . . A whole system triumphed on the 10th of December, because the name of Napoleon is, in itself, a programme. It means at home — order, authority, religion, and the welfare of the Republic; abroad — national dignity. It is this policy, inaugurated by my election, which I intend to cause to triumph, with the help of the Assembly and that of the people. I intend to be worthy of the confidence of the nation, in maintaining the Constitution that I have sworn to. . . . .

"Let us then restore authority, without disturbing true liberty. . . . .

"Let us strengthen religion, without abandoning any of the conquests of the revolution. . . . ." etc.

The surprise, we say, was general. The Barrot-Dufaure ministry had given to the President the most energetic and the most devoted concurrence. They had together accomplished the Roman expedition, and the elections for the Legislative Assembly; they had together resisted the Parisian demonstration of June 13 (Note 30); suppressed the insurrection of Lyons; placed several of the departments in a state of siege; sent twenty-eight

republican representatives before the High Court of Justice. They had raised up again the authority, strengthened religion by restoring the Pope to power equal to that of a king; and all these things had been accomplished in perfect harmony with the majority of the Legislative Assembly.

Contemporaries delivered themselves of the most diverse comments upon this brusque manifesto.

The names of the new ministry signified absolutely nothing. They were Messieurs d'Hautpoul, de Rayneval, Ferdinand Barrot (not to be confounded with his brother Odilon), Rouher, Fould, Bineau, Dumas, de Parieu, Des Fossés (Note 36), all persons of quite inconsiderable note in those days.

It was pretended, among other things, that the sudden dismissal of the Barrot-Dufaure ministry had been caused by the refusal of the principal members of the cabinet to present to the National Assembly a plan for a law, asking for a supplement of three millions for personal expenses, in favor of the President of the Republic. The Constitution had fixed his personal supply at six hundred thousand francs per annum, and the Constituent Assembly, a little before its separation, had granted him a credit of six hundred thousand francs more, for personal expenses, a sum which all the Napoleonic writers declared "miserable." (Note 37.)

The *Constitutionnel*, directed at that time by Dr. Véron, published a long article in order to refute these rumors. It affirmed that the old ministry had, itself, intended to propose to the Assembly the grant of this supplementary credit. M. Dufaure strenuously contested, in another newspaper, the assertion of the *Constitutionnel*. This latter sheet had just at this moment passed from the inspiration of M. Thiers, to entire devotion to the interests of the Presidency.[1]

[1] See, on this subject, and for whatever concerns the rumors of which mention is made, the *Nouveaux Mémoires* of Dr. Véron, pp. 60–92.

The political line followed by the President of the Republic and his new ministry, during the entire legislative session which commenced at this time, is not less remarkable considering the language made use of by Louis Napoleon in the message of the 31st October. The President limited himself, as he had done since the convening of the Legislative Assembly, to following the majority, and governing in accord with it, in all important questions, without showing any more than he had up to that time "the direction, the hand, the will, the flag of the elect of the 10th of December."

During this time, an important phenomenon, which perhaps has not been sufficiently remarked, was produced in the country. The republican idea gained among the people, outside of Paris above all, infinitely more ground than it had lost since the first months of 1848.

The retrograde excesses of the Legislative Assembly had thrown back into the democratic movement the very numerous and very influential fraction of the republican party, which had sustained the policy of General Cavaignac, and which, after the days of June, had contributed to the reaction. The arrogance of the priest party, so powerful in the Legislative Assembly, became intractable after the Roman expedition had stimulated the Voltairian spirit of the middling classes (*la bourgeoisie*). The effacing of revolutionary extremes, joined to the growing progress of liberal socialism (what is called to-day coöperation), toward authoritative socialism, had facilitated a sincere reconciliation between all the shades of the republican party. The resolution, unanimously formed by the Democrats, to peaceably await the general elections of 1852; to renounce all appeal to violence; to fortify themselves within the Constitution; to make use of the liberties still intact, in order to enlighten universal suffrage; to propagate the republican idea among the peasantry; and so not to expect definitive triumph except from the regular working

of republican institutions, — this resolution, let us say, at the same time that it disconnected the calculations of the reaction, gave a new force to the democratic propaganda. Besides, the Republicans displayed so much order, such a fever for proselytism, that their triumph in the elections of 1852 no longer appeared doubtful. Such at least was the opinion of their alarmed adversaries, as early as the first months of the year 1850.

The partial elections of March and April, at Paris, and in many of the departments, were favorable to the election of the republican candidates.

At Paris, the divers shades of the democracy had fused together.[1]

The impression produced by these elections, which showed what vigorous roots had already been thrown out in the population, was extreme. On 'Change, the rentes fell two and a half francs. (Note 39.) In the midst of the royalist majority of the Assembly, there was a complete panic; people did not even stop to reflect on this very natural consideration, which after all was but a partial defeat; they believed themselves in peril.

The conservatives of the Legislative Assembly, so great was their terror of a legal triumph of the Republicans in 1852, did not recoil before the idea of laying violent hands on the basis of the Constitution itself, — on universal suffrage.

Then was prepared the too famous law of the 31st of May, 1850, which, by a stroke of the pen, struck out *three millions of electors!*

In this decisive circumstance, occurred a fact which the historian would be culpable in not bringing to light.

[1] Monsieur Granier de Cassagnac (Note 38), in his "*Histoire de la chûte de Louis Philippe* ' *de la République* ' *et du Rétablissement de l'Empire*," p. 127, says on this subject: "The Parisian better classes voted a clean ticket, carried away at the last moment by the newspaper which best represents their vagaries and weaknesses." A note of M. Cassagnac names this newspaper, — it is the *Siecle*.

The President, Louis Napoleon, acted in accordance with the majority. It has been said that he showed a very great repugnance to this proposition to restrict universal suffrage. The facts contradict this assertion. The ministry of the 31st of October, a ministry instituted, as the presidential message said, to strengthen more especially the personal responsibility of the President of the Republic, to show "the hand, the will, of the elect of the 10th of December,"— this ministry claimed the honor of presenting in the name of the executive power, the law which mutilated universal suffrage.

M. Baroche (Note 40), who had lately entered the cabinet, convoked at the Ministry of the Interior (Note 41), on the 3d of May, a commission of seventeen members chosen by the Assembly amongst the various shades of the reactionary Right, in order to elaborate with haste the new electoral law. We must here reproduce the names of those who framed a measure which has exercised so decisive an influence over the destinies of the second republic. They were Messieurs Benôit d' Azy, Berryer, Beugnot, de Broglie, Buffet, Chasseloup-Laubat, Daru, Léon Faucher, Jules de Lasteyrie, Molé, de Montalembert, de Montebello, Piscatory, de Sèze, General de Saint-Priest, Thiers, and de Vatimesnil. (Note 42.)

The report was read the 18th of May, by Léon Faucher, its urgency declared, and its discussion commenced immediately.

The ministry and the orators of the majority maintained, in spite of good sense and evidence, that their projected law did not violate the article of the Constitution which guaranteed the right of suffrage, without conditions of property, to every French citizen aged twenty-one years, enjoying his civil and political rights. They based themselves upon this argument, worthy of the saddest teachers of the Jesuitic school: that the regulating law of the 15th of March, 1848, requiring for the registration of a citizen

upon the electoral list, six months' residence in the *commune* (Note 43), they could, without infringing on the fundamental pact, insist on three years (why not twenty or thirty?) instead of six months.

The majority, carried away by its reactionary passions, reflected upon nothing, listened to nothing. In vain the republican orators demonstrated not only the unconstitutionality, but also the flagrant absurdity of this project of law, which was arbitrarily to deprive of their rights a multitude of honorable citizens, the nature of whose professions prevented from residing three consecutive years in the same commune; vainly they demonstrated that the mode of legally defining the domicile — proved by a three years' registration on the tax-list — was an indirect reëstablishment of the electoral freehold, prohibited in formal terms by the Constitution; vainly they multiplied prophetic warnings; the majority passed the law.

This evident violation of the Constitution in one of its fundamental features, radically changed the situation; it introduced into the country an element of deep perturbation, left everything in doubt again, and challenged a civil war which awaited only a question of time. The Republicans, in fact, against whom this parliamentary *coup d'état* was directed, allowed the law of the 31st of May to pass without material opposition; but they did not disguise the fact that if universal suffrage were not reëstablished before the general elections of May, 1852, they would consider themselves as authorized to claim the right written in the Constitution, with arms in their hands, if necessary.

In passing the law of the 31st of May, the reactionary majority thought to have guaranteed social order against the anarchists; to have simply purified universal suffrage by excluding therefrom what M. Thiers termed the "vile multitude;" it had destroyed itself.

Thenceforth, day by day, in the midst of this populace, honest, timid, satisfied, eager for tranquillity, — which com-

poses three quarters of the medium classes of France, — this evil, of which contemporaries have not forgotten the prodigious intensity, — the fear of 1852, — continued to increase.

It is unquestionable that a multitude of brave people, losing all presence of mind, maddened by the furious declamations of the reactionary press, believed in good faith in the imminence of a frightful social cataclysm, and the presence of hordes of barbarians among them, ready to fall on their families and property.

It is not less unquestionable that these frightened ones were ready to hail, as a savior, whoever should deliver them from the "red spectre," from the free press, from the tribune which had caused all the evil; and who would ward off, at whatever cost it might be, this fearful event about to happen in 1852.

Nevertheless, the legislative session of 1850 had not closed without leading to some clashings between the majority and the President of the Republic. The parliamentary chiefs of the Right had been unable to pardon Louis Napoleon for his haughty language of the 31st of October. The docility, apparent at least, with which he had yielded to their views, during the whole session, and above all, in the grand affair of the law of the 31st of May, had been unable to disarm them.

The supplementary credit of three millions for personal expenses, asked for by the President, was not granted until after a discussion full of acerbity, and by the feeble majority of forty-six, in a vote of six hundred and sixty-two. A few days later, the support furnished by the legitimist section to the republican Left, carried the rejection of the project of law giving the President (by investing him with the appointment of the mayors in all the communes) the few municipal privileges which still remained.

In the commencement of August, the Assembly was prorogued until the 11th of November following. The

rupture from that time between the President and the majority, was almost consummated.

In spite of the distinctness of his protestations of respect for the Constitution and devotion to the Republic, Louis Napoleon always passed, in the eyes of the greatest number, as an aspirant for the Empire. It was not admitted, that having in hand so potent means for seizing the dictatorship, he could desist from dreaming of the 18th Brumaire.

The excesses of zeal of his partisans contributed, moreover, to the entertainment of this sentiment of distrust. The language of the Napoleonic journals — Elysian (Note 44), as they were then called — was as clear as possible. They daily spat upon the Constitution, and demanded the reëstablishment of the Empire, under the transparent veil of a prorogation of the presidential powers.

Louis Napoleon, however, had confined himself to a system of reserve which did not warrant a direct accusation.

His message of the 31st of October, quite constitutional too, had not been followed by any act which permitted to be attributed to him the positive intention of making an attempt upon the rights which the National Assembly held under the Constitution.

Thus, great was the emotion, when, during the vacations of the Assembly, people saw the President of the Republic swerve with *éclat* from his circumspect attitude, and make use of language whose menacing character was understood by all contemporaries, although this language was accompanied by protestations against the idea of a *coup d'état.*

It was in the course of a journey undertaken in the departments, that those famous allocutions were pronounced.

At Lyons, the President said: —

"I am not the representative of a party, but rather of the two great national manifestations, which in 1804 (the

establishment of the first empire) as in 1848 (the vote for the presidency) wished to save, by order, the great principles of the French Revolution. Proud of my origin and of my flag, I shall remain faithful to them; I shall be entirely for the country, whatever it may require of me, abnegation or perseverance.

"Rumors of a *coup d'état* have perhaps reached you, gentlemen; but you have not believed them; I thank you for it. Surprises and usurpations may be the dream of the parties without support in the nation; but the elect of six millions of suffrages executes the will of the people; — he does not betray them. . . . .

"But, on the other hand, if culpable designs are revived and threaten to compromise the repose of France, I shall be able to reduce them to impotence, by still invoking the sovereignty of the people, for I recognize in no one more than myself the right to be called their representative."

At Cherbourg, toward the end of his journey, alluding to the wishes everywhere expressed, to see great undertakings of public works commenced, Louis Napoleon said: —

"These results, so much desired, will not be obtained unless you give me the means of accomplishing them; and these means consist wholly in your concurrence in strengthening power, and in warding off the dangers of the future.

"Why did the Emperor, in spite of war, cover France with these imperishable works, which are found at every step, and nowhere more remarkable than here? It is because, that independently of his genius, he came in an epoch in which the nation, tired of revolutions, gave him the necessary power for repressing anarchy, combating factions, and causing the general interests of the country to triumph; externally, by glory; internally, by a vigorous impulse."

One can easily imagine the emotion produced by these words and others analogous, pronounced at Besançon,

Rheims and Caen, if one will only remark that Louis Napoleon, President for four years, by virtue of the Republican Constitution, had not even pronounced the word Republic; that Republic to the support of which he had spontaneously offered, on the 26th of September, 1848, his oath of gratitude and devotion; that he had not said one word of the respect due to the Constitution, to which he had so solemnly bound himself by oath, on the 20th of December; that he seemed in fact to have wholly forgotten the first magistrate of the Republic, in order to bring again into the scene the aspirant for the Empire.

The incidents which occurred at the close of the famous review of the 10th of October, 1850, at Satory, raised this emotion to the highest pitch.

The troops of the army of Paris had defiled before the President; the infantry, in admirable order, but silent, as was proper under the military regulations; the cavalry, on the contrary, at a signal from some of their chiefs, vociferating immense acclamations of "Vive Napoléon!" "Vive l'Empereur!"

The President, astonished at the silence of the infantry, had then and there inquired into its meaning; the result was that General Neumayer, commanding the first division, being consulted by the colonel of the fifteenth light infantry, upon the question of compelling or allowing the soldiers to cry "Vive Napoléon!" "Vive l'Empereur!" had answered, reminding them of the spirit and letter of the military regulation: silence under arms. Strange as it may appear to those who reflect on the fact, that the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was at that time a seditious cry, it is incontestable that General Neumayer was deprived of his command by the President of the Republic, for having prevented these unconstitutional cries, by reminding his colonels of the provisions of the military regulations.[1]

[1] What we have just mentioned has never been contested even by the most noted Bonapartist writers. See the previously quoted work of Granier de Cassagnac, pp. 196, 197, vol. ii.

This dismissal caused a real scandal; the Permanent Commission of the Assembly was moved by it, as well as by the other incidents to which we will presently refer. The silence of General Changarnier, Commander-in-chief of the Army of Paris, caused a great deal of astonishment. The disgrace of General Neumayer seemed to strike directly home to him, for no one could imagine that General Changarnier would lend himself to the restoration of the Empire, to the profit of Louis Napoleon. On the first of December, General Changarnier at last broke silence, and caused to be read to the troops under his command the following order of the day: —

"By the terms of the law, the army does not deliberate; by the terms of the military regulations, it must abstain from all demonstrations, and utter no cries whilst under arms.

"The General-in-chief reminds the troops placed under his command, of these regulations."

General Neumayer had been relieved of his command as early as the 31st of October.

While these events were occurring, a Bonapartist association, famous at that time, the "Society of the Tenth of December" (Note 45), filled Paris with the rumors of their exploits. The members of this society did not limit themselves to manifesting their enthusiasm for Louis Napoleon by unconstitutional cries; it had happened with them, many times, to assault with cudgels, citizens who permitted themselves either to disapprove of their manifestations, or simply to take no part therein.

The Permanent Commission of the Assembly committed the error of taking too serious notice of the Society of the Tenth of December. An absurd revelation, made by one of the agents of the police, caused a belief for a moment, in a conspiracy formed by some individuals of this society to assassinate General Changarnier and the President of the Assembly. (Note 46.) The story was ridiculous; the

proof of this was soon furnished, and the public laughed at it at the expense of the Permanent Commission. (Note 47.) This occurred a few days previous to the renewal of the labors of the National Assembly.

The session was to reopen in the midst of a situation which had become more than delicate. The incidents which we have just related, produced in some minds the conviction that a *coup d'état* of the President threatened the National Assembly, and even the existence of the Republic.

On the other hand, visits made by a great number of the royalist majority to the aspirants of the two branches of the Bourbon family, caused the Republicans to fear some parliamentary complot, tending to an Orleanist or a Legitimist restoration.

The presidential message of the 12th November, 1850, which was awaited with extreme curiosity, suddenly modified the situation.

Never since the solemn oath of the 20th of December, 1848, had Louis Napoleon affirmed with more energy, in language more replete with honesty and loyal frankness, his immutable resolution to respect the Constitution, and to remain faithful to the pledge of honor he had given.

The reader will judge of it by the following lines: —

"I have often declared," said Louis Napoleon, "when occasion has been offered to express publicly my thought, that I would consider as very culpable those who, through personal ambition, would compromise the little stability which the Constitution guarantees to us. That is my profound conviction; it has never been shaken. The enemies of public tranquillity alone have been able to denaturalize the most simple steps which arise from my position. . . . .

"The invariable rule of my political life will be, under all circumstances, to do my duty; nothing but my duty.

"It is to-day granted to all, except myself, to wish the hastening of the revision of our fundamental law. If the Constitution contains vices and dangers, you are all at liberty to expose them to the view of the country.

"I alone, bound by my oath, maintain myself within the strict limits which it has marked out for me.

. . . . "The uncertainty of the future, I know, gives rise to many apprehensions, while awakening many hopes. Let us all know how to sacrifice those hopes to the country, and let us busy ourselves with its interests only. If, this session, you vote the revision of the Constitution, a Constituent will come to amend our fundamental laws, and to rule the fate of the executive power. If you do not vote it, the people, in 1852, will solemnly manifest the expression of its new desire. But whatever may be the solutions of the future, let us understand each other, in order that it may never be passion, surprise, or violence, that shall decide the fate of a great nation. . . . . What interests me most, be assured of it, is, not to know who shall govern France in 1852; it is to employ the time at my disposal, so that the transition, whatever it may be, may be made without agitation and without trouble.

. . . . "I have loyally opened my heart to you; you will respond to my frankness by your confidence; to my good intentions by your concurrence, and God will accomplish the rest."

These noble words had an immense echo. They were received with a confidence, of which the language of the newspapers of the time still gives evidence. Who would have dared to doubt the sincerity of sentiments expressed in such terms?

The incidents supervening during the prorogation were almost forgotten. A sort of friendly transaction — the retirement of the minister of war, as compensation for the displacement of General Neumayer — appeared to have put an end to the affair of the review at Satory. Up to the month of January, 1851, good harmony seemed quite reëstablished between the President of the Republic and the leaders of the majority of the Assembly.

On the 2d of January, a Napoleonic journal, *La Patrie*, suddenly published extracts from instructions given to the heads of the army of Paris, by the commander-in-chief. Among other things appeared the following: —

"Do not listen to the representatives.

"Every order which does not proceed from the General-in-chief, is null.

"Every requisition, summons, or demand of a civil, judicial, or political functionary, is to be strictly disregarded."

These instructions had been prepared in 1849, at a moment when an armed struggle in the streets of Paris might be feared. Nothing less resulted from the paragraphs we have just cited, than a denial, more or less direct, of the right which belonged to the National Assembly to guard its own safety, and to require the troops necessary for that purpose.

As early as the session of the 3d, representative Napoleon Bonaparte (Note 48), cousin of the President, proposed a vote of censure against General Changarnier, author of these instructions. It was quite evidently a manœuvre concerted in order to place the general and the National Assembly in conflict; but the manœuvre was clumsy.

General Changarnier declared that these instructions were two years old, that their object had been to maintain unity of command during combat, that they had been suggested to him by the experience of the days of June, but that they did not at all apply to the peaceable circumstances of the present time. He hastened to declare, moreover, that he had never dreamed of contesting the right of the Assembly, acting through the medium of its officers, to require forthwith the troops necessary for its safety.

The majority was too well convinced of the devotion of the commander-in-chief of the army of Paris to the parliamentary power, to stop at the proposition of Napoleon Bonaparte. It passed on to the order of the day, testifying its confidence in General Changarnier.

Eight days afterwards, the general was deprived of his functions as commander-in-chief of the army of Paris.

Louis Napoleon thereby destroyed the only bar that

could protect the National Assembly from a military *coup d'état*, if such a *coup d'état* should be attempted by the head of the executive power. It was certain that while General Changarnier maintained the chief command of the troops stationed at Paris, the parliament had nothing to fear.

The majority felt all the bearing of the blow that had just been struck. Its distrust was aroused, its irritation was extreme. But what could it do? The measure taken by the President of the Republic was perfectly legal; he had acted only by virtue of the regular powers which he held under the Constitution.

A long debate followed in the Legislative Assembly. Then it was that M. Thiers pronounced the famous phrase: "l'Empire est fait" ("the Empire is made"). Then it was, too, that the same orator bethought himself, — rather late, — of the merits that the republican form might have, and proclaimed the necessity of again becoming sincerely attached to the Constitution.

M. Pascal Duprat (Note 49), had expressed the opinion of the Republicans upon the conflict between the majority and the President, when he said, some days before, to M. Thiers himself, in the tenth committee (Note 50) of the Assembly —

"We have not much confidence in the devotion of Prince Louis Napoleon to the Republic; but we have still less confidence in yours, and that of General Changarnier. We did not witness the review at Satory without umbrage; but was it in order to defend the Republic that you went, during that time, some of you to Claremont, others to Wiesbaden?"[1]

It was in the same debate that M. Baroche (Note 40), then Minister of the President of the Republic, protested, with indignant energy, against every suspicion of aspira-

[1] It was at Claremont that the Princes of Orleans were then residing, and the Count of Chambord had passed the autumn at Wiesbaden.

tion, for the reëstablishment of the Empire. Here are some extracts from this speech, pronounced on the 15th of January: —

"If it be said," exclaimed M. Baroche, "that it cannot be disguised that for some time there has been, on the part of the authorities, a tendency to show little faith in our institutions; to consider as transitory and ephemeral the form of government under which we live; to sow in all the ranks of society the doubtfulness of the future; to extol the benefits of absolute government and to aspire, in an indefinite future, to an imperial restoration, ... I answer that the words of the President, who has sworn to the Constitution on this tribune, and who has renewed that oath by his message of November 12, 1850, repel very far from his mind and from his heart, every thought of a return to the government of the Empire. Have you not still in your memory the last sentences of the message of November 12, in which in the most energetic language, in language which is, as the President of the Republic himself said, that of a man who has no other thought but that of doing his duty, of a man who alone has taken the oath to the constitution, recognizing in yourselves the right of revising it in the legal forms? He declares at the same time, that as to himself, he has nothing else to do but to fulfill his duty, executing it as an honest man, maintaining it against adversaries of every nature, who might wish to modify it. . . . .

"The President is the only one to whom thoughts of restoration may not be attributed. . . . . He has pledged his honor to maintain the Republic; he will keep it, and the Assembly may be assured that there is no need of any other guaranty than that affirmation."

The Assembly, nevertheless, declared, with a majority of 415 votes against 276, "that it had no confidence in the ministry."

The 415 votes were composed of the entire Left, and of about one half of the old majority.

Some days after this vote, a new ministry, constituted January 24, 1851, introduced a request for one million eight hundred thousand francs (Notes 37 and 51) of sup-

plementary credit, in favor of the President of the Republic, always for his personal expenses.

The request was badly received. The majority finally divided on the question. February 10th, the endowment asked for was refused by 396 votes against 294.

Doctor Véron, then editor-in-chief of the *Constitutionnel*, reveals to us, in his "Memoirs," that the pecuniary situation of Louis Napoleon, and of most of his friends at that time, was very precarious. At the moment when Commander Fleury (Note 52), aide-de-camp of the President, was going to fulfill a mission of trust in Africa (of which we shall speak presently), four drafts of ten thousand francs each, drawn by the President of the Republic, were refused by a celebrated banker, a man of order nevertheless, and in nowise hostile to Louis Napoleon.[1]

Before recommencing the analysis of the parliamentary events which followed the rejection of the endowment, we ought to make room for some very curious revelations, made a little after the 2d of December, by a Napoleonic writer, M. P. Mayer, of facts which date back to the time we have reached: —

"Either we are greatly mistaken," says this writer, "or the first germs of the *Coup d'Etat* which was to burst forth ten months later were then sprouting, and gradually became a settled resolve; and we may say that if the events of which we are retracing the history, have just passed in fact before our eyes, in principle their necessity had been recognized, and their hatching contemplated, from the first month of the current year." [2]

This assertion has not been disputed. M. P. Mayer gives further on some details, infinitely valuable to be known, upon what may be called the first preparatory measures for the "events" which were to occur at a later period. (Note 53.)

[1] *Nouveaux Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, by Dr. Véron, p. 330.
[2] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, by P. Mayer, p. 131.

At the time of the removal of General Changarnier, the President might already, according to M. Mayer, count upon the devoted concurrence of the army, taken as a whole. There were, nevertheless, certain difficulties. M. Mayer explains these difficulties, and the means employed in order to remedy them, in so complete a style that it will suffice to cite textually: —

"But composed as the general staff still was (the generals alone were to be feared), it perhaps did not offer sufficient guaranties, for the oldest might lack boldness, and a great majority of the youngest figured in the Parliament. A quite imperial idea triumphed in this alternative, and M. de Persigny (Note 54), that ardent and untiring champion of Bonapartism, consecrated himself with enthusiasm to the realization of that ingenious phrase, carelessly thrown out by the President, and of which the expedition to Kabila may, to-day, explain the depth and signification: 'Suppose we were to make some generals?'

"The seed was not wanting. One of the most brilliant officers of our cavalry, the brave and sympathetic commander, Fleury (Note 52), was instructed to appreciate courage, evoke devotion, and give assurance of hopes. His mission was neither long nor painful, major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, none of those to whom his winning words pictured the dangers of the country, had need of being convinced. All had an equal horror of parliamentarism, socialism, etc. . . . .

"It was thus that the younger officers became the elders, and that the framework of the active army habituated itself to the names of Saint-Arnaud, de Cotte, Espinasse, Marulaz, Rochefort, Feray, d'Allonville, Gardarens de Boisse, de Lourmel, Herbillon, Dulac, Forey, Courtigis, Canrobert, and some others."[1] (Note 55.)

Among other things insinuated in this curious passage, M. Mayer gives it to be understood that the expedition to Kabila had been undertaken solely in order to "make generals." What M. Mayer leaves to be guessed, another Bonapartist writer states quite distinctly. It is M. Belouino in his "Histoire d'un Coup d'Etat."

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, by P. Mayer, pp. 131-133.

"There was needed," says he, "another Minister of War. The choice fell upon General Saint-Arnaud. In order to invest this general with the necessary authority for so elevated a position, the war of Kabila was decided on, which was to cover him with such resplendent glory. It is remembered that the Assembly set their faces against this war," etc. . . . .

Let us add to these details a final feature revealed by the indiscreet author of the "Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris."

"'It would be very agreeable to the President,' said M. Fleury to me, on his departure for Kabila, 'that the rare merits and the approaching services of General de Saint-Arnaud in Kabila, be put in a fine and grand light.'" . . . .

As may be well imagined, the *Constitutionnel*, at that period edited by Doctor Véron, did not spare eulogy on the "approaching services" which M. Saint-Arnaud had been called upon to render.

It is sufficiently clear from these divers extracts, that as early as the first months of 1851, the *Coup d'Etat* was determined upon in principle, and that Louis Napoleon was already busy with the means of putting it in execution. It is historically important to establish this fact.

But let us return to the Legislative Assembly.

The rejection of the endowment was the final stroke which brought the most complete confusion into the majority.

This Right side, so compact when it was proposed to take vigorous measures against the Republicans, ultimately lost its credit through miserable, intestinal quarrels. The Legitimists caused the Creton proposition (tending to abrogate the laws of exile against the princes of the ancient reigning families) to be rejected, in order to prevent the candidacy to the presidency of a prince of the family of Orleans. The Orleanists, divided into two camps, that

is to say, Fusionists, partisans of a fusion between the two branches of the house of Bourbon — and pure Orleanists, were openly tearing each other to pieces. The royalist papers disputed brawlingly the succession of the Republic. The Napoleonic sheets continued their system of attacks against the Constitution. The *Constitutionnel* published during the month of April, a series of articles in which, in contempt of the formal provisions of the fundamental pact, it incited the National Assembly to prorogue by dictatorial decree the powers of the President of the Republic for a period of ten years.

Meanwhile a new ministry had been constituted, of which the principal members were, Messieurs Léon Faucher for the Interior; Baroche, for Foreign Affairs; Fould for the Treasury; Rouher, for Justice; Buffet, for Commerce. (Notes 36, 40, and 42.) This cabinet had for its ostensible aim to bring about a reconciliation between the executive power and the majority, on the question of the legal revision of the Constitution of 1848.

The Legislative Assembly had reached its third year of legislation, and, by virtue of Article 3 of the Constitution, it had the right to convoke an assembly of revision; on the condition, nevertheless, that the vote of revision should have been rendered by the majority consisting of three fourths of those voting.

In the autumn of 1850, the General Councils of the departments had formally expressed their wishes on this subject; a general system of petitions, tending toward the same end, had been organized by the agents of the administration from this date. Its success had been notable, but not such as they would have wished to call it. They had obtained one million one hundred thousand signatures, more or less authentic, of which less than four hundred thousand asked for the prolongation of the authority of the President of the Republic. This was in reality, even admitting the authenticity of the signatures, a figure

scarcely equal to one third of the electors struck off by the law of May 31, or to one tenth of the electors registered previous to that fatal law.

The wishes of the General Councils had not been much more characteristic, concerning the prorogation of the powers of the President. Six only of these councils, out of the ninety, expressed the desire for the abrogation of Article 45, interdicting the reëlection of Louis Napoleon, before an interval of four years.

During all the month of May, 1851, the revisory petitions kept flowing in to the office of the Legislative Assembly. The majority, hesitating at first, very soon became again quite strongly attached to the idea of revision. Messieurs Berryer, de Montalembert, Molé, de Broglie, Odilon Barrot, and Dufaure (Notes 36–42), expressed themselves energetically that way. We must render them this justice, that the idea of resolving legally, peaceably, the difficulties of the future — a very honorable idea — was what actuated them.

On the 28th of May, the formal proposition was introduced by M. de Broglie, in accord with the ministry. It had been resolved upon in a meeting of the representatives of the Right, called the "Pyramid-Street Meeting," which counted among its members, Messieurs Daru, de Broglie, de Montalembert, Léon Faucher, Baroche, etc.

It was this moment, when the majority hardly reconstituted, in harmony with the cabinet, showed itself disposed to vote for the revision which would have permitted the abrogation of Article 45, — it was this very moment which was chosen by the President of the Republic, quite opportunely, for making a speech equivalent to a real declaration of war against the National Assembly.

Louis Napoleon had visited Dijon for the inauguration of a railroad. There, at a banquet given in honor of him, he made use of the following language: —

"France desires neither a return to the ancient régime,

whatever may be the form which disguises it, nor to fatal and impracticable Utopian efforts. It is because I am the most natural adversary of both of these that it has placed its confidence in me. . . . .

"In fact, if my government has been unable to realize all the improvements it had in view, the fault must be laid to the maneuvrings of the factions. . . . .

"*For three years, it may have been noticed, that I have always been seconded by the Assembly when it has been proposed to combat disorder by measures of restriction. But when I have desired to do good, to ameliorate the condition of the people, it has always refused that concurrence.* . . . .

"*If France recognizes that none have had the right to dispose of her, without her, France has but to say so; my courage and my energy will not fail her.* Since I have been in power, I have proved how much, in presence of the great interests of society, I was abstracted from whatever concerned me personally. The most unjust and the most violent attacks have been unable to disturb my calmness. Whatever may be the duties which the country shall impose upon me, it will find me determined to follow its will. And believe it truly, gentlemen, France will not perish in my hands." (Note 56.)

The Minister of the Interior, M. Léon Faucher, who was present at the banquet, was so fearful of the effect which this threatening language was likely to produce, that he started back precipitately for Paris, in order to prevent the insertion in the *Moniteur* of the passages aggressive against the Assembly, especially those that we have underlined. They were nevertheless known, and they produced an irritation all the more violent because the majority, by its attitude in the question of the revision, gave the most evident marks of its good-will to the President.[1]

[1] These passages are to be found in the newspapers of that time ; they have been reëstablished with some slight changes in the *Œuvres de Napoléon III.*, vol. iii. p. 21.

The language of Louis Napoleon should nevertheless not surprise those who know that he had at this moment nearly made up his mind, and that his principal business was the "making of generals."

General Changarnier said on the tribune, June 3, referring to the speech at Dijon: —

"There will not be brought to bear against the Assembly a battalion, nor a company, nor a squad; and it will be found by the chiefs, that our soldiers are accustomed to follow the way of duty and of honor. Mandataries of France, deliberate in peace!"

The President of the Republic must have smiled at this language of General Changarnier. A near future was to prove how greatly the illustrious general was mistaken as to the disposition of the army, and as to the effects of passive obedience, all matters which Louis Napoleon estimated with infinitely more accuracy.

The President of the Republic evidently had no doubts upon the fate of the project for the revision, submitted to the National Assembly. In this particular case the republican Left was master of the issue of the debate. The Republicans had at their command about two hundred and twenty votes, a number exceeding one fourth of those voting, and consequently sufficient to defeat, by the terms of Article 3, a vote of revision. Now, upon this question, the Republicans were unanimous. Moderate Republicans, those of the Mountain, Socialists, all considered it their strict duty to oppose the revision so long as the law of the 31st of May should be unrepealed. They could not, in fact, without betraying the sovereignty of the people, consent that the Constitution of 1848, elaborated by a Constituent Assembly, the issue of universal suffrage, be revised by an assembly which had been produced from a mode of suffrage enacted in formal violation of the Constitution itself. The republican party could not, without violating its fundamental principle, consent to any

such transaction. General Cavaignac used the same language on this occasion as the orators of the "Mountain."

Thus, the debate upon the revision could have for the historian but a secondary importance, in spite of the passionate interest it excited, and the fine oratorical rivalries of which it was the occasion. The result was inevitable.

The vote took place the 21st of July, 1851. Four hundred and forty-six votes were cast for the revision, and two hundred and seventy-eight against it. That was ninety votes more than were requisite to constitute the quarter sufficient to reject the proposition.

Nevertheless, instruction can be derived from the ballot; it is, that the majority had remained almost wholly favorable to the revision; and that, in spite of the threats conveyed in the speech at Dijon.

A certain number of Orleanists voted alone with the Republicans. Among them were Messieurs Thiers, de Rémusat, Creton, Bedeau, Baze, etc.

Shortly afterward the National Assembly was prorogued — on the 10th of August. The parties remained, at the close of this session, more bitter and more divided than ever.

The parliamentary majority who had received such rude assaults from the executive power; who felt themselves threatened; who believed, rightly or wrongly, in the plans of usurpation devised by the President of the Republic; the majority, we say, had not even the idea of becoming reconciled in this common peril, with the republican Left. This latter, besides, suspicious, mistrustful, embittered by the hostilities that had been manifested toward it since the beginning, would with difficulty have yielded to an understanding. On the other hand, the republican party was full of confidence in the future. Unity was reëstablished in its ranks. Although some recriminations upon the past were often exchanged, according to their various views, they had acted with no less unity for that since 1849, and most of all since the law of May 31, 1850.

The unheard-of progress of the republican propaganda — Socialists, as they were termed by the reactionists — in the agricultural people of the centre, of the east, and of the south, seemed the pledge of an assured triumph for 1852. The democrats made certain of obtaining, ere that date, the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May.

They little feared the *Coup d'Etat* attributed to Louis Napoleon. They shared the opinion of General Changarnier as to the disposition of the army, and they placed, above all, the most unlimited confidence in the attachment of the people of Paris and of the departments, to the republican cause.

The attitude of the executive power, as well as that of the royalist parties, toward them, were not taken in order to diminish their confidence in the final triumph.

We must read the reactionary papers of the time, notice the debates of the Chambers, look over the reports of the courts, in order to obtain an idea, at the present time, of the fears the monarchical parties manifested in presence of the republican sentiment.

In the course of this year, 1851, some wholly agricultural departments, far from the great centres, were declared ungovernable by the executive power, and put under martial law: the Cher, Nièvre, Drôme, and Ardèche.

The departmental press of the "Party of Order" uttered a great cry of alarm, "Socialism is winning the peasantry!"

If the parliamentary chiefs of the Right were concerned about the encroachments of the President of the Republic, it is indisputable that the mass of their adherents saw no peril except in the triumph of the "Reds" in 1852. (Note 57.)

The conservatives in the provinces felt themselves outflanked. More than ever did they clamor for a "savior."

Some extracts from a famous pamphlet, the "Red Spec-

tre," by Romieu, will give an idea of the condition of mind produced among a great number of Conservatives by this epidemic fear of 1852. We cite textually: —

"Charlemagne, placed between dying antiquity and the new world which was being born, had founded the only solid system, that of force leaning on faith. From his work, and without preconceived design, arose the feudal régime; it is still the best of all those that have been tried by Europe" (p. 32).

"It was not enough that the middling classes were gangrened (*sic*) with this new evil, — instruction without education; it was necessary to gain even the villages, and it was one of the wise men of the time, M. Guizot (Note 58), whom the finger of Providence marked out for the accomplishment of extreme disorder.[1] I shall not regret having lived in that sad epoch, if I am permitted to see good faith drive out and fustigate the crowd, that cruel and stupid beast of which I have always had a horror" (p. 91).

"This society of agents and shopkeepers is in agony, and if it shall fortunately rise again, it will be because a soldier will have charged himself with its safety. The cannon alone can settle the questions of our age, and it will settle them, though it should come from Russia. . . . . O citizen! it is not you who represent order; it is force alone, which is its symbol. . . . . The sword has become the civilizing element. . . . . I tell you, O citizen, that your part is finished. From 1789 to 1848, it lasted but too long. . . . . Social order has for its real and sole support, not your ridiculous mass of codes, but the strong rampart, bristling with bayonets and artillery, which is called the army. . . . . Whatever it may be, the part to be enacted by the chief is simple. To assume, with a firm hand, absolute dictatorship, and to substitute himself for all the writings which have governed us for the past sixty years" (pp. 60–94, *passim*).

To-day, inasmuch as seventeen years separate us from that era of passion, it is difficult to comprehend the terrors awakened by the approach of the elections of 1852. It appears to us insensate, that the seeing transformed to a majority, that republican minority whose principal chiefs

[1] Allusion to the law of 1833, relative to primary instruction.

were Michel (of Bourges), Charras, Cavaignac, Jules Favre, Crémieux, Victor Hugo, Quinet, Marc-Dufraisse (Note 59), could seem to be a catastrophe which it would be necessary to avert by sword and cannon.

It is, however, a fact, an incontestable fact, and one without which the subsequent events would remain incomprehensible.

A month had not elapsed since the prorogation of the National Assembly, when rumors of the *Coup d'Etat* were persistently spread abroad. This time the report did not lack foundation.

It appears that the mission of Commander Fleury, in Africa, had fully succeeded. The President could count upon the concurrence of the generals of the army of Paris. It had already General Magnan (Note 60) for its commander-in-chief, — he who was to take so active a part on the 2d of December.

One of the Bonapartist writers, whom we have already cited, M. Belouino, has given, on the subject of the *Coup d'Etat* which was to be executed during the parliamentary vacations, some very circumstantial details: —

"All was ready on the part of the army," says M. Belouino, "for the eventualities of a *coup d'état*. It was on the point of taking place, at the time of the last prorogation of the Assembly. It would have been a fault, a grave fault, at that moment.

"France did not yet clearly enough discern the parliamentary complots. It might have been believed that the Prince was acting for a purpose of personal and ambitious interest. The Prefect of Police at that time urged it strongly. Many persons devoted to the Prince acted in the same way. It was mainly Generals de Saint-Arnaud, and Magnan, the general-in-chief, who caused the abandonment of the project by making valid the reasons which called for a delay of its execution.

"The President, his ministers, and some high functionaries, knew the conspirators; but that was not sufficient. By dissolving the Assembly in full peace, he would apparently have acted illegally. The Assembly might reunite in a town of the province,

issue its decrees there, and erect power against power. What would it come to? The least consequence would have been a fierce civil war. Socialism would not have hesitated to provisionally adopt the Constitution for its flag, and the parties of the Assembly would have accepted the soldiers of the Jacquerie (Note 2) for their defenders. Such were the powerful motives invoked by those who opposed the *Coup d'Etat* during the prorogation. 'The Assembly will quite sufficiently betray its complots,' said General Magnan; '*let us wait until it gives us the helm.*'"[1]

Other Bonapartist writers, notably M. Mayer, and Dr. Véron, have given, among the causes which led to the postponement of the *Coup d'Etat*, a disagreement which had supervened between the President of the Republic and the Prefect of Police, M. Carlier. It was the latter, it seems, who had elaborated and prepared, in its details, the plan of execution, in concert with the author of the "Red Spectre," Romieu, if we may believe Dr. Véron; but he did not admit that the reëstablishment of universal suffrage ought to enter again among the political measures to be taken in the *Coup d'Etat.*

"M. Carlier," says M. P. Mayer, "had indicated to the President the dangers of 1852, and the remedy which he believed to be efficacious. Unfortunately, the restoration of universal suffrage, that great and heroic justice which saved the situation, seemed to him inopportune and impracticable. He withdrew."[2]

Finally, another opinion attributes the delay of the plans of the President to the energetic measures of defense taken by General Bedeau, president of the Permanent Commission during the prorogation of the Assembly.

Informed of what was preparing, the General had put himself on his guard. He watched with extreme care the Palace of the National Assembly, which he inhabited,

[1] *Histoire d'un Coup d'Etat*, by Belouino, pp. 55, 56.
[2] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, by P. Mayer, p. 24.

and whose military guard obeyed him directly. He had already prepared a certain number of copies of decrees, under the seal of the National Assembly, requiring certain bodies of troops for the defense of the assembly, as well as one appointing a new commander-in-chief for the army of Paris. These latter details have been confirmed by General Bedeau himself, as will be seen further on.

The President of the Republic, it has also been said, essentially refrained from acting before having proposed to the assembly the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, — a law which had contributed more than all else to the amassing of popular resentment against the royalist majority of the legislature.

The ministerial crisis of the month of October, is intimately connected with the adjournment of the *Coup d'Etat*, at the same time as with its preparation under new conditions.

The Faucher-Baroche cabinet retired about the middle of that month, and was replaced, after a ministerial interregnum of ten days, by a cabinet composed of men particularly devoted to the fortunes of Louis Napoleon. General de Saint-Arnaud, whose elevation had been prepared for, as we have seen above, had the Ministry of War. On the same day, M. de Maupas, Prefect of the Department of the Upper Garonne, replaced M. Carlier in the Prefecture of Police.

These two persons were already in the secret of what was preparing.

At the moment when the National Assembly was about to resume its labors, there was no noise but that about the *Coup d'Etat*, which had failed to fall during the prorogation. The newspapers entertained their readers with it; in political circles it was the subject of every conversation. The entry of General de Saint-Arnaud into the Ministry of War, was interpreted as a new menacing symptom. The singularly violent language of the Napoleonic press

against the Assembly and against the Constitution, at the same time as against the republican party, was not of a nature to allay the general apprehensions.

It was in the midst of this deeply troubled situation that the National Assembly commenced its session, on November 4th, 1851.

CHAPTER II.

In the first preparatory meetings, held before the opening session, the royalist majority had resolved to take measures of defense against the projects attributed to the President. Most of the members of that majority were convinced that the executive power conspired against the Assembly, and that a violent dissolution of the national representation was imminent. The republican minority did not think differently from the majority on this subject. There was, however, not the least attempt toward a reconciliation between the two fractions of the Assembly.

The Republicans, instructed for a long period upon the kind of sentiments professed by the Right with regard to the Republic and the Constitution, distrusted the majority, as much as they did the President himself. They feared, for the most part, the plans of restoration attributed in their party to the parliamentary chiefs of the Right, more even than the fancies of a *Coup d'Etat* of Louis Napoleon. General Changarnier, the sword of the "White Convention," seemed to them much more dangerous than the President of the Republic.

It is nevertheless true to say, that in the common danger which threatened the Right and the Left of the Assembly, it did not become the latter to take the first step toward a reconciliation.

Treated as an enemy, decimated after the 13th of June, 1849, remaining alone in the gap, to defend the Constitution and the public liberties against the reactionary fury of the majority, the republican minority had the right to wait until its concurrence was asked for, by giving some

serious pledge of a return to the strict observance of the Constitution.

The Right did not seem to have even thought of this.

It was from the army alone, that they thought of asking for the means of defending themselves against an aggression of the executive power. Its estrangement toward the Left, and its antipathy against the Republicans were such, that that majority which was ready to fall back upon the Constitution, did not depart for an instant from its ordinary manifestations of hatred toward everything which appertained to the Republic.

Some representatives of the "Mountain," M. Sartin (Note 61) among others, had been victims during the vacation, of illegal arrests, or at least of attempted arrests, in spite of the inviolable character with which the Constitution covered them. The Right, which was to be less than a month hence conducted to Mazas (Note 62) in closeted carriages, received with sneers the claims of the republican representatives, who demanded at least an inquiry into the acts of which M. Sartin complained.

As to a return to the Constitution by the repeal of the law of the 31st of May, and the restoration of universal suffrage, the portion of the Right who obeyed the influence of the parliamentary chiefs — Thiers, Berryer, Barrot, and de Falloux, — were still far removed from such a resolution. Reëstablish universal suffrage, indeed! That was, it is true, assuring to Parliament the support of the people, averting all eventuality of civil war; but it was renouncing the hope of obtaining in 1852 a monarchical assembly of revision, who would legally restore royalty. The Right could not yet resolve to sacrifice the hopes they had founded upon restricted suffrage, as well as — we must say it — upon the sword of the parliamentary generals. The message of the President of the Republic was read on the first day of the session, November 4. It was remarkable for its ability.

Louis Napoleon did not hesitate to call to mind the promises of fidelity to the Constitution he had so firmly and warmly made the preceding year, under like circumstances: —

"Formerly," said he, "as in my last message, my words on this subject — I remember them with pride — were favorably received by the Assembly. I said to you: 'The uncertainty of the future, causes, I know, many apprehensions while awakening many hopes. Let us all know how to sacrifice those hopes to the country, and be occupied only with its interests. If this session you vote for the revision of the Constitution, a Constituent Assembly will come to repair our fundamental laws, and to regulate the fate of the executive power. If you do not vote for it, the people in 1852 will solemnly manifest the expression of its new desire. But whatever may be the solutions of the future, let us understand each other, in order that it may not be passion, surprise, or violence, which shall decide the fate of a great nation.' To-day, the questions are the same, and my duty has not changed."

The message concluded with a formal proposition to repeal the law of the 31st of May, and to restore universal suffrage in all its integrity. This was the decisive act of the message, — the boldest, but also the most skillful that Louis Napoleon could have done at this moment. The issue of his ulterior plans depended in a great manner upon the reception which would be given to this proposition. By refusing to adopt it, the Assembly irrevocably forfeited its respect in the mind of the people of Paris, — it disrobed itself of the little moral force which still remained to it.

The proposed law tending to an immediate repeal of the act of May 31, was introduced after the reading of the message by M. de Thorigny, Minister of the Interior. Urgency was demanded. The Left supported it energetically. The Right, which hesitated, was swayed by M. Berryer. The urgency was rejected, but by so feeble a majority that the vote had appeared doubtful.

The law was referred to the examination of the committee.

The republican minority had given a new proof of the loyal manner in which it comprehended its duty toward the fundamental law of the country. It had silenced its mistrusts and antipathy against Louis Napoleon; it had not hesitated to applaud the message. The democratic press had given it a not less favorable reception.

During two or three days, the joy was great in the republican party. It did not believe that the royalist majority would carry blindness to the point of remaining opposed to the public sentiment which so strongly manifested itself with reference to that fatal law, — the principal cause of the perils that were threatening the country.

The reëstablishment of universal suffrage dissipated all that caused uneasiness to the Republicans, as well as to the conservatives, for the advent of 1852. The simple fact of having proposed it, seemed to prove that Louis Napoleon was really disposed to strictly conform to the pledges he had given December 20, 1848. The pacific and legal strife of the popular vote was then to be entered into around the urns (Note 63) of the ballot. The Constitution was to perform its functions regularly; a new legislature, plainly republican, would take the place of that which had so sadly marked its passage to power; the election of a president, simply citizen, reckoning neither emperors nor kings in his family, would complete the consolidation of the institutions of 1848. Such were, for two or three days, we say, the illusions which the message inspired in the Republicans. They almost forgot the menacing schemes which on the preceding day they still attributed to the executive power, and seemed not to perceive the undoubted symptoms of the reality of those projects; symptoms which did not escape the alarmed attention of the members of the royalist majority.

The latter had generally considered the proposition to repeal the law of the 31st of May, as a challenge.

The President had made that law in harmony with them; he had desired his ministry to take the initiative in its presentation; he had affected to consider it like a dike opposed to the rising tide of demagogism, as the only means of preventing the triumph of the Socialist-Democratic party in the general elections of 1852. With what purpose had he just proposed to the Right to demolish this rampart which they had erected in concert? The suspicious minds of the royalist majority were not far from believing in a secret understanding between the President and the "Reds" of the Assembly. The idea was publicly expressed, and however absurd it was, it did not everywhere meet with unbelievers.

The Right, perfectly instructed as to the plan of a *coup d'état* which had failed to strike during the vacation, was persuaded that this project was only postponed, and that the proposition to repeal the law of the 31st of May, was only a manœuvre intended to facilitate its execution. We are assured that General Changarnier thenceforth received disclosures, more or less sincere, from the ex-prefect of police Carlier; disclosures which contributed not a little toward convincing the General and his political friends, of the existence of a complot of the executive power against the Assembly.

A circular, dated October 28, which had just been addressed by the Minister of War, Saint-Arnaud, to the generals of the army of Paris, was interpreted as a grave symptom of the intentions of the executive power.

We read in this circular some significant passages, such as these: —

"More than ever, in the age in which we live, can true military spirit assure the safety of society.

"But that confidence which the army inspires, it owes to its discipline; and we all know, General, that there is no discipline in an army in which the dogma of passive obedience shall give way to the right of examination.

"An order discussed, leads to hesitation; hesitation to defeat.

"Under arms, the military regulation is the only law.

"Responsibility, which makes its power, is not divisible; it stops with the head from whom the order emanates; it covers all degrees of obedience and execution."

How can it be doubted, said the representatives of the Right, that it is intended to employ the army against the National Assembly?

Not only does the Minister of War refrain from reminding the military chiefs that their first duty is to respect the law and to cause it to be respected — but he almost assures them of impunity if they act against it by executing illegal orders emanating from a superior chief.

These, it would seem, were the motives which determined the Right to form a double resolution: in the first place to maintain the law of the 31st of May, and secondly, to assure themselves of military means, for resisting an attempted *coup d'état.*

It was in view of this last result, that the famous Proposition of the Quæstors was deposited, on the 6th of November.

Here it is, as it was brought forward for discussion, after having been corrected by its authors, Messieurs Baze, Generals Leflô and de Panat (Note 64):—

"Shall be promulgated as law, made an army-order, and posted up in the barracks, Article 6 of the Decree of May 11, 1848, in the following terms:—

"'*Sole Article.* The President of the National Assembly is charged with watching over the internal and external safety of the Assembly. In consequence, he has the right to require armed forces, and all the authorities whose help he deems necessary.

"'His requisitions may be addressed directly to all officers, commanders, or functionaries, who are bound to obey immediately under the penalties of the law.'"

In its primitive form, the proposition of the quæstors contained, besides, a paragraph recalling the right of the

president of the National Assembly to appoint the commandant-in-chief of the troops, charged with watching over the safety of the representatives of the people; and another article gave to the president the power of delegating this right of requisition, to the quæstors, or to one of them.

It is well to note that the Bonapartist writers, speaking of the proposition of the quæstors, mention only the primitive text, and reason without taking into account the modifications introduced by the committee in harmony with the authors.[1]

Some explanations are indispensable, in order to show the real bearing and character of the proposition of the quæstors.

Article 32 of the Constitution runs thus: —

"The National Assembly determines the place of its meetings. It fixes the necessity of the military forces established for its safety, and disposes of the same."

The decree of the 11th of May, 1848, reproduced in the proposition of the quæstors, had not been abrogated by the Constitution. Its validity had been recognized, moreover, in May, 1849, by the executive power itself.

At this date, the right of direct requisition of the armed power having been for a moment denied to the National Assembly, the Minister had hastened to declare, in the name of the President of the Republic, that he considered the decree of the 11th May, 1848, as being always in vigor. The Assembly had ordained, May 10, 1849, in consequence of this declaration, that articles 6 and 7 of the decree, should be "made the order of the day of the army, printed and posted by all the corps-commanders."

[1] Among others, M. Granier de Cassagnac, who gives the primitive text, and pretends to believe that it was on this text that the discussion of the Assembly was engaged.

See the *Histoire de la chute de Louis-Philippe*, vol. ii. p. 306.

From that time, these articles had remained posted up in the barracks of the garrison of Paris.

The perfect legality, then, of the proposition of the quæstors, was not disputable.

The only discussion possible would be on its opportunity.

The Republicans saw in it an unreasonable response to the presidential proposition to repeal the law of the 31st of May.

Many among them considered the proposition as a manœuvre on the part of the royalists in the Assembly, whose object was to assure themselves of a military force, by means of which the Right should successively relieve itself of the President, and of the republican Left, in order to establish a "White Dictatorship" (Note 65), the prelude of a monarchical restoration.

It may be affirmed to-day that these fears were, at least, prodigiously exaggerated.

The Right was neither numerous enough, nor above all united enough, to attempt a parliamentary *coup d'état.* The radical divergence from the aim which existed among its chiefs, did not permit them to come to a mutual understanding concerning so great an enterprise. The vote on the proposition of the quæstors, moreover, would have furnished no new strength to the majority, since this proposition could have no other possible result but that of strengthening, more formally, a right of the Assembly which had not yet been seriously contested.

There are serious reasons for believing that the real intentions were these: —

"To impeach the President of the Republic, as soon as the complot of the executive power against the Assembly — a complot which they believed to exist in reality — should be unveiled by some formal act.

"To immediately elevate to the presidency of the Assembly, an energetic representative; such, for example, as General Changarnier. The pusillanimity of M. Dupin was

recognized by those even who persisted for two years in investing such a man with a position for which he was so little qualified in those stormy times.

"Then, to make ample use of the right of direct requisition, and to surround the National Assembly with a body of troops of the line, and of the National Guard (Note 66), sufficient to check every attempt at resistance on the part of the President. Celebrated generals, such as Bedeau or Lamoricière, would have been invested with the command of the forces requisite for the defense of the Assembly. It was not doubted that their personal authority, their prestige over the army, would produce a decisive effect at the critical moment.

"The preponderance of the national representation being thus assured, the dangers of usurpation of the President averted, the majority would have used its ascendency in order to vigorously maintain the law of the 31st of May; to accomplish the elections under the empire of that law; to crush 'demagogic' resistance, if it supervened; and to proceed to a revision of the Constitution, which would leave the field free to the hopes of the different monarchical sections of the Right."

One would be mistaken, however in supposing that these ideas had passed to the condition of a distinctly formed plan, strongly conceived, with a precise aim, its means of execution rigorously resolved upon, as was the case at this moment with the plan formed by Louis Napoleon. The majority leaned toward the adoption of the line of conduct which we have indicated; but the ideas exchanged on this subject between its principal members, were far from having assumed a definite shape. Besides, in any case, the majority does not seem to have been disposed to deviate from the legal course.

During this time, irrevocable resolutions were formed by Louis Napoleon.

We do not advance a too hazardous hypothesis, when

we say that the introduction of the proposition of the quæstors must have caused him some satisfaction.

While the proposition contained nothing illegal, it was not less evidently an act of defiance against the executive power. The royalist majority seemed to take the initiative of the attack. "It gave the helm" to the President, according to the expression of General Magnan. Besides, the situation was all the better, because that majority committed at the same time the irreparable fault of rejecting the proposition for the integral reëstablishment of universal suffrage.

No one will be surprised, then, to learn from the recital of M. Granier de Cassagnac, that "it was immediately after the introduction of the proposition of the quæstors that the President took his final measures for an evidently very near event."[1]

These measures were taken, we know, very long previously, but the favorable occasion had not yet offered itself.

At the moment in which the President was thus making ready to attempt a *coup d'état*, the Assembly was pursuing its labors. The committee charged with examining the project of law for the repeal of that of the 31st of May, brought in its report. The majority was troubled. Many of its members appeared struck with the intrinsic vices of the law of the 31st of May, not less than with its political dangers. The discussion upon the second reading was entered upon on the 14th of November. The ministers charged with supporting the proposition to reëstablish universal suffrage, Messieurs de Thorigny and Dariel (Note 67), were men of extraordinary feebleness. Never, perhaps, had such incapacity occupied the tribune. It seemed — and all the republican press openly said so — as if the government desired the reverse of its own propo-

[1] *Récit complet et authentique des événements de Décembre*, 1851, by M. Granier de Cassagnac, p. 4.

sition. It was rejected, in fact, but by so small a majority, that the vote had morally killed the law of the 31st of May. There were three hundred and fifty-three votes for rejection, and three hundred and forty-seven for adoption. The interchanging of three or four votes would have sufficed to totally change the result.

Some days before this vote, the proposition of the quæstors had been examined in the twenty-fourth parliamentary initiative committee, to whom the original proposition had been referred. The Minister of the Interior, de Thorigny, and the Minister of War, General Saint-Arnaud, had been heard. The minutes of the sessions of that committee reveal a curious incident. In that of Monday morning, November 10, the minutes show that the two ministers declared they considered the decree of May 11, 1848, always in full vigor. M. Thorigny, Minister of the Interior, said, to quote literally: —

"The decree exists; it is under the eyes of the troops; all the rights contained in Article 32 of the Constitution, and in the decree are recognized. It is useless, then, to go beyond; and the voting of the proposition at the present time would give cause for vexatious interpretations."

The next day, November 11, M. de Thorigny addressed to the committee a letter countersigned by his colleague, Saint-Arnaud, in which they denied having made, on the preceding day, the declarations reported in the minutes: —

"I declare, then," said M. de Thorigny, "that in my conviction, the decree of the 11th of May, 1848, cannot be considered as being still in force; and I have not said a word that could establish the contrary."

The committee, after having heard the reading of this letter, and having again informed itself concerning the minutes, declared unanimously, that it insisted upon the perfect accuracy of the minutes containing the declarations disowned by the two ministers.

Evidently some one was lying (*sic*) in this matter. Between the affirmation of the thirty-two members of the committee, including their president and their secretary, Messieurs Vitet and de Melun — and the denial of the ministers, Messieurs de Thorigny and Saint-Arnaud, — the reader will judge.

It was learned, at the same time with the denial by the government of the right of direct requisition inscribed in the decree of May 11, 1848, that General Saint-Arnaud had just caused to be torn down, in all the barracks of Paris, the copies of the decree which had remained posted up there since 1849.

These latter incidents considerably modified the opinion of a great number of Republicans concerning the proposition of the quæstors. Unanimous at the outset, having nevertheless to discuss the opportunity, they divided in presence of the claim of the President and the ministers, of a right to deny a formal right of the Assembly, — that of directly requiring the forces necessary for its defense. Some rallied on the proposition as rectified by the committee; others, in very superior numbers, in the Assembly, persisted in opposing it, through the fear of furnishing arms to a royalist conspiracy, directed at once against Louis Napoleon and the Republic.

The discussion had been appointed for the 17th of November.

It is well to remark here, that, as is confessed by all Bonapartist writers who have spoken of these events, the President had, at this moment, taken all his measures to cause the troops to march against the National Assembly, if the proposition of the quæstors should obtain the majority.

The session of November 17, was full of trouble, anxious, almost inauspicious. It was understood that a *coup d'état*, that is to say, civil war, with its result unknown, might burst upon them at the termination of the deliberation.

The Left at this moment held the majority in its hands. The Right was radically divided. Independently of the group of conservatives who rallied to Louis Napoleon, a certain number of timid representatives, who generally voted with the parliamentary chiefs of monarchical parties, did not dare to support them in this case. The ancient majority thus found itself parted into two fractions of about equal strength; the two hundred votes of the Left, then, by going with the one or the other of the two fractions, were to settle the fate of the proposition.

At the beginning of the session, General Saint-Arnaud, Minister of War, combated the proposition of the quæstors, by denying the right of direct requisition, and by contesting the actual validity of the decree of the 11th of May, 1848. His argument was limited to an assertion of law: the Constituent Assembly, Sovereign Assembly, had powers which did not appertain to the Legislative Assembly; and to some special considerations: the right of direct requisition would be contrary to the principle of the separation of the powers; would encroach upon the prerogatives of the President of the Republic; and would introduce elements of indiscipline and disorder into the army.

General Leflô, one of the quæstors, responded that, as to the first point, it was inadmissible to deny to the Legislative Assembly a right recognized in the Constituent previously to the promulgation of the fundamental pact, when that assembly had become a really "legislative" one, whose prerogatives would no longer differ at all from the normal prerogatives accorded by the Constitution to ordinary legislatures. The honorable General exclaimed very strongly, in the very name of the army and of discipline, against the assertion of M. Saint-Arnaud, concerning the trouble which the proposition of the quæstors might carry into the military organization.

Colonel Charras, representative of the republican Left, then followed in the debate, in order to explain the mo-

tives which compelled him to rally to the proposition of the quæstors.

Some extracts from his speech, and from those subsequently pronounced, will permit the reader to better appreciate the various feelings which agitated the republican minds in this decisive circumstance, than if we limited ourselves to a necessarily discolored analysis of that memorable session.

We borrow the extracts which follow, from the official report of the session: —

M. CHARRAS.—"Gentlemen, in commencing what I have to say to you upon the grave question which has come up before you, I feel bound to make one declaration. It is, that up to the moment when I read, following upon the report of the committee, the declaration, or rather the retraction made by the ministers — at the moment when I read that the executive power, through its organs, the ministers of war and of the interior, denied to the Assembly the right of power in its sovereignty — to the defense of that sovereignty as it understands it, — I changed my opinion. Before, I would have voted against the proposition of the quæstors; to-day, and after the declaration renewed at this tribune by the Minister of War, I declare that I shall vote for the proposition of the quæstors." (Quite general marks of astonishment.) . . . .

"Up to this time, the right of direct requisition has never been contested against the Assembly; I call to witness the recollections of M. Odilon Barrot, who recognized this right. Until to-day, this right of requisition has not been contested by the government of M. Bonaparte, President of the Republic. To-day it is contested in the most formal manner . . . . Upon the question of principle, put in this way: Has the Assembly to which the French people has delegated the legislative power, yes, or no, the right to guard its own safety, as it understands it, as it believes well, as it believes necessary, as it believes

indispensable? — Upon this question thus stated, upon this ground, I believe there cannot be produced the least disagreement in this Assembly, unless it is upon the benches of the ministry. . . . .

"That majority which, until now, had allowed to pass almost without opposition the most important facts, I will say it — the most scandalous (Marks of approval from several benches on the left), that have occurred, I have no need of saying how nor where. If the least doubt existed here, I would cite some names — Satory . . . . (Approbation on the left; noise on some of the benches.)

"Why! Is it not an unheard-of thing to have seen officers — those who had shouted those unconstitutional words, those factious words — become the object of not less scandalous favors? (On the left: "It is true! It is true!")

"Well then, I say, for myself, who follow very closely all the movements which are made at the head, and even in the body of the army of Paris, — I say, that it is those men who became conspicuous in acts of devotion to the person of the President of the Republic, and I will say, too, perhaps in their hatred of the Republic, — it is those men who are called to Paris, and to whom the highest positions are confided. I say that at this hour in the drawing-rooms, — I shall not say which, every one can guess, — they talk with unimaginable coolness, — of what? Of closing the doors of this Assembly, and proclaiming — you know what!" (Various exclamations, smiles, and denials, on the bench of the ministers.)

M. Michel (of Bourges), and several other members on the left. — "The drawing-rooms are not the people." . . . .

M. Charras. — "Until there shall be an answer different from that made by the minister, I shall regard as settled that the right of the Assembly has been formally denied." (The Minister of War makes a sign of denial.)

M. Charras. — "There is no need now of playing upon words, and pretending to recognize a theory of right

in the Assembly, whilst in fact you have just said that you do not recognize that right. As to the opportunity of the proposition, I have already said that, as for myself, it results entirely from the declaration made by the government, — there you find it, and nowhere else."

A MEMBER. — "The enemy is in the ranks of the majority."

M. CHARRAS. — "It is said that the enemy is there (pointing to the Right); it is elsewhere as well."

M. MATHÉ. — "The most dangerous is there" (the Right).

M. CHARRAS. — "No; I say in conclusion, I do not believe that the majority is a more serious danger for the Constitution and for the Republic, in the terms in which the question is put to-day, than the President who sits in power in the Elysian Palace. No; I do not believe that a more immediate, a more imminent danger can come from its part, than that which may come from the place I have just indicated. (Laughter.)

"But the majority is on the ground of constitutional principles, on the ground of the independence of the Assemblies. The majority is right. It is for that reason that I will vote with it."

M. MICHEL (of Bourges) rose immediately to reply to this speech. Prepossessed as were many others of his republican colleagues, with the idea that the Republic had no enemy more to be feared than the royalist majority, he tried to attenuate the effect produced upon the Left by the words of M. Charras.

He called upon the authors of the proposition to denounce frankly and openly the complots of the executive power, if they believed in the reality of these plots. And he added: —

"The question is upon theoretical dangers. Do you know when you discovered these dangers? You discovered them on the 4th of November, when the law of the

31st of May was withdrawn. There is the danger! The danger is that monarchy is menaced, and that the Republic commences to be inaugurated. That is the danger. (Loud applause on the left.) You are frightened at Napoleon Bonaparte, and you wish to save yourselves through the army. The army is with us, and I defy you, whatever you may do, if the military power falls into your hands, to choose any course which shall cause any soldier to come here for you, against the people.

"No, there is no danger; and I permit myself to add that if there were a danger, there is also an invincible sentinel who guards you: that sentinel, I have no need of naming it, is the people." (Strong applause on the left.)

The reporter of the Committee, M. Vitet, made the most impolitic response to the words of M. Michel (of Bourges) that it was possible to imagine. He accused him of intimate alliance with the President. The imputation was so evidently false that the Left was more than ever persuaded that the proposition of the quæstors was directed against it as well as against the President.

M. Thiers tried in vain to repair the enormous blunder committed by M. Vitet. In vain he denounced the circular of General Saint-Arnaud, as an evident symptom of the intention of the executive power to make use of the army against the Constitution. The Left — at least the major part of it — not only did not listen to him, but it drowned his voice, and the orator descended from the tribune without having finished his speech.

General Saint-Arnaud, who was getting ready at this very moment to put himself at the head of his troops, and to lead them against the National Assembly, if the vote should be unfavorable to him, — General Saint-Arnaud, we say, judged it proper to make, after the interrupted speech of M. Thiers, declarations of this kind: —

"I am reproached for not having reminded the army of respect for the laws and for the Constitution. It is not my words that are interpreted, it is my silence.

" Gentlemen, I know how to respect the laws, and I am of those who know how to cause them to be respected, more by my acts than by my words. But the soldier is not a judge of the law. I have found it neither useful nor worthy to recommend to chiefs the first of all duties. . . . .

" I have not dreamed of causing the law to descend from the heights where she resides, into an order of the day, so as to place her there in a hypothesis of violation which is not acceptable. Obedience to the laws! — that is the vital principle of all society. Who, then, doubts it?"

M. Jules Favre spoke the last word on the Left in this decisive discussion. He affirmed, as M. Charras had done, the right of direct requisition of the Assembly; but he added that there was no need of a new law in order to affirm it: —

" It happens," said he, " that the executive power contests this right against you. What have you to do? Affirm it by a new law? What! Gentlemen, if it pleases the executive power to contest the authority of the laws, would it be necessary for you to make them over again? The way to escape from such a difficulty is to command the execution of the law.

" Insist on it to-morrow, and you will see that the Executive will yield. And if he does not yield, he will be put in accusation." (Agitation in various senses.)

The orator concludes by putting this dilemma: —

" One of two things: either you believe that the Executive conspires — accuse him then; or you *feign* to believe that he conspires, and it is you yourselves who conspire against the Republic, — and this is why I do not vote with you."

Soon after this speech of M. Jules Favre, the Minister of War, Saint-Arnaud, pronounced some words, acknowledging that it was by his orders that the placards of the decree of May 11, 1848, had been removed from the barracks.

An inexpressible agitation seized the Assembly.

General Saint-Arnaud quitted the hall.

Here happens an extra parliamentary incident related by M. Granier de Cassagnac: —

"General St. Arnaud," he says, "arose immediately from his bench, and quitted the hall, after having directed a significant look toward Marshal Magnan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Paris, who was present during this session, and who was in the same tribune as M. de Maupas (Note 68), the Prefect of Police. As he approached the door of the hall, the Minister of War answered laughingly to a colleague, who expressed his astonishment at seeing him leave before the vote: 'There is too much noise in this house; I am going to look after the guard.' And he went there, as he said?"[1]

They proceeded to the vote.

The proposition of the quæstors was rejected by 408 votes against 300. More than one hundred and fifty Republicans had voted against the proposition.

Among those who had joined the Right, were counted (and this is a significant circumstance) the greater number of the Republicans belonging to the army: General Cavaignac, Colonel Charras, Captains Bruckner, Millotte, and Tamisier. Many eminent members of the Left had voted in the same way: Messieurs Marc Dufraisse, Edgard Quinet, Grévy, etc.

The Bonapartist historiographer, Belouino, says that on learning the result of the vote, General Saint-Arnaud exclaimed, "We could have dispensed with their help!"

M. Granier de Cassagnac, on his part, says: —

"This unexpected result at once put an end to all preparations for resistance. 'It is, perhaps, better as it is,' replied the Prince, ready to mount his horse, — and his face immediately resumed its habitual serenity."[2]

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, etc., by Granier de Cassagnac, vol. ii. p. 341.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 342.

Thus closed this great debate, which, if the Left had given its concurrence to the quæstors, would undoubtedly have resulted immediately in the insurrection of the executive power, and open strife between the President and the National Assembly.

Since the 2d of December, the question, Whether the Left was well or badly inspired in not voting for the proposition of the quæstors, has been often discussed in the Republican party. It seems to us that the response could not be doubtful. Colonel Charras had perfectly discerned the real peril which threatened the very existence of the Constitution and of the Republic; this peril was not in the parliamentary Right, — disunited, powerless, incapable of undertaking and executing any serious enterprise; it was in the executive power, which disposed of the army, and of all the forces of a centralized and disciplined administration. It required the blindness of passion not to see this. The Left, under the circumstances, was as clear-sighted as the Right had been in refusing the reëstablishment of universal suffrage. But it will be said, the *Coup d'Etat* would only have been struck a little sooner, — on the 17th of November instead of the 2d of December. The thing is probable, almost certain; but a single observation will show that our estimation of it is not at all weakened. On the 17th of November, in the evening, the Assembly would not have been surprised. It was on its guard. Its influential political men, the illustrious generals who formed part of them, could not have been arrested, nocturnally, in their beds. The troops in the service of the Assembly, having at their head such men as Lamoricière, Leflô, Changarnier, Bedeau, Cavaignac, Charras, would have shielded the palace from a sudden attack. Who would dare affirm that, in these conditions, the result of the conflict would not have been, in all probability, very different? The majority of the Republican Representatives, who voted against the proposition of the quæstors, were certainly men of energetic convictions,

whose devotion to the Republic never flinched before any disaster; but history, which renders homage to the rectitude of their intentions, cannot do otherwise than demonstrate that on the 17th of November, they failed entirely in political wisdom.

Before going further, let us analyze an assertion relative to this memorable crisis of the proposition of the quæstors, which has been reproduced to satiety for the last sixteen years. Had the parliamentary Right formed a complot against Louis Napoleon? Or putting it more clearly, did this Right conspire with the intention of violently and illegally depriving the President of the Republic of those powers which he held by virtue of the Constitution? Was the proposition of the quæstors the means chosen in order to execute this complot?

It has been noisily answered in the affirmative. It is the favorite theme of Messieurs Granier de Cassagnac, Belouino, Mayer, and other apologetic historiographers of the *Coup d'Etat.*

This affirmation, to the support of which only a semblance of proof has ever been furnished, — whereof we shall speak by and by, — does not bear examination.

One first consideration strikes the observer. It is that the majority had no interest in illegally stripping Louis Napoleon of a power which was to expire of course in five months. The absence of interest in this regard is the more evident, since Article 45 of the Constitution interdicted the reëlection of the President until after an interval of four years. Thus, the adversaries of Louis Napoleon had but one thing to do in order to be relieved of him, — to hold to the execution of the provisions of the law, and to await the term fixed by the fundamental pact; a term which would expire on the second Sunday of May, 1852.

The Bonapartist writers who reason upon these matters, affect to believe that Louis Napoleon had received

from the people other powers than those strictly determined by the Constitution, to which the President had sworn obedience and fidelity. We refer them to the words of Louis Napoleon himself. Let them re-read the speech of the 20th of December, 1848, and the memorable message of the 12th of November, 1850, and they will see with what distinctness Louis Napoleon acknowledged that he possessed no other powers than those which he held under the fundamental pact of the Republic. Let us add that this same fundamental pact gave to the National Assembly the right to put the President of the Republic in accusation; to declare his forfeiture of office in certain cases, and to conduct him before the High Court of Justice. The majority then, was exempted by the law itself, from conspiring a violent despoiling of the President of the Republic; it could legally prefer charges against him, and, in case of resistance, deprive him of his office.

Had the proposition of the quæstors for its object, the giving to the majority the means of illegally overthrowing the President? Evidently not, since this proposition only reaffirmed a right which the Assembly had always possessed, although it had not had occasion to make use of it since 1849.

The truth is, we have said it already, and the facts prove it even to the most glaring evidence, — that the majority, having knowledge of the project of the *Coup d'Etat*, miscarried during the parliamentary vacation, wished to take defensive measures. It undoubtedly foresaw that the President would attempt to dissolve it, and in that case it was resolved to make use of the right of direct requisition, in order to give strength to legality, and to cause to be executed an impeachment warrant, or a decree of forfeiture, if they should become necessary.

But that the Right had the intention, immediately after the vote of the proposition, to cause the President of the Republic and his ministers to be incontinently arrested, is

an assertion as really false as it is improbable. The Right, which was no longer a majority — this must not be forgotten, — which was separated by an abyss of spite and reciprocal hatred, from the one hundred and eighty or two hundred members of the republican Left, without which it could no longer carry a single vote, — this Right, composed of two hundred and fifty members, divided among themselves, looking toward different objects, would have undertaken the illegal arrest of the President of the Republic, and of his ministers! It would have attempted this without a regular warrant, by means of battalions hastily required, a few hours after the vote of the proposition of the quæstors!

Let us repeat it once more; yes, the Right intended to avail themselves of the right of direct requisition in order to resist an attack of the executive power; yes, it foresaw that attack, and some of the members had sketched out a line of conduct in case it should be made; but all this constituted neither a complot, nor an attempt at one, nor anything out of the strictest limits of legality.

It will be admitted in any case, that the affirmation of this scheme for the arrest of the President and the ministers, in case the proposition of the quæstors had been voted, deserves, before obtaining credence, to be supported by some proofs, or at least by some positive indications.

The authority of M. de Cassagnac, assuring that such was the project formed by the quæstors, is not, it will be admitted without difficulty, a sufficient guaranty for history.

Here is the only proof that has ever been advanced. It results from the facts revealed by the following article, published in the *Constitutionnel*, December 16, 1851, — an article uniformly reproduced and accepted without dispute by all the official narrators of the 2d of December. We quote verbally: —

"The quæstors' houses were, as is known, the general head-quarters of the coalition.

"As soon as the act of the 2d of December occurred, arrests and searches were made among the quæstors. The quæstors were arrested, their papers seized, especially at M. Baze's.

"The seizure of these papers *has rendered evident the existence of the complot.*

"In fact, all the warrants relative to the direct requisition were ready; they have been seized: not only the minutes, but all the duplicates, and originals, necessary for their communication to all concerned; all this was done unknown to M. Dupin (President of the Assembly), but nevertheless clothed with the seal of his office.

"The first warrant, that which confers upon a general-in-chief the command of the troops charged with protecting the National Assembly, is thus conceived:—

"'The President of the National Assembly—

"'Considering Article 32 of the Constitution, as follows:—

"'The Assembly determines the place of its sessions, decides upon the importance of the military forces established for its safety, and disposes the same:

"'Considering Article 112 of the regulating decree of the National Assembly, as follows:—

"'The President is charged with watching over the internal and external safety of the National Assembly. For this purpose, he exercises, in the name of the Assembly, the right confided to the legislative power by Article 32 of the Constitution, to decide upon the importance of the military forces established for its safety, and to dispose the same:

"'Orders M. . . . . to immediately take the command of *all the forces, as well of the army as of the National Guard, stationed in the first military division,* in order to guaranty the safety of the National Assembly.

"'Done at the Palace of the National Assembly, the ——— day of———'

"SECOND WARRANT.

"'The President of the National Assembly, etc.

"'Considering Article 32 of the Constitution,

"'Considering Article 112 of the regulating decree, etc.

"'Orders every general, every commander of a corps, or detachment, as well of the army as of the National Guard, stationed in the

first military division, to obey the orders of General ———, charged with assuring the safety of the National Assembly.

"'Done at the Palace of the National Assembly, the ——— day ———, etc.'

"Such are the two warrants found at one of the quæstors'. The first, which appoints the general-in-chief, exists in two dispatches only: the one destined probably for the general-in-chief, the other for the *Moniteur*.

"As to the warrant which was to be communicated to the heads of the divisions and brigades, there had already been five copies made of it. They are in the hands of the authorities.

"Is it clear that they held themselves in readiness for the event? They were waiting only for the day of the vote. Although the National Assembly had at its disposal quite a great number of employés, it did not trust to the activity of the numerous dispatch-clerks. It had wished that all had been regular, copied, and stamped (Note 69) in advance. It only remained to supply the names and dates left in blank. The warrants would thus have been brought to the notice of whomever they concerned, in the twinkling of an eye. Are there not, in all this, the preparations for a sudden attack?"

These documents, as the reader has undoubtedly remarked already, establish nothing more than precautions taken by the National Assembly, in case an attempt should be made upon its safety. But, better yet, they do not relate to the proposition of the quæstors. The following letter, addressed by General Bedeau to M. de Morny (Note 70), furnishes an irrefutable proof of this. We say irrefutable, because we do not think there will be found one honorable person in France, to dispute the veracity of a personal fact attested by the late General Bedeau.

Here is this letter:—

"Sir,—I learn that there have been found at M. Baze's some documents impressed with the seal of the Presidency of the National Assembly, and having for their object the requisition of troops, in conformity with Article 32 of the Constitution, and Article 112 of our regulations.

"These documents were prepared by my order, October 14

last, an epoch at which I was invested with the powers of the Assembly, in the absence of M. Dupin.

"M. Baze, the quæstor, subordinated to the President, was only the depositary of these documents.

"I was then quite determined to make use of my constitutional right, and to fulfill my duty in guarding the Assembly, if, as I had too justly cause to fear, that should be attempted against it, which at a later period was accomplished.

"I have the honor, M. Minister, to salute you.

"(*Signed*) BEDEAU.

"FORT HAM, *December 19th*, 1851."

Neither the *Constitutionnel*, the *Moniteur*, nor any other French journal, published this correction.

It remains then, we think, superabundantly established for the reader, that the stories of "Parliamentary complots" against the President of the Republic, do not rest even upon the shadow of proof, and that they absolutely lack probability. We shall not insist upon them further.

It appears natural to suppose that after the rejection of the proposition of the quæstors, the public should have considered all eventuality of a *coup d'état* as thenceforth averted, unless new motives of conflict were produced. That was in fact the general impression. It was evident that the executive had nothing to fear from the legislature. More glaring evidence of powerlessness had never been furnished by a parliamentary assembly. By simply considering the respective situations of the two rival powers, it was impossible to find the least pretext for a violent aggression of the President against the National Assembly; nor could one suppose, that after the issue of the effort of the 17th of November, the Right would think of recommencing the initiative of the conflict.

Thus, in the days that followed the rejection of the proposition of the quæstors, the rumors of a *coup d'état*, so strongly credited the preceding week, completely fell, or at least, ceased to find believers.

Only casual attention was paid to the legislative labors

of the last week of November. They were nevertheless not without interest. The law of the 31st of May had indirectly been almost repealed, and this time without intervention on the part of the Executive. An amendment to the communal law, reducing the electoral domicile from three years to one year, was rejected by a majority of but one vote.

It became more and more evident that a new proposition for the reëstablishment of universal suffrage, would reunite the majority of the votes. This proposition would shortly have been formulated, as well as a new proposition for revising the Constitution.

There is reason to believe that the Left would have voted for the revision, if the Right had voted for the reëstablishment of universal suffrage; and the force of events seemed to transport this double solution to the difficulties of the moment.

The legal solution of the crisis appeared assured.

The Assembly at the same time was disposed to examine a project of law, transmitted by the Council of State (Note 71), concerning the responsibility of the President of the Republic and of the agents of the executive power. An amendment by M. Pradié, had introduced therein a very distinct affirmation of the right of direct requisition, denied by the ministers in the discussion of the 17th of November.

But these various projects had not yet gone beyond their preparatory phase; they were not even formulated in a precise style, save the last, when the *Coup d'Etat* fell crushingly, at the very moment when its coming had ceased to be expected.

Our readers have seen, even by the declarations of the Bonapartist writers, that the plan of *Coup d'Etat*, conceived long before, carefully prepared several months previously, definitively settled as long ago as the commencement of the month of November — there are even strong reasons for

thinking that this epoch might be carried back to the moment of the entry of M. Saint-Arnaud into the Ministry of War, and of M. de Maupas into the Prefecture of Police, — had reached a stage of complete elaboration as far back as the 17th of November. Parliamentary incidents could thenceforth exercise only a secondary influence upon the happening thereof, merely advancing or retarding its explosion by some days.

The moment has come to tell what was the plan of execution conceived by the President, and what persons had contributed to its preparation.

M. Granier de Cassagnac, in his *Récit complet et authentique*, p. 4, has said: —

"Three men were the confidants of his idea: —

"M. de Saint-Arnaud, Minister of War; M. de Morny, Representative of the people; and M. de Maupas, Prefect of Police. Louis Napoleon made them acquainted with the immense dangers that menaced society, and which each day aggravated; he showed them the plans he had formed in order to avert them, and asked for their concurrence; all three promised it: M. de Morny, for all the political responsibility to be incurred as Minister of the Interior (Note 41); M. de Saint-Arnaud, for the military operations; and M. de Maupas, for the action of the police."

These details are nearly exact, but very incomplete. In our days it is a well-known matter that the first confidants of Louis Napoleon were, as long ago as the commencement of 1851 — not to go back any further, — Messieurs de Morny, de Persigny, and Commandant Fleury, one of the aides-de-camp of the President of the Republic. The *Coup d'Etat* and the restoration of the empire have had no more ardent promoters.

We are even assured that the influence of these three personages has not been without effect upon the definitive resolutions of Louis Napoleon.

We regret that existing legislation condemns us to the giving of a few dry biographical indications only, concern-

ing the men who played an important part in this so grave feature of our history.

M. de Morny (Note 70) was born in 1811. The *Dictionnaire des Contemporains* is silent concerning his family; it contents itself with saying that he was educated by the Countess of Souza. He had served some time in the army of Africa, under the monarchy of July (Note 72). On resigning in the army, he had made himself busy in industrial matters; then he had entered the Chamber of Deputies as a ministerial candidate, M. Guizot being President of the Council.

In 1851, M. de Morny was better known as a man of the world, and as a speculator at the Bourse, than as a politician. Although he was noted for his skill in the art of launching forth industrial enterprises, and of making productive those valuables known as "shares," yet he was reputed to have but a mediocre fortune. He was witty, amiable, fascinating, bold, skeptical, wonderfully organized for shining in modern society, under a quasi-absolute monarchy, and strongly enough tempered to take a decisive part in the struggles necessary for erecting such a monarchy.

He was intimately bound to the President of the Republic. As long ago as 1849, he said to a person, who since has often repeated the expression, "All this will end in a *coup d'état*, and it is I who will make it. When you shall see me arrive at the ministry, you will be able to say: Now is the time." And in fact, he entered into the ministry on the night between the 1st and the 2d of December, — some hours before the execution.

M. de Persigny (Note 54) had entered the army under the Restoration (Note 73), and had attained to the grade of sergeant. He quitted the service in 1831. It was at that date, according to the *Dictionnaire des Contemporains*, that he discontinued his name of Fialin, in order to assume that of Persigny, a name which, according to the

same work, had formerly belonged to his family, but which his father had never borne. Shortly afterward, M. de Persigny attached himself unreservedly to the fortunes of the Bonapartes. M. Belmontet has recently narrated, in the Legislative Assembly, how he recommended the young ex-sergeant, Fialin de Persigny — to-day, Duke, Senator, and member of the Privy Council, — to Queen Hortense, mother of Louis Napoleon. M. de Persigny took an active part in the enterprises of Strasbourg (Note 17) and of Boulogne (Note 18).

He figured before the Court of Peers, in the prosecution which followed this last affair, and was sentenced under the name of Fialin, *alias* de Persigny.

Freed by the Revolution of the 24th of February, he organized the Napoleonic propaganda.

His old imperialistic convictions seemed to have wavered for a moment only. He offered his candidacy to the Constituent Assembly, and addressed to the electors of the Loire, May 18, 1848, an electoral circular, of which the following are passages: —

"As to my opinions, I am going to expose them to you with frankness. Yesterday, I sincerely believed that between monarchical customs of eight centuries, and the republican form, the natural end of all political improvements, it was necessary to follow an intermediate phase; and I thought that the blood of Napoleon, inoculated into the veins of France, might, better than all other, prepare it for the *régime* of public liberties; but after the great events just accomplished, the regularly constituted Republic may count upon my most absolute devotion.

"I shall therefore be loyally and frankly Republican, etc. . . .

"(*Signed*) FIALIN-PERSIGNY."

But this republican fervor lasted but briefly, and in fact, M. de Persigny may claim the privilege of calling himself one of the oldest and most persevering friends of the Empire.

In the execution of the *Coup d'Etat* he took a less ap-

parent part than that of several other actors in that event, but that part was serious; besides he had amply labored in preparing for its success.

Commander Fleury (Note 52) — to-day General, Senator, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, etc.— appears to have played, in the drama of the second of December, a much more important part than contemporaries have generally supposed.

In 1851, Commander Fleury was considered as a distinguished officer, possessing energy and boldness sufficient for any case. He belonged to a well-to-do family of the lesser Parisian *bourgeoisie.* After a very stormy early youth, it is said, he had commenced the military career, as a voluntary recruit. His promotion had been rapid.

A man of pleasure, a sportsman by merit, knowing thoroughly whatever concerns horses, he had owed, it seems, to this latter quality, his connection with the staff of the President of the Republic.

It has been seen heretofore, that he had been charged, as early as the first months of 1851, with finding in the army, superior officers, disposed to associate themselves with the fortune of Louis Napoleon, and to second him in his plans.

It was Commander Fleury, who, we are assured, brought Brigadier-General Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud into relation with the President of the Republic.

This officer (Note 55) had a very accidental career. For various reasons we shall be very sparing of details on this subject.

He was a brigadier-general in 1848, and was in Paris on the 24th of February. He commanded the forces which guarded the Prefecture of Police. M. Garnier-Pagès, in his conscientious *Histoire de la Révolution de* 1848, relates that M. de Saint-Arnaud was accused by the soldiers of the municipal guard of not having preserved all his presence of mind, in the difficult moment that followed the surrender of the Prefect of Police, to the people. However it may be,

the General, who narrowly escaped being massacred by a furious crowd, and had owed his safety only to the devotion of a few citizens, who wrested him from the midst of the people, and conducted him to M. Garnier-Pagès, who had just been proclaimed Mayor of Paris, — General de Saint Arnaud, we say, had preserved the most bitter remembrance and the most violent rancor of the humiliation which the Parisians had caused him to undergo.

It has been seen in the preceding chapter, how, according to various Bonapartist writers, the war of Kabila was undertaken in order to place General Saint-Arnaud in relief, and how the officious journals of the Presidency were invited to celebrate the exploits that the General was to accomplish, all in such a way that his elevation to the Ministry of War should not seem to be a too abnormal measure.

We have it, however, from good source, that the nomination of M. de Saint-Arnaud to this ministry, was considered by General Cavaignac, who had known him much in Africa, as a certain indication that some military *coup d'état* was being prepared against the National Assembly. The honorable General explained quite openly to his political friends the reasons which led him to such a belief.

General Cavaignac was not mistaken. M. Saint-Arnaud was even the only one of the Ministers of the 27th of October who had been initiated into the plans of the President.

M. de Maupas, Prefect of Police, whose concurrence was of capital importance for the President, did not appear to have been let into the secret of the plans of Louis Napoleon, until a little before his induction into the Prefecture.

It is not possible for us to give precise details upon this subject. But what appears certain, is that when M. de Maupas replaced M. Carlier in the Prefecture of Police, he was not ignorant to what work he was called to give his concurrence.

Another person, General Magnan — commandant-in-chief of the army of Paris, from the 15th of July, 1851, — must also be counted among the confidants and preparers of the *Coup d'Etat.*

M. Magnan (Note 60) had been an officer under the first Empire. A colonel in 1831, he had been authorized to enter the Belgian army, where he served some years. In 1840, he had reëntered the French army, with the rank of General. By a singular coincidence, he had figured as a witness for the prosecution, in the trial of Louis Napoleon, after the affair of Boulogne (Note 18).

His deposition is in the *Moniteur* of October 1, 1840.

It is too curious for us to refrain from citing a few extracts.

General Magnan commanded at Lille, at the moment when Louis Napoleon was preparing to debark at Boulogne. A friend of the Prince, M. Mésonan, who was connected with General Magnan, had charged himself with sounding the disposition of the latter. The General related before the Court of Peers, concerning a first visit which he had received from M. Mésonan, and continued in these terms: —

"The next day, June 17, Commander Mésonan, whom I supposed to have departed, entered my room, announced, as always, by my aide-de-camp. I said to him, 'Commander, I thought you had gone.' 'No, my General, I have not gone; I have a letter to give you.' 'A letter for me, and from whom?' 'Read, my General.' I made him sit down, and I took the letter; but at the moment of opening it, I saw that the superscription was: To Commander Mésonan. I said to him, 'But my dear Commander, this is for you, it is not for me.' 'Read, my General!' I opened the letter and read: —

"'My dear Commandant, — It is of the greatest importance that you see the general in question immediately. You know that he is a man of execution, and upon whom one may count. You know, too, that he is a man whom I have set down to be, one day, Marshal of France. You will offer him 100,000 francs from me, and you will ask him at what banker's, or at what notary's, he wishes me

to place 300,000 francs to his account, in case he should lose his command.'

"I remained stupefied. I was so overcome that at the moment I could not find a word to say! The man whom I had received at my house, whom I esteemed, and whom I believed to be esteemed, brought this letter right to me, without having ever spoken to me of Prince Napoleon; without, either in my conduct or in my words, anything ever having given him any occasion for such a communication!

"Nevertheless, the indignation that I felt calmed itself. I took the letter with trembling, and said, 'Commander! to me — such a letter to me! I thought I had inspired in you more esteem for me. I have never betrayed my oaths; I never will betray them. But you are mad, Commander. My attachment, my respect for the memory of the Emperor, will never make me betray my oaths to the King.' I returned the letter to the commander, telling him that it was a lost and ridiculous expedient. The commander was troubled, pale, and uneasy. In spite of my irritation, I pitied him. I confess I did not do my duty. It was, to have sent to the Minister of War this letter, which to-day is misused in order to make me pass for a denouncer."

In spite of this strange precedent in the relations of General Magnan and Louis Napoleon, the general, in 1851, was no less disposed to heartily second the President of the Republic in his enterprise against the National Assembly.

It was he who took upon himself the part of broaching to the generals placed under his orders, the imminence of the events. The matter is related as follows, by M. Belouino, in the book already cited (p. 59): —

"Some time before the session of the 17th of November, General Magnan had assembled in his drawing-room all his general officers. 'Gentlemen,' he had said to them, 'it may happen that before long your general-in-chief shall think it proper to bind himself to a resolution of the highest importance. You will passively obey his orders. All your life, you have performed and understood military duty in this way. . . . . .

"'But whatever may occur, my responsibility will cover you. You

will receive no order which is not written and signed by me. Consequently, in case of failure, whatever may be the government which shall ask for an account of your acts, you will have only to show, as your guaranty, the orders which you will have received.' "

M. Granier de Cassagnac tells of an analogous scene, the same, undoubtedly, which he fixes on the 26th of November. Twenty-one generals, he says, had been assembled in the parlor of their commander-in-chief, and informed by him that the elect of the people would perhaps make a forthcoming appeal to the sovereignty of the nation, and to the devotion of the army. General Reybell, speaking in the name of his colleagues, had responded to this confidence, by affirming that the enthusiastic concurrence of the army was won by Louis Napoleon.

" A warm acclamation," adds M. Granier de Cassagnac, " followed the words of General Reybell. Each one's hand sought the other's, and from that moment one might say, with certainty, that France continued to rise from the abyss."[1]

M. Granier de Cassagnac says, besides, that the twenty-one generals bound themselves by oath to keep secret what had just passed between them, and that this secret was so well kept, that he, M. Granier de Cassagnac, was the first, after five years had passed by, to make known " the existence and the results of that memorable meeting." It seems evident that here M. de Cassagnac is mistaken.

The scene revealed by him is no other than that which M. Belouino narrated, some months after the *Coup d'Etat*, when his recollections were fresh; a scene which he fixed, undoubtedly with reason, on an evening anterior to the session of the 17th of November. However it may be, here are the names of these twenty-one generals: Magnan, Cornemuse, Hubert, Sallenave, Carrelet, Renault,

[1] See the *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, etc., by Granier de Cassagnac, vol. ii. pp. 391, 392, 393.

Levasseur, de Cotte, de Bourgon, Canrobert, Dulac, Sauboul, Forey, Ripert, Herbillon, Marulaz, de Courtigis, Korte, Tartas, d'Allonville, and Reybell (Note 74.)

It appears, however, that General Magnan did not sufficiently enlist in the enterprise, so long as it was not possible to recede therefrom, in case of necessity. "He had expressly asked," says M. Granier de Cassagnac (vol. ii. p. 408), "not to be notified until the moment of making his necessary arrangements and mounting his horse." Nor did he act until fortified with the formal orders of his chief, the Minister of War, which, according to the theory so greatly in vogue at that moment in the army, sheltered his responsibility and guaranteed him in case of failure.

Thus it was Messieurs de Morny, de Persigny, Fleury, Saint-Arnaud, de Maupas, and Magnan, who were the first confidants of Louis Napoleon, and with him prepared that celebrated *Coup d'Etat*, which was to overthrow the Republican Constitution of 1848, in order to substitute for it, after a brief delay, the restoration of the Empire, and of the Napoleonic dynasty.

A remark has been made which could not fail to strike an observing mind: it is the absence from among the co-operators in the *Coup d'Etat*, of every personage who had at that period conquered any authority in the country, either by his political course, or by his military or civil career, achieved with distinction.

The confidants of Louis Napoleon were men relatively obscure, of talents almost unknown, having for the most part to conquer their reputation and their fortune.

The plan of the *Coup d'Etat* was very simple, and presented infinitely less difficulty than has been pleased to be said: Centralization, placing all the organized forces in the hands of the President; the dogma of passive obedience, guaranteeing the concurrence of the subalterns if the superior chiefs were gained; it sufficed to secure these latter. Now this had been already done long before.

With the concurrence of the Minister of War, of the commander-in-chief of the army, and of the Prefect of Police, the President had but to say the word, in order to become absolute master of Paris, and with Paris, of France.

The principal measures considered were these: —

1st. The nocturnal arrest of the Representatives; above all, the generals whose influence seemed the most to be feared. This was the part of the task reserved to the Prefect of Police and to his agents.

2d. The nocturnal occupation of the Palace of the Assembly; distribution of the troops at the strategic points of the capital.

3d. The printing and publication of the decrees and proclamations of the President; seizure of all the republican or parliamentary newspapers.

It was agreed that these various operations should be accomplished in the night. As it was winter, the moment of execution was fixed between half-past five and half-past six o'clock in the morning, the hour when Paris sleeps.

If these operations should succeed, the Assembly, deprived of its most energetic and influential members, with the impossibility of convening at the place of its sessions, could attempt only vain protestations. There were good reasons for supposing that the people would not move; its contempt for the legislative majority, its hatred of the Royalists, combined with the reëstablishment of universal suffrage, permitted, if not enthusiastic approbation, at least non-interference to be hoped for.

The army of Paris, composed of carefully selected regiments, commanded by chiefs upon whom the President could rely, was numerous enough to oppose the most formidable resistance. It comprised not less than sixty thousand men, who could be reinforced in twenty-four hours by thirty thousand soldiers of the neighboring garrisons.

Louis Napoleon had neglected nothing, in order to prepare the troops for seconding him in an enterprise which the concurrence of the army alone rendered possible.

Banquets had assembled at the Elysian Palace thousands of officers and non-commissioned officers, at the table of the President.

Allocutions (Note 75), of which the commentaries of the barracks took care to extract the real sense, had prepared the soldiers for the idea of a military revolution. It was repeated to them that they had to retaliate upon the Parisians the shame yet to be effaced, of the "gun-stocks in the air" of the 24th of February; it was particularly sought to revive among them the worship of the souvenirs of the first Empire, and of the name of Napoleon, still so potent over the minds of the soldiers; they were entertained with continual incitements to that "martial spirit" which is tantamount to contempt of the middling classes; hatred of the lawyer, of the man of discussion; disdain for all who do not wear the sword and obey without words.

These, it seems, had succeeded very well.

An enthusiastic admirer of the *Coup d'Etat*, M. P. Mayer, has given some interesting details, worthy of consideration, upon the disposition made of the army: —

"It is not a mystery to any one," says M. Mayer, "that following the recall of General Changarnier, the staff of the army was to be, and really was transformed, by the successive admission of that youngest, most intrepid, most devoted generation, for whom, and by whom, the immortal expedition of Kabila was executed, — veritable cadets of glory, almost all in possession at present *of the succession of their scrupulous and constitutional elders.* Of these cadets, the most illustrious was entitled to rise the highest in rank, and thus it is that M. Leroy de Saint-Arnaud . . . . was called to the general command of the army. . . . . An ardent nature, inflexible straightforwardness, M. de Saint-Arnaud professes — like every other man born a soldier, — *the freest contempt for the finesse of politics, and the combinations of parliamentarism.*" [1]

. . . . "The staff counted only those generals who were determined to pass the Rubicon, or die."

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, pp. 37, 38.

. . . . "What makes the discipline of our army, and consequently its glory, is — *that in spite of civilization, of newspapers and books, it has never had ideas* — but instincts ; it loves or it hates, radically, completely, to the death and to frenzy; *and above all, without phrases.* The empire has well proved this." [1]

Farther on, the same writer relates the following anecdote in order to support his opinion : —

"We must say the army was not only convinced, but became fanatical. The *brave and witty* colonel of the 7th Lancers, M. Féray, told an anecdote that *has the value of a real event.* He was with a battalion of his regiment in the vicinity of Chaillot. There was brought to him one of the most notorious demagogues of that commune, taken with arms in his hands, and his pockets full of bullets. The colonel, wishing to try how far his soldiers would obey, called his two orderlies and said to them, shaking the ashes from his cigar, '*You are to blow out that brigand's brains for me ; make him get upon his knees, and at the command — Fire ! crack his head.*' The two lancers coolly load their pistols, take the man by his cravat, — he twisting and crying 'Mercy !' — put their weapons to each temple, and await the command of the colonel *with the greatest calmness.* 'Take him along,' said M. Féray, 'he is too cowardly *to be shot by brave men like you.*' And he had him taken to the Prefecture of Police. '*What men,*' they said to M. Féray, when he related this incident. 'My whole regiment would have done the same,' replied the son-in-law of Marshal Bugeaud." [2]

On the 9th of November, the President of the Republic had assembled at the Elysian Palace the officers of the regiments then lately arrived at Paris. The speech he had addressed to them was not wanting in signification. Here are some of the prominent passages : —

"If the gravity of circumstances should again bring them (these trials), and compel me to make appeal to your devotion, it would not fail me, I am sure; because, as you know, I would demand nothing not in accordance with my right, *recognized by the Constitution*, with military

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, p. 164. [2] *Ibid.*

honor, and with the interests of the country; because I have placed at your head men who have all my confidence and who deserve yours; because, if ever the day of danger should arrive, I would not do like the governments that have preceded me, and I would not say to you, 'March! I follow you;' but I would say, 'I march; follow me.'"

It seems that the words, "recognized by the Constitution," which are in the text of the speech in the *Moniteur*, had not been pronounced by Louis Napoleon. M. Mayer says so in these terms: "The President did not pronounce these four words, which the ministry caused to be added through a scruple which everybody understands. There was still a constitution." [1]

The army, which was to play the ruling part in the *Coup d'Etat*, being thus prepared and arranged, it only remained to be assured of the concurrence of the police. This concurrence was indispensable, but with that of the army it was sufficient. History should take note of this remarkable particular: two forces alone made the *Coup d'Etat;* the army and the police. M. de Maupas was in the confidence of Louis Napoleon. His agents, all carefully selected by M. Carlier — we mean the superior agents — were ready to unite in every enterprise which should be directed against parliamentary power, and above all against the republican party.

The secret of the preparations for the *Coup d'Etat* was very well guarded. That was the most difficult task.

The moment was wonderfully well chosen, — fourteen days after the rejection of the Proposition of the Quæstors, when the public, so many times deceived by false rumors of *coup d'état* had ceased to longer believe in it.

An incident which might have awakened suspicions, did not pass unperceived, but misunderstood.

The President of the Republic appointed a certain M.

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, p. 22.

Vieyra Chief-of-staff of the National Guard of Paris. The honorable General Perrot, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, immediately resigned, because he was not on good terms with this person. The next day, the 30th of November, General Lawœstine was appointed to replace General Perrot. There is no reason for belief, nevertheless, that he had been let into the secret of what was preparing. As to the new chief-of-staff, Vieyra, he was instructed to take measures to prevent the National Guard from assembling.

It was in those latter days, that the President made sure of the concurrence of M. de Saint-Georges, Director of the National Printing-office.

All was then ready for action.

CHAPTER III.

LOUIS NAPOLEON had chosen the 2d of December, the anniversary of Austerlitz, for the execution of the *Coup d'Etat.*

On Monday evening, the 1st of December, he held his habitual reception at the Elysian Palace. The crowd was considerable.

"The Prince," says M. de Cassagnac, "appeared to his guests with unchangeable calmness of mind, and with the ordinary amenity of his manners. The most attentive observer would not have discovered a cloud upon his brow, nor preoccupation in his words."[1]

Those of the ministers who were ignorant of what was being prepared, were mingled with the confidants. The new chief-of-staff, Vieyra, was present.

Doctor Véron relates in his Memoirs[2] the following incident: —

"The Prince, with his back against a chimney-piece, made a sign to M. Vieyra, colonel and chief-of-staff of the National Guard, to approach, and said to him, low enough to be heard by him only: —

"'Colonel, are you firm enough to allow no lively emotion to be seen upon your face?'

"'I believe so, Prince.'

"'Well, it is for to-night! . . . . Can you assure me that the call will not be beaten to-morrow?'

"'Yes, Prince, if I have men enough to convey my orders.'

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, etc., by Granier de Cassagnac, vol. ii. p. 398.

[2] *Nouveaux Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 343, 344.

"'See Saint-Arnaud. You must,' added Louis Napoleon, 'go to sleep to-night at the quarters of the staff officers.'

"'But if I should be seen passing the night in an arm-chair, in the staff-officers' quarters, that would cause astonishment.'

"'You are right. Be there at six o'clock in the morning; you will be warned. *Let no one of the National Guard go out in uniform.* Go. No, not yet; you would seem to have withdrawn by my order.'

"The Prince withdraws, and the Colonel goes on greeting persons of his acquaintance, without it being mistrusted that he had received so terrible a secret."

It is said that the first care of M. Vieyra was to cause the drums of the National Guard to be bursted, — an efficient but not very heroic means of preventing the beating of the call.

Toward eleven in the evening, the guests went away. Only four persons remained: they were Messieurs de Morny, de Saint-Arnaud, de Maupas, and Mocquart, chief of the President's cabinet. M. Mocquart, a particular friend of Louis Napoleon, knew his plans, although he had not played an active part in their execution.

M. de Morny had affected to show himself at the theatre. Dr. Véron states that he appeared at about ten o'clock, "in one of the boxes of the proscenium of the *Opéra Comique*, where every one could see him, very elegant, and greeting all his friends with a cordial gesture." The Doctor says, too, that during the interlude, M. de Morny appeared in the box of Madame Liadières, where the following words were exchanged: —

"M. de Morny," says she, "it is said that pretty soon the President of the Republic is going to sweep out the Chamber. What will you do?"

"Madame," answered M. de Morny, "if there is a stroke of the broom, I shall try to be where the handle is."

"With a little attention," Doctor Véron adds, — "though

they were very far from dreaming of the peril that menaced them, General Cavaignac and General de Lamoricière, seated in an adjoining box, might have heard the question of Madame Liadières, and the response of M. de Morny." [1]

A little before midnight, M. de Béville, — one of the aides-de-camp of the President, recently initiated into the plan of the *Coup d'Etat*, — entered the room where Louis Napoleon, de Morny, de Saint-Arnaud, and Mocquart already were. M. de Béville was charged with the carrying of the manuscripts of the decrees and proclamations to the National Printing-office. It is said that Louis Napoleon had written upon this bundle of papers, the word " Rubicon."

It does not appear that Commander Fleury was present at this last council. It is assured, however, that he did not remain inactive. What we are about to say of his part at that moment, has been related to us by a person worthy of credit, but we could not guaranty the perfect accuracy of the details.

Commander Fleury, toward midnight, fulfilled a mission of trust. A company of the *Gendarmerie Mobile* (Note 76) had received orders to occupy the National Printing-office, under any pretext whatever. This was the first material act of the *Coup d'Etat*. M. Fleury watched its execution. The march of the troop, and the occupation of the printing-office being effected, without giving the hint to the people, Commander Fleury had returned to the Elysian Palace, in order to inform the President that all was going on well.

Louis Napoleon then delivered the package of manuscripts to Colonel de Béville, who bore them to the printing-office, where the director, M. de Saint-Georges was waiting. The latter gave the order for the compositors. The workmen had been engaged the day before for an urgent task. The manuscripts were so cut into sections, that the compositors could not discover the sense of what

[1] *Nouveaux Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 344, 345.

they were composing. It is related, however, that in spite of this precaution, there was a certain distrust on their part, and a little inclination to refuse the work demanded. But they obeyed, and remained, each of them under the surveillance of two policemen, until all was finished. The company of gendarmery who occupied the printing-office were commanded by Captain Delaroche d'Oisy. His order was simple, says M. P. Mayer: "To shoot all who should try to go out, or to approach a window. Nothing clearer, but nothing more necessary also."

The manuscripts being printed, and a great number of copies struck off, they were carried, at about four or five o'clock in the morning, to the Prefecture of Police (Note 77).

During this time, at the Elysian Palace, Louis Napoleon wrote letters dismissing those of his ministers who were not initiated into his plan. He likewise signed a decree which appointed M. de Morny Minister of the Interior, in place of M. de Thorigny.

It is told that at about this time, a certain hesitation was manifested on the part of one of the persons engaged in the enterprise (Note 17), and that the energetic intervention of Commander Fleury was not ineffectual in causing this commencement of faint-heartedness to cease.

It probably was about half-past two o'clock, when the order destined for General Magnan was signed. That order reached him (according to M. Granier de Cassagnac) at about three o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock, the Minister of War, de Saint-Arnaud, and the Prefect of Police, de Maupas, were at their respective posts. M. de Morny was preparing for the dismission of M. de Thorigny, who mistrusted nothing.

Very soon M. de Maupas received the copies. The habitual bill-posters of the Prefecture of Police were waiting, quite ignorant of what they were to post up. The documents were distributed to them, and they dispersed in

all directions, escorted by the police. It was then about half-past six o'clock.

Incidents of great importance had already occurred in the interval. It is known that one of the essential points of the *Coup d'Etat* was the arrest of the representatives and citizens whose influence was feared. This was that part of the common task which fell to M. de Maupas especially. The number of persons to be thus arrested was seventy-eight, sixteen of whom were representatives of the people, inviolable by the terms of the Constitution.

"All alike," says M. Granier de Cassagnac,[1] "were watched, and as if kept in sight by invisible agents; and not one of those agents suspected the real object of his mission, all having received different and imaginary missions.

"The eight hundred police, and the detachments for safety, had been ordered to the Prefecture of Police, on the 1st of December, at eleven o'clock at night, under the pretext of the presence in Paris of refugees from London. At half-past three o'clock, on the morning of the second, the peace-officers and the forty commissaries of police, were convoked at domicile. At half-past four o'clock, all had arrived and taken their stations in little groups, in separate rooms, in order to avoid questions.

"At five o'clock, all the commissaries, one by one, descended into the room of the Prefect, and received from his mouth the full and entire secret of the truth, with the necessary directions, instruments, and orders. The men had been adapted, with special care, to the kind of operation intrusted to them; and all departed, full of zeal and ardor, resolved to accomplish their duty at every cost. No one failed in his promise."

One of the things that will undoubtedly most surprise posterity, in the events we are narrating, will be the unanimity of the forty commissaries of police, in joining in the

[1] In his *Récit Complet et Authentique*, etc., p. 5.

plans confided to them by M. de Maupas. It was requisite that they should become accomplices, in an act qualified by Article 68 of the Constitution as the crime of high treason. It was required that they should arrest inviolable representatives, — an act which the Constitution equally qualified as a crime. None of these magistrates was ignorant of the law. Yet none hesitated. The Prefect of Police delivered them warrants of arrest, prepared in advance, all uniformly grounded upon the accusation of "complot against the security of the State, and of the keeping of arms of war."

M. Mayer, who professes a special admiration for M. de Maupas, says on this subject: —

"He needed above all, that warmth of heart, that enthusiasm of devotion, of which youth but excites the impulses. What responsibility, to sign his name, without any hesitation, and in time of peace, to the order for the arrest of generals and representatives, who were considered the military and parliamentary glories of France!"[1]

Among the representatives to be arrested, were four of the most illustrious generals France possessed: Messieurs Bedeau, Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Lamoricière; two other superior officers of high distinction, — General Leflô, and Lieutenant-colonel Charras; one of the glories of the French tribune, — M. Thiers. The other representatives designated by the warrants, mostly Republicans (Note 78), all men of heart and of strong convictions, were, — Messieurs Baze, Quæstor of the Assembly; Beaume, Captain Cholat, Greppo, Lagrange, Miot, Nadaud, Roger (du Nord), and Lieutenant Valentin (Note 79).

But before relating the details of these arrests, we ought to tell how one of the most puzzling measures of the plan of the *Coup d'Etat*, the occupation of the Palace of the National Assembly, was accomplished.

The guard of the Assembly was composed of a battalion

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, p. 55.

of infantry of the line, which was changed every day, and a battery of artillery. These troops were quartered in the dependencies of the palace. They obeyed Lieutenant-colonel Niol, the military commandant of the Assembly, which office depended only upon the National Assembly itself. The major of the guard, and the captain of the battery, took their orders from Lieutenant-colonel Niol alone. It was not thought of winning over the military commandant of the Assembly; his well-known character did not permit that any one should propose to him an act which he would have considered treason.

The occupation of the palace was, however, essential to the success of the plan of the *Coup d'Etat.*

It was well known how far to count upon the firmness of the President of the National Assembly, M. Dupin, and it was cared little about; but the energy of the quæstors, M. Baze and General Leflô, who, like M. Dupin, lodged in the palace, was feared. If they, as well as Lieutenant-colonel Niol, were not taken by surprise, they might close the gratings of the palace, and fortify themselves there; the troops of the guard kept by these two superior officers, might resist, and the success of the *Coup d'Etat* be more than compromised.

A colonel of infantry, initiated in the project of the *Coup d'Etat* — M. Espinasse (Note 55), then commanding the 42d of the line — was charged with the execution of the surprise of the palace. A battalion of his regiment had been designated, on the 1st of December, for guarding the Assembly. The commander of this battalion was not informed of anything; he received his orders, as usual, from Lieutenant-colonel Niol. Toward midnight, General Leflô reëntered his apartment, after having assured himself, as he had done for some time, that the guards and sentry were stationed conformably to the habitual directions. At two o'clock in the morning, the major of the guard, while making his round, observed

movements to and fro. The first captain-adjutant had been ordered out of the palace by Colonel Espinasse, without plausible reason. The major, uneasy, sought to enter the apartment of the military commandant; he could not find his bedroom. New indications having alarmed him still more, at about half-past five o'clock in the morning, he recommenced his search for Lieutenant-colonel Niol, found him at last, and communicated to him his mistrusts. The military commandant arose in haste; — it was too late. The first captain-adjutant had opened the gate, on the side toward University Street, to Colonel Espinasse, who had already penetrated the palace with the two other battalions of his regiment. The major of the guard, going out from Colonel Niol's, perceived his colonel at the head of the soldiers, in the passage leading to the President's house (Note 80). He ran toward him, and said: —

"My Colonel, what do you come here to do?"

"To take the command, and to execute the orders of the Prince."

"O, you dishonor me, Colonel!"

Saying this, the loyal officer tore off his epaulets, broke his sword, and cast them all at the feet of M. Espinasse. We regret that we do not know his name. [We have learned his name since the publication of the first editions of this book; this loyal soldier was M. Meunier.] Dr. Véron says in his *Mémoires*, that this soldier resigned as early as the next day, and renounced his rank, rather than concur in what was being accomplished.

Colonel Espinasse had ordered him aloof, through his grenadiers, and, guided by one of the policemen attached to the service of the Assembly, had rapidly proceeded toward the apartment of the military commandant of the palace. Lieutenant-colonel Niol had not finished dressing himself. They pounced upon his sword. "You do well to take it," said he to Colonel Espinasse, "for I should have run it through your body." They arrested him.

All this had occurred with extreme rapidity. The two battalions of the 42d relieved all the guards, and occupied all the outlets of the palace. The artillery of the guard retreated without making a show of resistance.

Thus, that memorable *coup de main* was accomplished.

M. de Persigny, who had watched its execution, ran to the Elysian Palace, to announce its success.

At the same time with M. Espinasse, the two commissaries of police charged with arresting the quæstors, entered the palace.[1] One of these commissaries, M. Primorin, followed by a certain number of policemen, and supported by a company of the 42d of the line, arrived at the door of M. Baze's apartments. He rang gently. A female servant came to open the door. The police sprang inside, and penetrated to the bedroom of M. Baze. The Representative, suddenly aroused, was putting on his dressing-gown. They threw themselves upon him. M. Baze, indignant, protested in the name of his parliamentary inviolability, and cried Treason! The police listened to nothing. M. Baze, whose anger made him ten times as strong, resisted with unspeakable energy. Madame Baze, half clothed, ran to a window to call assistance; the police laid their hands on her. Her exasperated husband continually struggled. Overpowered at last by the police, he was carried, or dragged, almost absolutely naked, to the station on the side next to Bourgogne Square. There only, was he able to dress himself. Half an hour afterwards, a carriage conducted him, under escort, to the Mazas prison.

M. Bertoglio was the Commissary of Police instructed to arrest General Leflô, the colleague of M. Baze in the quæstorate. The well-known energy of the General, rendered this task not less difficult than that which M. Primorin was executing at the same moment. The General was asleep. M. Bertoglio, followed by his agents, penetrated the room in which the young son of the General, eight

[1] Of the Assembly.

years of age, was lying. The child awoke. M. Bertoglio reassured him, and told him that he had an important communication to make to the quæstor. The child, without distrust, conducted M. Bertoglio and his policemen into the bedroom of his father. The General sprang out of bed; they threw themselves upon him. He protested with extreme energy and indignation. He appealed to the loyalty of the soldiers present, and struggled and resisted as long as possible. Madame Leflô, suffering, and five months *enceinte*, was present at this deplorable scene. The young son of the General, victim of a pang beyond his age, conjured the police not to hurt his father, whom he sobbingly reproached himself with having given up by his simple imprudence. Nevertheless, the General became calm; dressed himself in his uniform, and told M. Bertoglio that he would follow him. Arrived at the foot of the stairs, the General found himself facing Colonel Espinasse, who was watching the arrest. He apostrophized him with vehemence, characterizing the part he was enacting in terms of quite military bluntness. M. de Cassagnac adds, in his *Récit:* "Colonel Espinasse imposed silence, and the soldiers crossed their bayonets upon him." It would be more exact to say that Colonel Espinasse *tried* to impose silence, for the intrepid General did not cease to appeal to the loyalty of the soldiers, who filled the palace of the Assembly, until the moment when thrown into a hackney-coach, among several policemen, he was carried off to Mazas. General Leflô has often related the response which he received at that time from a superior officer of the 42d. We will repeat it; it is characteristic of the dominant sentiment in the ranks of the army on the 2d of December. "What!" said General Leflô, on perceiving that officer,—"You, an old soldier; you consent to become an accomplice in treason; to lay your hands upon your chief?" "Go," replied the officer; "we have enough of lawyer-generals and general-lawyers."

It was then between half-past six and seven o'clock in the morning. A display of a considerable number of troops was maintained about the approaches of the National Assembly, and of the Elysian Palace, where the President was. The Ripert brigade occupied the Palace of the Assembly, the 42d regiment of the line forming part of that brigade; the Forey brigade occupied the Orsay quay; the Dulac brigade was massed in the Garden of the Tuileries; the de Cotte brigade was in the Place de la Concorde; the Canrobert brigade was posted in Marigny Avenue, and around the Elysian Palace; the Reybell brigade of lancers, and General Korte's division of cuirassiers, were massed in the Elysian Fields (Note 81). These troops, entirely united under the hand of Louis Napoleon, so to speak — did not amount to less than twenty-five thousand of infantry, and six thousand of artillery.

While the surprise of the Palace of the Assembly was being effected, and the quæstors were being arrested under the circumstances that have been mentioned, other projected arrests were made with the same success. We will not relate them all in detail; all these cases are analogous; neither do we consider it necessary to insist upon the notorious falsity of certain accounts of these arrests, published by divers admirers of the *Coup d'Etat*, some weeks after the events. The contempt of honest people has long since done justice to the productions of the pretended historians, whose specialty, after each revolution, or each reaction, indifferently, is to slabber upon the vanquished.

The arrest of General Changarnier (Note 25, *ante*), who was particularly feared on account of his authority over the army, and of his well-known energy, was considered the most important. The Commissary of Police, Lerat, and Captain Baudinet of the Republican Guard, were charged with this duty. They were two bold men, perfectly fitted for this mission. They were accompanied by fifteen of the police, equally well fitted, and by forty soldiers of

the Republican Guard. General Changarnier, who had for a long time kept upon his guard, no longer mistrusted anything. The private communications of ex-Prefect of Police Carlier, we are assured, had persuaded him that the *Coup d'Etat* was indefinitely postponed.

Commissary Lerat presented himself, at a few minutes after six o'clock, at the door of the General's house, No. 3, in the street of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré. The doorkeeper refused to open. While one of the police was talking with and detaining him, the commissary and his men entered the house by a grocery which was kept beside the main door of the entrance. The doorkeeper had already given the alarm, but the police precipitated themselves into the main stairway. Upon the landing of the second floor, they met the servant of the General, with a key in his hand; they wrenched it from him, it was that of the apartment. The commissary opened the door. The General, barefooted, in his shirt, appeared with a pistol in his hand; they threw themselves upon him, and disarmed him. Some moments afterward he was thrown into a carriage and taken to Mazas, under the escort of the mounted Republican Guards.

The task of arresting the illustrious General Bedeau (Note 82), a man of the noblest character, of the greatest probity, of the most remarkable talents that have ever adorned the French army, — this task, we say, had fallen to the Commissary of Police Hubault, Jr. The General lived at No. 50 University Street.

M. Granier de Cassagnac says he used cunning with the the doorkeeper, and succeeded in reaching the door of the General's apartment without the alarm having been given. The details that are to follow may be considered as being but the reproduction of the account which the General himself gave, somewhat later, of the circumstances of his arrest.[1]

[1] Compare our version with that of M. Granier de Cassagnac, in his *Récit Complet et Authentique*, etc., pp. 9, 10. This time, the official narrator has not too much disfigured the physiognomy of the scene.

M. Hubault, Jr. rang the bell. The General's servant, who opened the door, thought it was M. Valette, Secretary to the President of the Assembly, and went to the bedroom, announcing "M. Valette." The commissary kept close behind, followed by five or six policemen, went up to the bed of the General, who was hardly awake, and said to him: "I am commissary of police; I come to arrest you."

"I doubt it. You are probably ignorant that I am a Representative of the people; the Constitution shelters me; you cannot arrest me; it would be a crime."

"I know who you are, but I have a warrant, and I do not know but there has been a flagrant crime."

"Yes, the flagrant crime of sleeping; but tell me your name."

"I am Hubault, Jr., Commissary of Police."

"I know your name; it has been honorably mentioned several times; but since you are a magistrate, your duty is to cause the law to be respected and not to violate it. To arrest me would be an outrage."

M. Hubault then read the warrant for arrest, signed by de Maupas. General Bedeau, hearing the words "complot," "and keeping arms of war," invited M. Hubault to put the official seal upon the papers. The commissary refused, and summoned the General to rise without making resistance. "I am in force," he added.

"Had it pleased me to resist you," replied M. Bedeau, "I know what it is to risk my life, and yours would have lasted no longer. Make these people go out; I am about to dress myself."

The General dressed himself with "desperate" slowness, according to the expression of M. de Cassagnac. He wished to gain time until it was day. The noise of his arrest spreading in the vicinity, he hoped to be delivered by the people. When he was at last clothed, he stood back against the fire-place, and said to the commissary, with perfect calmness, "I have warned you of the constitu-

tional privilege that covers me; I have tried to make you understand the depth of the crime you are committing; now, go to the very utmost, if you will; call in your men, — I will not go hence until I am dragged out."

M. Hubault, Jr. called his policemen, and commanded them to seize the General. "See here," said M. Bedeau to them, — "dare you wrest from here, like a malefactor, General Bedeau, Vice-President of the National Assembly?" The police hesitated for a moment. M. Hubault, Jr. set them the example: he seized the collar of the General; the police then fell upon the Vice-President of the National Assembly, and dragged him in spite of his resistance to the carriage that was waiting at the door. General Bedeau cried loudly, "Treason! I am the Vice-President of the National Assembly." Some passers-by had stopped. The General saw them; he told his name, and cried with new energy, — "Treason! I am General Bedeau! Help, Citizens! They are arresting the Vice-President of the National Assembly!"

Already the passers-by were grouping together; citizens were running up with the intention of lending the General a strong hand, when a swarm of policemen, with drawn swords, sallied out from the Rue du Bac (Ferry Street) and dispersed the crowds. The carriage into which the General had been thrown, started off at a rapid rate, accompanied by police.

Arrived at Mazas prison, General Bedeau appealed to the loyalty of the soldiers of the guard. The latter did not seem to understand what he said to them, and in reality they did not.

General de Lamoricière (Note 83) was taken by surprise, almost as General Bedeau had been — by Commissary of Police Blanchet. The police were in his bedroom before he had had time to come to his senses. This occurred in Las Cases Street, No. 11.

M. Granier de Cassagnac relates that the General, cast-

ing his eyes upon the chimney-piece, inquired what had become of the money that he had placed there. His servant answered that he had put it in safety. Commissary Blanchet took offense at the General's remark. "Who tells me you are not malefactors?" replied M. de Lamoricière. The General, conducted in a cab with the police, passed the front of the post of the Legion of Honor. He put his head to the door, and tried to harangue the soldiers. Commissary of Police Blanchet took a gag from his pocket and threatened to gag M. de Lamoricière if he said a single word.

M. de Cassagnac, who tells this incident, undoubtedly feels taken with some scruple with regard to the gag, for he limits himself to saying, "The commissary did not allow him to offer a word, and remarked to him that he should be compelled to treat him with rigor, if he should make a new attempt."

The exact detail that we give has been many times affirmed by the General; his living friends will bear witness to it.

Commissary of Police Courteille was instructed to arrest Colonel Charras (Note 59, *ante*). The door of the colonel's apartment, at No 14, in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, was forced in. Having entered his bedroom, Commissary Courteille sprang upon a double-barreled pistol that was lying at hand. Colonel Charras reassured him. 'It is discharged," said he; "I did not longer believe in the *Coup d'Etat;* it is fortunate for you that you did not come some days sooner; I would have blown out your brains."

We regret being unable to relate in detail all the incidents of the arrest of Colonel Charras. We have them, however, from a good source. The republican convictions of the late lamented Colonel, inspired him, in that sad circumstance, with a language and attitude which Commissary Courteille, if he still lives, has certainly not forgotten.

We shall pass rapidly over the other arrests; not that all did not present incidents worthy of interest, but because

we do not wish to fatigue the reader by the repetition of details necessarily condemned to similarity of expression.

General Cavaignac (Note 14, *ante*) was arrested in his house, No. 17 Helder Street, by Commissary Colin.

Commissary Hubault, Sr. seized M. Thiers (Note 34, *ante*) at No. 1 Saint George's Place.

Is it necessary to say that the libellers, who have represented the illustrious parliamentarian as trembling, terrified, like a child detected in a fault, have odiously lied? The attitude of M. Thiers was as worthy as that of General Bedeau, which is saying not a little.

The disgusting details that have been given concerning the arrest of Representative Greppo, the brave and honest Lyonese workman, are as false, and even more odious. This arrest was effected by Commissary Gronfier. We are convinced that the authors of these recitals will look at them a second time before renewing them to-day, as the calumniated are no longer the vanquished and exiled only, against whom everything is permitted.

Lieutenant Valentin, a representative of the republican Left, a young officer of rare energy, was surprised as he sprang out of bed, by Commissary of Police Dourlens, and his agents. It never could be explained, otherwise than by the treachery of a servant, how the police so abruptly penetrated his bedroom.

M. Martin Nadaud, the mason, representative from the Department of the Creuse, and particularly feared on account of his influence over a part of the working population, was arrested by M. Desgranges, Commissary of Police. At his place they employed subterfuge. The commissary pretended simply a visit, and prevailed upon M. Nadaud to accompany him to his office. The representative entered the carriage with the commissary and a single policeman. It was during the journey that M. Desgranges read his warrant, and announced to M. Nadaud that he was taking him to Mazas.

Representatives Beaume, Cholat, Lagrange, Miot, and Roger (of the North), were arrested at the same time that their colleagues were.

All these prisoners were taken to Mazas.

A superior officer, Colonel Thiérion, had taken command of the prison by order of the President, dating from the second of December. He had established himself there at five o'clock in the morning. Troops of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, guarded the approaches.[1]

M. Thiérion had to bear more than one moral shock that morning. The Representatives protested with energy against their incarceration. Colonel Charras, perceiving M. Thiérion near the director of Mazas, sharply apostrophized him. "Here," said he, "is an officer of the army, a Commander of the Legion of Honor; this must be an honest man; I call him to witness the violence done to an officer of the National Assembly!" M. Thiérion turned away. Colonel Charras could not see his face, and for a long time was ignorant of his name, and of his real quality.

At the same time with the sixteen representatives, of whose arrest we have just given an account, the police took to Mazas about seventy-eight citizens, known for the energy of their republican convictions, and feared as "chiefs of barricades."

Here are the names of some of them.[2]

Among those whose names have not been cited, was M. Deluc, who escaped the police, fought valiantly during the following days, and succeeded, after the defeat, in reaching Belgium.

While the arrests were being effected, M. de Morny installed himself in the Ministry of the Interior; politely dismissed M. de Thorigny; and got ready to telegraph

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, etc., by Granier de Cassagnac, vol. ii. p. 402.

[2] Here follow 41 names, which we do not reproduce here, as they are not of interest to the foreign reader. — *Amer. Translators.*

to all the prefects, the news of the work accomplished by the President. The author of this book has related in another work — *La Province en Décembre*, 1851, — the reception given in the departments to the dispatches of M. de Morny.

All that we have just traced out was accomplished by seven o'clock in the morning. At the same hour the bill-posters had finished their task; and there were to be read, placarded upon the walls of Paris, the following official documents: —

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

The President of the Republic

Decrees: —

Art. I. The National Assembly is dissolved.

Art. II. Universal Suffrage is reëstablished. The Law of 31st of May is abrogated.

Art. III. The French people are convoked in their places of election from December 14 to December 21.

Art. IV. Martial Law is established throughout the extent of the First Military Division (Note 84).

Art V. The Council of State is dissolved.

Art. VI. The Ministry of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present Decree.

Done at the Elysian Palace, the second of December, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

The Ministry of the Interior

"DE MORNY."

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.
APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

Frenchmen! The present situation cannot longer endure. Every day that passes aggravates the dangers of the country. The Assembly, which ought to be the strongest support of order, has become the principal seat of complots. The patriotism of three hundred of its members has been unable to arrest its fatal tendencies. Instead of making laws in the general interest, it forges arms for civil war; it strives after the power that I hold directly from the people; it encourages all the evil passions; it

compromises the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the whole people the judge between it and myself.

The Constitution, you know, had been made with the object of weakening in advance the power which you sought to entrust to me. Six millions of votes were a signal protest against it, and nevertheless I have faithfully observed it. Provocations, the calumnies, the outrages, found me immovable. But to-day — since the fundamental pact is no more respected by those even who unceasingly invoke it, and since the men who have already lost two monarchies wish to bind my hands, in order to overthrow the Republic, — my duty is to baffle their perfidious schemes, to maintain the Republic, and to save the country by invoking the solemn judgment of the only sovereign whom I recognize in France, — the people.

I make then a loyal appeal to the entire nation; and I say to you: If you wish to continue this state of uneasiness, which degrades us and compromises our future, choose another in my place; for I do not desire authority that is powerless to do good, renders me responsible for acts I cannot prevent, and chains me to the rudder when I see the vessel bearing toward the abyss.

If, on the contrary, you still have confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the grand mission which I hold from you.

That mission consists in closing the era of revolutions, by satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and by protecting them against subversive passions. It consists, above all, in creating institutions that survive mankind, and that finally are the foundations upon which something durable may be based.

Persuaded that the instability of authority, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the following basis of a Constitution, which the assemblies will develop at a later period: —

1. A responsible head elected for ten years.

2. Ministers dependent upon the executive power alone.

3. A Council of State, formed of the most distinguished men, preparing laws, and supporting their discussion before the Legislative Body.

4. A Legislative Body, discussing and voting the laws, elected by universal suffrage, — without balloting for lists, which falsifies the election.

5. A second Assembly, formed from the celebrities of the country; a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental pact, and of the public liberties.

This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given France repose and prosperity; it would guaranty them to her again.

Such is my profound conviction. If you share it, declare the same by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without strength, monarchical or republican, drawn from I know not what past, nor from what chimerical future, — answer negatively.

Thus then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with full knowledge of the case; well knowing for whom, and for what.

If I do not obtain the majority of your votes, then I shall convene a new assembly, and I shall remit to it the mandate 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 1789, and organized by the Emperor — is always yours, — proclaim it by consecrating the powers which I ask from you.

Then, France and Europe will be preserved from anarchy, all obstacles removed, rivalries will have disappeared; for all will respect, in the decision of the people, the decree of Providence.

Done at the Elysian Palace, the second of December, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE ARMY.

Soldiers! Be proud of your mission; you will save the country; for I rely upon you, not to violate the laws, but to cause the first law of the land to be respected; — the national sovereignty, of which I am the legitimate representative.

For a long time you suffered, like me, obstacles that opposed both the good which I wished to do toward you, and the demonstrations of your sympathy in my favor.

These obstacles are broken. The Assembly sought to make an attempt upon the authority which I hold from the entire nation; — it has ceased to exist.

I make a loyal appeal to the people, and to the army, and I say to them: "Either give me the means of assuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place."

In 1830, as in 1848, you were treated as if conquered. After having dishonored your heroic disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and wishes; and nevertheless you are the *elite* of the nation. To-day, in this solemn moment, I desire that the army should make its voice heard.

Vote then freely as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the head of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the soldier. It is for myself — responsible for my deeds before the people and before posterity — to take the measures which seem to me indispensable for the public good.

As to yourselves, remain unshaken in the rules of discipline and honor. Aid the country by your imposing attitude, to manifest its will with calmness and reflection. Be ready to repress every attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

Soldiers! I do not speak to you of the remembrances that my name calls up. They are engraved upon your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is my own. There is between us in the past a community of glory and misfortune; there will be in the future a community of sentiments, and resolves for the repose and grandeur of France.

Done at the Elysian Palace, the second of December, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF PARIS.

Inhabitants of Paris! The President of the Republic, by initiative courage, has just baffled the machinations of the parties, and put an end to the pangs of the country.

It is in the name of the people, in their interest, and for the maintenance of the Republic, that the event has been accomplished.

It is to the judgment of the people, that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte submits his conduct.

The grandeur of the act causes you to sufficiently comprehend with what imposing and solemn calmness the free exercise of popular sovereignty should be manifested.

To-day, then, let order be our flag; let all good citizens, animated like myself with love for the country, lend me their concurrence with unfaltering resolution.

Inhabitants of Paris! Have confidence in him whom six millions of suffrages have raised to the first magistracy of the country. When he calls the entire people to express its will, the factious alone could wish to place obstacles in its way.

Every attempt at disorder, therefore, will be promptly and inflexibly repressed.

Paris, the second of December, 1851.

The Prefect of Police.

DE MAUPAS.

If we had not interdicted ourselves from all judgments, all opinions concerning the act of the second of December, we should dwell at length upon these proclamations and and decrees.

But, as we have circumscribed our task within the narrow limits of a simple narrative, our comments will be confined to the elimination of that which, in these proclamations, exercised an immediate effect in some material way, upon the current of events we have still to trace out.

The reader will undoubtedly have been struck with the following prominent features: —

1. The law of the 31st of May is abrogated; universal suffrage is reëstablished.

2. The act of the second of December is determined upon because of the complots of the royalist majority: it is directed against *the men who have already lost two monarchies*, and who wish to *overthrow the Republic*.

3. The President has but one object: *to maintain the Republic*, and to save the country by making an appeal to the sovereignty of the people.

The proclamation to the soldiers alone has a different character. The imperialist idea is disclosed therein, but it is extremely veiled.

It is essential to note these observations if one desires to comprehend the subsequent events.

What was the impression produced upon the Parisian populace, by the reading of the proclamations, and by the news of the events of the night?

Here witnesses are abundant. Whilst coming from the most varied sources — from approvers as well as from adversaries of the *Coup d'Etat*, — they agree in a remarkable manner.

It is certain that, from the first moment, the act of the President was very differently looked upon by the people and by the *bourgeoisie*.

Most of the laboring people saw in the *Coup d'Etat*, and in the proclamations, only the points that we have made prominent: the reëstablishment of universal suffrage; the fall of the royalist majority; and the preservation of the Republic. The sentiment of violated law concerned them but little. Undoubtedly there were numerous exceptions, but we are noting the dominant impressions.

Treated as enemies by the majority of the Legislative Assembly; despoiled, to the extent of millions, of their right of suffrage; accustomed to seeing their ideas, their aspirations — Utopian, if you please — spit upon in the tribune by the parliamentary chiefs of the Right; persuaded, among other things, that the majority conspired for a monarchical restoration, the laboring men remained indifferent, when they saw the old majority driven out by the President. Besides, fostering, since June, deep rancors against the middling classes, who had shown themselves unmerciful toward them, they did not deem it a duty to interest themselves to an unusual degree in what appeared to them, at first, as a simple quarrel between Louis Napoleon and the middle classes. It may be said that the first impression of the popular masses was summed up in this phrase, real or apocryphal, attributed to Representative Lagrange: "It is well played."

Moreover, the people, in the morning, knew only of the arrest of Thiers, Changarnier, Lamoricière, Cavaignac, and those whom they considered enemies. It was at a much later period, when the suburbs (*faubourgs*) learned that the executive power struck at the advanced Republicans much more vigorously than at the parliamentary royalists.

These first popular impressions were modified in a great measure the next day; nevertheless, up to the last day — we mean up to the 5th of December, — they preponderated.

The liberal *bourgeoisie*, on the contrary, felt itself directly assailed by the *Coup d'Etat*. Thus, it may be said that with the exception of the ultra-conservative portion, the middle class in Paris pronounced itself against the President.

Surprised at first, stupefied, disconcerted by the extraordinary success of the measures of the night, yet the *bourgeoisie* was not slow in the recovery of its senses, and proceeded to discuss the matter.

A historiographer of the *Coup d'Etat*, from whom we shall have to borrow considerably, — Captain Mauduit, — in his book entitled *Révolution Militaire du 2 Décembre*, relates, with a simplicity which is the guarantee of his sincerity, the impression produced upon him, on that first day, by the language and attitude of the *bourgeoisie*. M. Mauduit perambulated the boulevards: —

"I walked," says he, "winding about in the midst of that throng of good company, studying its mind, its intentions, its wishes. Its sentiments were evidently hostile to the President, and to the army. I deplored this, for there were present a great number of persons for whom the uniform should always have a sacred character, whatever may be the trial to which the man who wears it may have to submit! . . . . . The spirit of party should never go so far as to despise the virtue of military duty. . . . . But alas! in our days, what virtue is sheltered from political hatred?" (p. 149.)

There, where the laboring people had seen only the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the Republicans of the middle class saw clearly the military dictatorship, the indefinite suspension of all liberty, and the restoration of the Empire, after a brief delay. Nevertheless, as it is not a

habit of the Parisian *bourgeoisie* to struggle violently and openly, ere the laboring people shall have given a sign of material resistance — the anger of the middle class was exhaled in verbal protests, in cries of "*Vive la Constitution! Vive la République!*" — a sort of resistance little feared by those who control sixty thousand devoted bayonets. It is known that such measures had been taken that the call of the National Guard could not be beaten. These measures attained their object. The National Guard, which might have spontaneously assembled in the mean time, showed itself nowhere. It must be added, also, that the Parisian *bourgeoisie*, struck with the apparent isolation of Louis Napoleon — no man conspicuous in politics, no distinguished general having given him his concurrence, — did not believe in the success of the *Coup d'Etat.* The remembrance of the results of the previous enterprises of Louis Napoleon, at Strasbourg and at Boulogne, came so often to their minds, that it was candidly expected to see some superior officer suddenly supervene — as Colonel Talandier did in the barracks of Finemat, at Strasbourg, — who would recall the troops to obedience to the legal power, the National Assembly, and who would abruptly terminate what many people persisted in looking upon as ridiculous foolhardiness.

But it is unnecessary to dwell longer upon these diverse impressions of the Parisian populace. The account of the subsequent facts will fully bring them to view.

The republican newspapers might, without doubt, have modified the first sentiments of the working people. Measures had been taken to reduce them to silence. As early as eight o'clock in the morning, the printing-offices of all the republican journals, as well as those of a great number of conservative sheets, were occupied by armed forces.

The *National*, the *Siècle*, the *République*, the *Révolution*, the *Avénement du Peuple*, whose influence was most feared, could not publish a single number.

Publication was permitted to the *Constitutionnel* and the *Patrie* alone, — sheets which for a long time had urged on the *Coup d'Etat* and the restoration of the Empire.

During the first hours of the morning — when the people surprised, agitated by so different impressions, grouped together around the placards, commenting upon them, eagerly received the news of the night — some incidents worthy to be related in detail occurred in the palace of the National Assembly, and a little later at the mayor's office of the tenth district.

CHAPTER IV.

THE President of the National Assembly, M. Dupin, was still sleeping when Colonel Espinasse, already master of the palace, supervised the arrest of the quæstors. As we have already said, Louis Napoleon and his confidants, taking Dupin's energy for just what it was worth, were not concerned about him. M. Granier de Cassagnac informs us[1] that Colonel Espinasse came in person to advise M. Dupin, "in very courteous terms," of what was occurring. M. Dupin had the courage — according, also, to M. Granier de Cassagnac — to cause the Representatives, his colleagues, to be immediately convoked at their domiciles.

As early as eight o'clock in the morning, a certain number of members of the Left, among whom were Michel (of Bourges), Pierre Lefranc, Versigny, Dupont, Theodore Bac, etc., had assembled at the house of their colleague, M. Yvan, one of the secretaries of the Assembly. They were unanimously of opinion that it was necessary to try all means of resistance. Messieurs Bac and Yvan were instructed to ascertain what the members of the majority meant to do. They called upon M. Benoit d'Azy, one of the vice-presidents, M. Léon Faucher, and lastly upon Odilon Barrot, successively.

These steps did not end in any precise result. M. Benoit d'Azy seemed but half inclined to act. M. Léon Faucher, a minister of the President of the Republic but a few weeks before, was quite depressed. He said, with the accents of despair, "The projects I have combated so much, have become realities! Go and rejoin your

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, vol. i. p. 409.

friends; I go to rejoin my own. We must try to do what shall be possible in the common interest." M. Odilon Barrot was absent; but Madame Barrot, who received the republican representatives, communicated to them a protest already signed by several of their colleagues. This protest had been prepared shortly before, in a meeting at M. Barrot's house, by a certain number of representatives of the Right. Here is the tenor thereof: —

"In view of Article 68 of the Constitution, —

"*Whereas*, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, violating his oaths and the Constitution, has dissolved the Assembly, and has employed the public forces for the consummation of this outrage, —

"The undersigned members of the Assembly, having proved the violence made use of by the orders of the President, against a lawful meeting of the Assembly, and the arrest of its officers and several of its members, —

"*Declare*, that Article 68 of the Constitution indicates to each citizen the duties which he has to fulfill.

"*Therefore*, the President is declared destitute of his functions.

"The High Court of Justice is convoked. Every citizen is prohibited from obeying the orders of the forfeited authority, under pain of complicity therein.

"The Councils General are convoked, and will assemble immediately; they will appoint a commission from among themselves, charged with providing for the administration of the departments, and corresponding with the Assembly in such place as it shall have chosen for its meetings.

"Every general receiver, collector, or holder of any public moneys whatever, who shall give up the funds in his hands, upon any other order than that emanating from the regular power constituted by the Assembly, will be responsible from his own property, and, if necessary, punished with the penalties of complicity.

"Done and decreed the 2d of December, 1851.

"(*Signed*) Odilon Barrot, Chambolle, de Tocqueville, Gustave de Beaumont, Dufaure, Êtienne, Mispoulet, Oscar Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Hippolyte Passy, Piscatory, de Broglie, Duvesquier de Hauranne, de Corcelles, d'Hespel, de Luppé, de Sèze, Quillier de la Touche, Vaudoré, Chaper, Saint-Beuve, Bocher, de Laboulie, Vitet, de Montigny, de Montebello, Thuriot de la Rosière, Mathieu de la Redorte, Victor Lefranc, Benjamin Delessert," etc.

At the house of M. Daru, Vice-President of the National Assembly, a little afterward, a much more numerous meeting was held. The house inhabited by M. Daru, in Lille Street, was but a short distance from the palace of the Assembly. The representatives who had assembled there, decided to repair to the National Assembly. They arrived at about ten o'clock at Bourgogne Place. The 42d of the line, commanded by M. Espinasse, constantly occupied the approaches of the palace. The soldiers crossed their bayonets upon the representatives. The latter insisted. M. Daru, the vice-president, was violently repulsed; M. Moulin, one of the secretaries of the Assembly, received a contusion upon his head; M. de Larcy was slightly wounded by a bayonet thrust in the thigh; M. de Talhouet had his coat pierced. The representatives retired, and met again at M. Daru's house.

During this time, or rather a little before — the exact hours are difficult to fix, — a certain number of representatives, profiting by an order badly understood, had succeeded in entering by the small door of the President's house (of the Assembly), in University Street, and in introducing themselves into the hall of the sessions of the National Assembly. There were thirty or forty of them, among whom were a certain number of Republicans. A decree of forfeiture had been prepared and signed, when M. de Morny, warned of their presence, gave the order to cause the palace to be evacuated. President Dupin had not yet appeared.

Colonel Espinasse directed M. Saucerotte, commandant of the *gendarmerie mobile*, to execute the orders of M. de Morny. That officer presented himself in the hall of sessions, by the right lobby, followed by a detachment of soldiers.

At the sight of the armed force, the representatives protested with vehemence. M. Monet thus addressed Commandant Saucerotte: —

"You cannot be ignorant that this inclosure is exclusively reserved to the deliberations of the National Assembly; that no armed body has the right to enter it but by virtue of a requisition from the President of the Assembly."

"I have a formal order from my superior," responded the officer; "I summon you to retire."

"Such an order is a crime," replied M. Monet; "by executing it you render yourself an accomplice in an outrage severely punished by the criminal code." M. Monet then read to the troops Article 68 of the Constitution.

Commandant Saucerotte took no notice of it, and caused the soldiers to advance. The representatives shouted, *Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!* and were dragged from the hall only after having been violently wrested from their seats. General Leydet, a republican representative, an old man seventy-five years of age, showed in this sad circumstance a moral energy which had survived the wane of his physical powers.

In the meanwhile, two representatives, Messieurs Canet and Favreau, had gone to find President Dupin; they had literally pushed him nearly into the chamber of sessions; they were in the room known as the Casimir Périer Hall (Note 85), at the moment when the soldiers entered, crowding and dragging out the thirty or forty representatives expelled from the chamber of sessions. M. Dupin stopped here, or was compelled to stop. Representative Desmousseaux de Givré passed him his scarf (Note 86). M. Dupin stammered a few words to the troops about the respect due to the Constitution.

The effect produced by his words was, so to speak, photographed in the brutal remark of a soldier to one of his comrades — a remark heard and related by President Brillier (Note 87), — "That's all gammon!"

M. Granier de Cassagnac adds, that addressing himself to the venerable General Leydet, who was vehemently haranguing the soldiers, M. Dupin said, —

"It cannot be, General, that you are ignorant of, or despise the respect due to the order of a soldier; these troops have a chief; let us address ourselves to him."

M. de Cassagnac does not tell how the old Republican responded, and this omission is really a sorry one; for, if M. Dupin used this language, General Leydet must have reminded him of the sentiment of his dignity, as President of the National Assembly, in terms which people would like to know.

But what is well known, is, the last word pronounced on this memorable occasion, by President Dupin, one of the successors of Boissy d'Anglas (Note 88). Being strongly apostrophized by the representatives, who reproached him with his cowardice, M. Dupin responded, — "We have the right, that is evident; but these gentlemen have the power. There is nothing for us to do but to go away." And saying this he turned upon his heels.

The troops had no order to arrest the representatives. They were limited to driving them out of the palace. In Bourgogne Place, some of the expelled — Messieurs Fayolle, Treillard-Laterisse, Paulin-Durrieu — found Representatives Arbey, Toupet des Vignes, and General Radoult-Lafosse in the hands of the soldiers, whom they had just tried to harangue. They protested against the arrest. Colonel Gardarens de Boisse of the sixth regiment of the line, ordered the seizure of these also. They were arrested and taken prisoners to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where they were soon joined by Messieurs Eugène Sue, Benôit (of the Rhone), and Chanay, also prisoners (Note 89).

Those of the representatives driven from the palace of the Assembly who yet remained free, soon learned that their colleagues, assembled at M. Daru's, proposed to repair to the mayoralty of the tenth district, in order there to constitute themselves, in a regular way, a National Assembly. They directed themselves to that quarter.

A half score of republican representatives went to the house of M. Crémieux, which was near by. Scarcely had they arrived there when a strong detachment of police, supported by troops, surrounded the house, and arrested all of them. Conducted as prisoners, between two ranks of bayonets, these representatives came near being rescued at the height of *Pont Neuf* (New Bridge). Some citizens recognized M. Crémieux; they gathered in crowds around the escort; the republican Representative Malardier (of the Nièvre), whom chance had taken to this point, put on his scarf, and excited the people to rescue the prisoners. If the leader of the escort had not taken some energetic measures, which checked the unarmed crowd, he certainly would not have conducted his prisoners further.

In the mean time, the representatives were flowing into the mayoralty of the tenth district. That edifice, demolished now, was situate on the left bank of the Seine, in Grenelle Saint-Germain Street, near the cross-roads of the Red-Cross (*carrefour de la Croix-Rouge*). All the members of the Daru meeting were there. At this place they were joined by most of those who in the morning were at the house of M. Odilon Barrot, and by many other representatives who came singly. Toward eleven o'clock in the morning nearly three hundred members had assembled. Most of them belonged to the Right; there were, however, a certain number of Republicans among them.

The hall in which they were assembled formed a rectangle, at the extremity of which was a table occupying its whole width. The office was established at this table. Quite a considerable number of citizens — some of whom were of the National Guard, in uniform — had formed in groups at the foot of the hall, manifesting the intention of putting themselves at the disposition of the Assembly. At eleven o'clock in the morning it was organized.

The report of this last and so interesting meeting, was compiled through the care of two of the ordinary stenog-

raphers of the Assembly. This report has already been published several times in France; especially by M. Mayer,[1] a few weeks after the event. There exist two versions thereof, not differing otherwise than in some insignificant details. We shall give that which has seemed to us the most complete.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

(Extraordinary Session of December 2d, 1851, held in the great room of the mayoralty of the tenth district, at eleven o'clock in the morning.)

The directory is composed of Messieurs Benoist d'Azy and Vitet, Vice-Presidents; and Chapot, Moulin, and Grimault, Secretaries.

A lively commotion reigns in the hall, where about three hundred members are assembled, belonging to all the political shades.

THE PRESIDENT, M. VITET. — "The session is open."

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "Let us lose no time."

THE PRESIDENT. — "A protest has been signed by several of our colleagues; here is the text of it."

M. BERRYER. — "I think it is not proper for the Assembly to make protests. The National Assembly cannot repair to the ordinary place of its sessions. It assembles here. It ought to pass an act of the Assembly, and not a protest. ('Very good!' and applause.) I ask that we proceed as a free Assembly, in the name of the Constitution."

M. VITET. — "As we may be expelled by force, is it not well that we immediately convene in another place of session, either in Paris, or outside of Paris?"

NUMEROUS VOICES. — "In Paris! In Paris!"

M. BIXIO. — "I have offered my house."

M. BERRYER. — That will be the second object of our deliberations; but the first thing to be done by the Assem-

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre.*

bly, which is already sufficiently numerous, is to enact by a decree. I ask leave to remark upon the decree."

M. MONET. — "I beg leave to speak concerning an assault that has been made." (Noise and interruption.)

M. BERRYER. — "Let us lay aside all incidents. We have, perhaps, but a quarter of an hour to ourselves. Let us render a decree. ('Yes! Yes!') I ask that by the terms of Article 68 of the Constitution —

"*Whereas*, He has placed an obstacle to its authority—

"'The National Assembly decrees that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the Presidency of the Republic; and that in consequence, the executive power passes in full right to the National Assembly.' (Very lively and unanimous concurrence. 'To the vote!')

"I ask that the decree be signed by all the members present." (Yes! Yes!)

M. BECHART. — "I second that request."

M. VITET. — "We are to remain permanent."

THE PRESIDENT. — "The decree will be immediately printed by all the means at command. I put the decree to vote." (The decree is adopted unanimously, with mingled cries of "*Vive la Constitution!*" "*Vive la loi!*" *Vive la République!*")

The decree is prepared by the directory.

M. CHAPOT. — "Here is a plan of a proclamation which has been proposed by M. de Falloux."

M. DE FALLOUX. — "Let it be read."

M. BERRYER. — "We have other matters to attend to."

M. PISCATORY. — "The true proclamation is the decree."

M. BERRYER. — "It is a private meeting in which a proclamation is made. We are here in regular assembly."

SEVERAL VOICES. — "The Decree! The Decree! Nothing else!"

M. QUENTIN-BAUCHART. — "It must be signed."

M. PISCATORY. — "A suggestion how to hasten the work. We must circulate sheets which we must sign. We

will afterwards annex them to the decree." (Yes! Yes!) The sheets of paper are circulated in the Assembly.

A MEMBER. — "We must give the order to the Tenth Legion to defend the Assembly. General Lauriston is present."

M. BERRYER. — "Give a written order."

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "Let the call be beaten!"

An altercation takes place at the end of the hall, between certain representatives and citizens, whom the former wish to withdraw. One of the latter cries out:

"Gentlemen! In an hour, perhaps, we shall be slain for you!"

M. PISCATORY. — "One word; we cannot. . . . . (Noise). . . . . Listen! Pray listen! We ought not, we do not, wish to exclude auditors. Those who come will be very welcome. A sentence has just been spoken which I accepted: 'In an hour, perhaps, we shall be slain in behalf of the Assembly.' We cannot receive many persons; but those for whom there is room ought to remain here. ('Good! Good!') The tribune is public by the Constitution." (Marks of approval.)

DECREE.

PRESIDENT VITET. — "Here is the decree of requisition: 'The National Assembly, conformably to Article 32 of the Constitution, requires the Tenth Legion for the defense of the place of sessions of the Assembly.'

"I consult the Assembly."

The decree is voted unanimously; a certain agitation succeeds the vote. Several members speak at the same time.

M. BERRYER. — "I beseech the Assembly to preserve silence. The directory, which at this moment is preparing the decrees, and to whom I propose to remit all the authority for the different measures to be taken, needs calmness and silence. Those who wish to make a motion will be heard afterwards. But if every one speaks, it will be impossible to be heard." (Silence is reëstablished.)

A MEMBER. — "I ask that the Assembly remain permanent until forces are sent. If we were to separate before the forces arrive, we could not again assemble."

M. LEGROS-DESVEAUX. — "Yes! Yes! Permanence."

M. FAVREAU. — "I ask leave to state what occurred this morning in the Assembly. The Minister of the Navy had ordered Colonel Espinasse to cause the halls to be vacated. There were thirty or forty of us in the conference-room. We declared that we were going to the hall of sessions, and that we should stay there until they dared expel us. Some one went to find M. Dupin, who came, and found us in the hall of sessions. We gave him a scarf, and, when the troops presented themselves, he asked to speak to the chief. The Colonel appeared, and M. Dupin said to him: —

"'I feel that I have the law, and I speak in its language. You display here the muniments of force. I protest.'"

M. MONET. — "Present at this scene, I ask for the insertion in the minutes, of the act of violence that was committed against us. After the reading of Article 68 of the Constitution, which I gave upon the invitation of my colleagues, I was seized bodily, and violently torn from my desk."

M. DAHIREL. — "We, who received bayonet-thrusts, are not surprised at that."

Messieurs Odilon Barrot and de Nagle, arrive in the hall, and affix their signatures to the decree of forfeiture.

The President directs Mr. Hovyn-Tranchère to admit certain representatives detained at the door.

M. PISCATORY. — "I ask the Assembly to receive the report of a fact which seems to me important. I went to look after several of my colleagues who could not enter. The peace-officers told me that the mayor (Note 90) had given orders not to admit any one. I betook myself to the mayor's house, and he said to me, 'I represent the executive power, and I cannot allow the representatives to

enter.' I made known to him the decree which the Assembly had passed, and told him that there was no other executive power than the National Assembly (Approbation), and I withdrew. I thought it was well to make that declaration in the name of the Assembly. ('Yes! yes! Very good!') Some one says to me in passing, 'Make haste! In a few moments the troops will be here.'"

M. BERRYER. — "I demand, provisionally, that a decree order the mayor to leave the entrances to the hall free."

M. DE FALLOUX. — "It appears to me that we do not provide for two contingencies that seem to me very probable: The first is, in case your orders shall not be executed; the second, in case we shall be expelled from here. We must agree upon another place of meeting."

M. BERRYER. — "With the outsiders present, we should be doing what would be of little use. We can easily notify each other where we may meet. ('No! No!') A provisional decree" —

THE PRESIDENT. — "M. Dufaure has the floor. Silence! Gentlemen; the minutes are hours."

M. DUFAURE. — "The observation just made is quite correct. We cannot openly designate our place of meeting. But I ask that the Assembly confer upon its directory the right of selecting it. It will notify each member of the place of meeting, in order that each of us may go thither. Gentlemen — we are now the only defenders of the Constitution, of the right, of the Republic, of the country. ('Yes! yes! Very good!' Cries of '*Vive la République*'). Let us not be wanting in ourselves; and if we must succumb before brutal force, history will relate that to the latest moment we resisted by all the means that were in our power." (Bravos, and applause.)

DECREE.

M. BERRYER. — "I move that a decree of the National Assembly order all directors of prisons and jails to de-

liver, under penalty of forfeiture, the representatives who have been arrested."

This decree is put to vote by the President and unanimously adopted.

General Lauriston. — "The Assembly is not in a place of safety. The municipal authorities pretend that we have forced the doors, and that they cannot allow the mayoralty to be occupied by us. I know that the police agents have gone to warn the authorities, and that shortly imposing forces will compel us to vacate the hall."

A representative arrives, and cries, "Let us make haste, there are forces coming." (It is half-past twelve, noon.)

M. Antony Thouret enters and signs the decree of forfeiture, saying, "Those who do not sign are cowards."

At the moment of the announcement of the arrival of the armed force, a deep silence prevails. All the members of the directory mount their seats, in order to be seen by the whole of the Assembly, and by the commanders of the troops.

President Benoist d'Azy. — "Silence, gentlemen!"

The chiefs of the troops do not present themselves.

M. Antony Thouret. — "Since those in charge of the mayoralty do not enter this hall, in order to dissolve this meeting, which is the only lawful one, I ask that the President, in the name of the National Assembly, send a deputation who will summon the troops to retire, in the name of the people." (Yes! yes! Very good!)

M. Canet. — "I ask leave to be one of the party."

M. Benoist d'Azy. — "Be calm, gentlemen. Our duty is to remain in session and wait."

M. Pascal Duprat. — "You will defend yourselves only by revolution."

M. Berryer. — "We shall defend ourselves through the right."

Divers Voices. — "And the law, the law; no revolution."

M. PASCAL DUPRAT. — "We must send into all parts of Paris, and principally into the suburbs, and tell the people that the National Assembly exists; that the Assembly has at hand all the power of the law, and that in the name of the law, it makes an appeal to the people. It is your only means of safety." (Agitation and noise.)

SEVERAL MEMBERS at the end of the hall. — "They are coming up! they are coming up!" (Sensation, followed by profound silence.)

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "Not a word, gentlemen, not a word! Absolute silence! It is more than invitation, permit me to say; it is an order."

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "It is a sergeant; it is a sergeant whom they are sending."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "A sergeant is the representative of public force."

M. DE FALLOUX. — "If we have no force, let us at least have dignity."

A MEMBER. — "We shall have both." (Profound silence.)

THE PRESIDENT. — "Remain in your places; think that all Europe is looking upon you."

President Vitet, and M. Chapot, one of the secretaries, approach the door by which the troops are about to enter, and advance as far as the landing. A sergeant and a dozen of the Chasseurs of Vincennes of the 6th battalion, occupy the upper steps of the stairs.

M. Grévy, of Charency, and several other representatives, follow Messieurs Vitet and Chapot. Some persons, strangers to the Assembly, are also upon the landing. Among them, M. Beslay, an old member of the Constituent Assembly, is seen.

PRESIDENT VITET, addressing the sergeant. — "What do you wish? We are assembled by virtue of the Constitution."

THE SERGEANT. — "I execute the orders that I have received."

PRESIDENT VITET. — "Go speak to your chief."

M. CHAPOT. — "Tell your major to come up here."

A minute afterwards, a captain, acting as major, presented himself at the head of the stairs.

THE PRESIDENT, addressing that officer. — "The National Assembly is in session here. In the name of the law, in the name of the Constitution, we summon you to retire."

THE COMMANDANT. — "I have orders."

M. VITET. — "A decree has just been rendered by the Assembly, which declares that by virtue of Article 68 of the Constitution: *Whereas*, the President of the Republic obstructs the exercise of the rights of the Assembly, the President is destitute of his functions; all the officers and depositaries of public power and authority are bound to obey the National Assembly. — I summon you to withdraw."

THE COMMANDANT. — "I cannot withdraw."

M. CHAPOT. — "Under penalty of forfeiture, and of treason to the law, you are bound to obey, under your personal responsibility."

THE COMMANDANT. — "You know what a mere instrument is; I obey. Nevertheless, I will go and report immediately."

M. GRÉVY. — "Do not forget that you owe obedience to the Constitution, and to Article 68."

THE COMMANDANT. — "Article 68 was not made for me."

M. BESLAY. — "It was made for every one; you must obey it."

President Vitet and M. Chapot reënter the hall. M. Vitet reports to the Assembly what has just passed between himself and the major.

M. BERRYER. — "I ask that it be immediately declared, not only by act of the directory, but by a decree of the Assembly, that the army of Paris is charged with the defense of the National Assembly; and that it be en-

joined upon General Magnan, under penalty of removal, to place troops at the disposal of the Assembly." (Very good!)

M. PASCAL DUPRAT. — "He no longer commands."

M. DE RAVINEL. — "It is Baraguey-d'Hilliers (Note 91) who commands." (No! no! Yes it is! yes it is!)

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "Summon the general, without mentioning the name."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "I consult the Assembly."

The Assembly being consulted, unanimously votes the decree.

M. MONET. — "I ask that there be sent to the President of the Assembly, a duplicate of the decree that has been rendered, pronouncing the deposition."

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "There is no longer a president; there is one no longer!" (Agitation.)

M. PASCAL DUPRAT. — "Since we must say it, M. Dupin has acted cowardly. I ask that his name be not pronounced." (Considerable uproar.)

M. MONET. — "I meant the President of the High Court. We must send the decree to the President of the High Court."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "M. Monet proposes that the decree of deposition be sent to the President of the National High Court. I consult the Assembly."

The Assembly being consulted, adopts the decree.

M. JULES DE LASTEYRIE. — "I shall propose to you, gentlemen, to render a decree ordering the commandant of the army of Paris, and all colonels of legions of the National Guard, to obey the President of the National Assembly, under penalty of forfeiture; so that there may not be a man in the capital who knows not what his duty is, and that if he fails therein, it is treason against the country." (Very good! very good!)

M. DUFRAISSE. — "And the commandant of the National Guard of Paris."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "It is evident that the decree proposed applies to all functionaries and commandants."

M. DUFRAISSE. — "We must specify."

M. PASCAL DUPRAT. — "We have to fear in the Departments the spreading abroad of the vexatious decrees published this morning by the President of the Republic. I ask that the Assembly take some sort of measure for bringing to the knowledge of the Departments the attitude that we have taken here in the name of the National Assembly."

SEVERAL VOICES. — "Our decrees! our decrees are what is wanted!"

M. DE RESSEGUIER. — "I move that the directory be instructed to publish a proclamation to France."

VARIOUS VOICES. — "The decrees alone! the decrees!"

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "If it be possible for us to publish the decrees, all is accomplished; if not, we can do nothing."

M. ANTONY THOURET. — "We must send emissaries into Paris. Give me a copy of our decree."

M. RIGAL. — "I ask that all necessary measures be taken to have our decree published."

FROM ALL PARTS. — "That is done! that is done!"

A MEMBER. — "I move that the telegraph be put in requisition."

M. DE RAVINEL. — "Let the director (Note 92) be prevented from communicating with the Departments, except in order to transmit the decrees of the Assembly."

M. DUFRAISSE. — "I ask, if the Assembly think it useful to order it, that a decree be made, which shall prohibit all disbursers of the public funds from delivering the same, upon the orders of the present public functionaries." (That is done! that is done! It is comprised in the decree.)

M. COLFAVRU. — "As the decree says that all the attributes of the executive power pass to the Assembly."

M. DE MONTEBELLO. — "The pecuniary responsibility is of right."

M. ANTONY THOURET. — "It seems to me that the Assembly ought also to take into consideration the position of our colleagues, the generals at Vincennes." (Note 93.)

FROM ALL PARTS. — "That has been done; there is a decree made upon the motion of M. Berryer."

M. ANTONY THOURET. — "I beg pardon of the Assembly; it was because I came too late."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Never have we experienced the necessity of surrounding our president with more deference, submission, and consideration, than at this moment. It is well that he be invested with a kind of dictatorship, — permit the expression. (Objection on the part of some of the members.) I retract the expression if it awakens the least susceptibility. I mean, his word should obtain immediate respect and silence. Our strength, our dignity, are wholly in unity. We are united; there is no longer in the Assembly a Right side, nor a Left side. (Very good! very good!) We all have fibres to the heart; it is all France that is wounded at this moment." (Very good!)

"A single word. When the president thinks he ought to delegate one, or several of us, for any mission whatever, let us obey him. As for myself, I shall fully obey him. I wish it to be understood that all motions are to pass through the directory. Otherwise, what will happen? That — as M. Antony Thouret just did — motions will be reproduced, right in themselves, which have already been made and passed. Let us lose no time; but let everything pass through the directory. Let us obey the president. As for myself, I submit to his orders with the greatest acquiescence." (Very good!)

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "I believe that the strength of the Assembly consists in preserving a perfect

unity. I propose, conformably to opinions just expressed to me by several of the members, that General Oudinot (Note 94), our colleague, be invested with the command of the troops." (Very good! very good! bravo!)

M. TAMISIER. — "Undoubtedly General Oudinot, like all of our colleagues, will do his duty; but you ought to remember the Roman expedition, which he commanded." (Uproar; numerous objections.)

M. DE RESSEGUIER. — "You disarm the Assembly a second time."

M. DAMPIERRE. — "Be silent; you are killing us."

M. TAMISIER. — "Let me finish; you do not understand me."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "If there are divisions among us, we are lost."

M. TAMISIER. — "This is not a division; but what authority will he have over the people?"

M. BERRYER. — "Put the motion to vote, M. President."

M. PASCAL DUPRAT. — "We have among our colleagues a man who, under other circumstances, less difficult to be sure, knew how to resist the aggressive ideas of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. He is M. Tamisier." (Exclamations and noise.)

M. TAMISIER. — "But I am not known; what would you have me do?"

M. PISCATORY. — "In mercy, let us vote. Let it be well understood — what I am deeply convinced of, — that M. Tamisier, when he opposed the name of M. Oudinot, did not wish to lead to a division among us."

M. TAMISIER. — "No, I swear it! I did not concur, because I feared lest that nomination should not produce upon the people of Paris the effect which you anticipated from it."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "I am ready to submit to whatever orders may be given to me for the safety of my country. Thus, I shall accept any command."

FROM ALL PARTS. — "The vote! the vote! The nomination of General Oudinot."

The Chamber being consulted, passes a decree appointing General Oudinot commander-in-chief of the troops.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "One word only. M. President, and my colleagues, — I cannot decline any honor. That would be insulting my companions in arms. They did in Italy — they will do everywhere — their duty. To-day ours is marked out: it consists in obeying the orders of the president, because those orders will be derived from the rights of the National Assembly under the Constitution. (Very good!) Order, then; General Oudinot will obey. If he were wanting in popularity, he would have acquired it here even." (Very good! very good!)

M. DE SAINT-GERMAIN. — "I ask that the decree appointing General Oudinot, be prepared immediately. It is necessary that he have a copy of it."

THE MEMBERS OF THE DIRECTORY. — "It is being prepared."

While the members of the directory were preparing the decree, General Oudinot approached M. de Tamisier, and exchanged a few words with him.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "I have just offered to M. de Tamisier, the position of chief-of-staff. (Very good!) He accepts. (Very good! very good! Enthusiastic cheers.) I ask the president to cause to be immediately made known to the troops of the line the honor which you have just conferred upon me." (Very good!)

M. DE TAMISIER. — "Gentlemen, — you have given me a very difficult task, which I was not ambitious for. But before starting to execute the orders of the Assembly, permit me to swear that I go to defend the Republic." (Various voices, — Very good! *Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*)

At this moment the members who were near the door, announced that an officer of the 6th battalion of chasseurs (Note 95) was arriving with new orders.

General Oudinot advanced towards him, accompanied by M. de Tamisier. The latter read to the officer the decree appointing General Oudinot general-in-chief of the army of Paris.

GENERAL OUDINOT, to the officer. — "We are here in virtue of the Constitution. You see that the Assembly has just appointed me commander-in-chief. I am General Oudinot; you are bound to recognize his authority; you owe him obedience. If you should resist his orders, you would incur the most rigorous punishments. You would be immediately taken before the courts. I order you to withdraw immediately."

THE OFFICER (an under-lieutenant of the 6th chasseurs of Vincennes). — "My general, you know our position; I have received orders."

Two sergeants, by the side of the officer, pronounced some words, and seemed to encourage him to resistance.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Be silent, you! Let your chief speak; you have not the right to speak."

ONE OF THE SERGEANTS. — "Yes, I have the right."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Silence! Let your chief speak."

THE UNDER-LIEUTENANT. — "I am only the second in command. If you wish, make the first in command come up."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "So you resist?"

THE OFFICER, after a moment's hesitation. — "Positively."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "A written order is to be given you. If you disobey it, you will suffer the consequences." (A certain movement occurs among the soldiers.)

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Chasseurs! you have a chief; you owe him respect and obedience. Let him speak."

A SERGEANT. — "We know him; he is a brave man."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "I have told him who I am; I ask for his name."

Another under-officer wishes to speak.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Be silent, or you will be bad soldiers."

THE OFFICER. — "I am Guédon, sub-lieutenant of the 6th battalion of chasseurs."

GENERAL OUDINOT, to the officer. — "You declare then, that you have received orders, and that you are waiting for the instructions of the chief who gave you the command?"

THE UNDER-LIEUTENANT. — "Yes, my general."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "That is the only thing that you have to do."

General Oudinot and M. de Tamisier reënter the hall. It is a quarter past one.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "M. President, I receive the two decrees which you give me: one, the command of the troops of the line; the other, the command of the National Guard. You have been pleased to accept upon my motion, M. de Tamisier as chief-of-staff of the troops of the line. I beg you to be pleased to accept M. Mathieu de la Redorte as chief-of-staff for the National Guard." (Very good!)

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "It is for you to make that choice; it is among your powers."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "Exercise your right; but since you communicate to us your idea in this regard, I believe that I respond to the sentiment of the Assembly, when I say that we approve of your choice." (Yes! yes! Very good!)

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "So you recognize M. Mathieu de la Redorte as chief-of-staff of the National Guard?" (Marks of assent.)

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY, after waiting for some time. — "I am told that some persons have already gone out. I do not suppose that any one wishes to withdraw before we shall have seen the end of what we may do."

FROM ALL PARTS. — "No! no! Permanence."

M. BERRYER, reëntering the hall with several of his colleagues. — "Gentlemen, a window was open. There were many people in the street. I announced from the window that the National Assembly regularly convened, in numbers more than sufficient for the validity of its decrees, had declared the deposition of the President of the Republic; that the superior command of the army, and of the National Guard, was confided to General Oudinot, and that his chief-of-staff was M. de Tamisier. There were acclamations and cheers." (Very good!)

M. Guilbot, commander of the 3d battalion of the 10th legion of the National Guard, presented himself in uniform at the door of the hall, and declared to General Oudinot that he came to place himself at the disposal of the Assembly.

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Good! good! commandant; it is a good example!"

M. Balot, commander of the 4th battalion, without uniform, made the same declaration.

After some moments, two commissaries of police appeared at the door of the hall, and, upon the order of the president, advanced to the directory.

ONE OF THE COMMISSARIES (the oldest). — "We have orders to cause the halls of the mayoralty to be vacated; are you disposed to obey that order? We are the mandataries of the Prefect of Police."

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "We have not heard."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "The commissary tells us that he has orders to have the hall vacated. I ask the commissary this question: Does he know Article 68 of the Constitution? Does he know what are its consequences?"

THE COMMISSARY. — "Undoubtedly we are acquainted with the Constitution; but in the position in which we find ourselves, we are obliged to execute the orders of our superior chiefs."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "In the name of the Assembly I read to you Article 68 of the Constitution."

President Vitet read it in these terms: —

"Every measure whereby the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or obstructs its mandate, is a crime of high treason. By this single act, the President is bereft of his authority; citizens are bound to refuse him obedience. The executive power passes in full right to the National Assembly. The judges of the High Court of Justice assemble immediately, under pain of forfeiture of their office; they convene the jurors in such place as they may designate; they themselves appoint the magistrates charged with fulfilling the functions of the officers of the courts."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY, to the commissary. — "It is conformably to Article 68 of the Constitution, the reading of which you have just heard, that the Assembly, prevented from sitting in the ordinary place of its sessions, has met together in this place. It has passed the decree which is now to be read to you."

President Vitet reads the decree of deposition, conceived as follows: —

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

DECREE.

The National Assembly, in extraordinary session, at the mayoralty of the 10th district.

By virtue of Article 68 of the Constitution, which is as follows.....

Whereas, the Assembly is prevented by violence from exercising its authority, —

Decrees: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is deposed from his office as President of the Republic.

Citizens are bound to refuse him obedience.

The executive power passes in full right to the National Assembly.

The judges of the High Court of Justice are bound to assem-

ble immediately, under penalty of forfeiture of office, in order to proceed to judgment upon the President of the Republic and his accomplices.

In consequence it is enjoined upon all functionaries, and depositaries of public power and authority, to obey all requisitions made in the name of the Assembly, under penalty of forfeiture and treason.

Done and prescribed unanimously, in public session, the 2d of December, 1851.

For the President, prevented.

BENOIST D'AZY, VITET, *Vice-Presidents*,
GRIMAULT, MOULIN, CHAPOT, *Secretaries*;
and all the members present.

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "It is by virtue of this decree, of which we can give you a copy, that the Assembly is convened here, and that it summons you, through me, to obey its requisitions. I repeat to you, that lawfully there exists at this moment but one sole authority in France: it is that which is in session here. It is in the name of the Assembly, its guardian, that we require you to obey. If armed force, if usurping power opposes violence to the Assembly, we are bound to declare that we are in our right. Appeal is made to the country. The country will respond."

M. DE RAVINEL. — "Ask the commissaries for their names."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "We who are speaking to you are Messieurs Vitet and Benoist d'Azy, Vice-Presidents; Chapot, Grimault, and Moulin, Secretaries of the National Assembly."

THE OLDEST COMMISSARY. — "Our mission is painful. We have not even complete authority, for at this moment it is the military power which acts; and the steps we are taking are in order to prevent a conflict which we would have regretted. The Prefect had directed us to come and invite you to withdraw; but we found here a considerable

detachment of the chasseurs of Vincennes, sent by military authority, which alone pretends to have the right to act. The steps we are taking are officious, and in order to prevent a harsh conflict. We do not pretend to judge upon the question of law; but I have the honor of admonishing you that the military authorities have strict orders, and that they will very probably execute them."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "You understand perfectly, sir, that the invitation to which you at this moment give an officious character, cannot produce any impression upon us. We will not yield except to force."

THE YOUNGEST COMMISSARY. — "M. President, here is the order which has been given to us, and, without waiting longer, we summon you, right or wrong, to disperse." (Loud murmurings.)

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "The names! the names of the commissaries!"

THE OLDEST COMMISSARY. — "Lemoine-Bacherel and Marlet."

At this moment an officer arrives, an order in his hand, and says: "I am a soldier. I receive an order; I am bound to execute it. Here is this order: —

"'COMMANDANT: in consequence of orders from the Minister of War, cause the mayoralty of the tenth district to be immediately occupied, and arrest, if necessary, the representatives who shall not instantly obey the order to separate.

'The General-in-chief, MAGNAN.'"

(Explosion of murmurs.)

SEVERAL MEMBERS. — "Very well, let them arrest us. Let the order be given to arrest us."

Another officer penetrates the hall, an order in his hand. He approaches the directory and reads an order, conceived as follows: —

"The general-in-chief directs to permit those representatives to go out of the mayoralty who shall oppose no

resistance. As to those who shall be unwilling to obey this injunction, they will be arrested immediately, and conducted, with all possible deference, to the prison of Mazas."

FROM ALL PARTS. — "Let us all go to Mazas!"

M. EMILE LEROUX. — "Yes! yes! Let us all go on foot."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY, to the officer. — "You present yourself here with an order. We ought, in the first place, to ask you, as we already have the officer who first appeared here, if you are acquainted with Article 68 of the Constitution, which declares that every act of the executive power to prevent the meeting of the Assembly is a crime of high treason, which causes to cease, at the very instant, the authority of the chief of the executive power. It is by virtue of its decree, which declares the deposition of the President, that we are acting at this moment. If we have no forces with which to oppose" . . . .

M. DE LARCEY. — "We oppose with the resistance of the law."

PRESIDENT BENOIST D'AZY. — "I add, that the Assembly, compelled to provide for its safety, has appointed General Oudinot commandant of all the forces that may be called to defend it."

M. DE LARCEY. — "Commander, we make an appeal to your patriotism as a Frenchman."

GENERAL OUDINOT, to the officer. — "You are the commander of the 6th battalion?"

THE OFFICER. — "I am commander for the time being; the commander is sick."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "Well, commander of the 6th battalion; you have just heard what the President of the Assembly has said to you?"

THE OFFICER. — "Yes, my general."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "That there is for the moment no other power in France but the Assembly. In virtue of that power, which has delegated to me the command of the army, and of the National Guard, I come to declare to you that

we can obey only through constraint and compulsion the order which interdicted us from remaining assembled. In consequence, and by virtue of the rights which we hold from it, I order you to vacate, and to cause your troops to vacate the mayoralty.

"You understood, commander of the 6th battalion; you understood that I gave you the order to cause the mayoralty to be vacated. Are you going to obey?"

THE OFFICER. — "No; and this is why: I have received orders from my superiors, and I am going to execute them."

FROM ALL PARTS. — "To Mazas! to Mazas!"

THE OFFICER. — "In the name of the orders of the executive power, we summon you to dissolve this very moment."

DIVERS VOICES. — "No, no! There is no executive power. Expel us forcibly; use force!"

Upon the order of the commandant, several chasseurs penetrated the hall. A third commissary of police, and several policemen, entered likewise. The commissaries and police seized the members of the directory, General Oudinot, M. de Tamisier, and several of the representatives, and conducted them almost to the landing of the stairs. But the latter place was constantly occupied by the troops. The commissaries and the officers ascend and descend, in order to obtain and bring orders. After about a quarter of an hour, the soldiers open their ranks. The representatives, always conducted by the commissaries and the police, descend to the court. General Forey presents himself; General Oudinot speaks to him a moment, and returning toward the members of the Assembly, says that General Forey answered, "We are soldiers; we know nothing but our orders."

GENERAL LAURISTON. — "He ought to know the laws and the Constitution. We, too, have been soldiers."

GENERAL OUDINOT. — "General Forey pretends that he is bound to obey only the executive power."

ALL THE REPRESENTATIVES. — "Let them take us; let them take us to Mazas!"

Several of the National Guard, who are in the court, cry out, every time the door is opened, in order to let the officers pass, who are going and coming, "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*"

A few minutes pass. At last the gate is opened, and the police order the members of the directory, and of the Assembly, to form in procession. Presidents Benoist and Vitet declare that they will not go out, except by force. The police take them by their arms, and cause them to enter the street. The secretaries, General Oudinot, M. de Tamisier, and other representatives, are conducted in the same manner, and they are formed in procession between two lines of soldiers. President Vitet is held by the collar, by a policeman. General Forey is at the head of the troops, and directs the column. The Assembly, as prisoner, is escorted in the midst of cries of "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*" uttered by citizens who are in the streets and at the windows, as far as the barracks of Orsay Quay, following Grenelle, Saint-Guillaume, Neuve de l'Université, l'Université, and Beaume streets, and Voltaire and Orsay Quays. All the representatives enter the court of the barracks (Note 96), and the gate is again closed upon them. It is twenty minutes past three o'clock. Upon the proposition of a member, they proceed, even in the court, to call the informal roll. Messieurs Grimault, secretary, and Antony Thouret, call the roll, which shows the presence of 220 members, whose names are as follows: —

MM. Albert de Luynes, d'Andigné de la Chasse, Antony Thouret, Arêne, Audren de Kerdrel (Ille-et-Vilaine), Audren de Kerdrel (Morbihan), de Balzac, Barchou de Penhoen, Barrillon, Odilon Barrot, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Bauchard, Gustave de Beaumont, Béchard, Béhaguel, de Belvèze, Benoist d'Azy, de Bernardy, Berryer, de

Berset, Besse, Beting de Lancastel, Blavoyer, Bocher, Boissié, de Botmiliau, Bouvatier, de Broglie, de la Broise, de Bryas, Buffet, Caillet du Tertre, Callet, Camus de la Guibourgère, Canet, de Castillon, de Cazalès, Admiral Cécile, Chambolle, Chamiot, Chanpanhet, Chaper, Chapot, de Charancey, Chassaigne, Chauvin, Chazant, de Chazelles, Chégaray, de Coislin, Colfavru, Colas de la Motte, Coquerel, de Corcelles, Cordier, Corne, Creton, Daguilhon-Pujol, Dahirel, Dambray, de Dampierre, de Brotonne, de Fontaine, de Fontenay, Desèze, Desmars, de la Devansaye, Didier, Dieuleveult, Druet-Desvaux, Abraham Dubois, Dufaure, Dufougerais, Dufour, Dufournel, Marc Dufraisse, Pascal Duprat, Duvergier de Hauranne, Etienne de Falloux, de Faultrier, Faure (Rhône), Favreau, Ferré des Ferris, de Flavigny, de Foblant, Frichon, Gain, Gasselin, Germonière, de Gicquiau, de Goulard, de Goyon, de Grandville, de Grasset, Grelier-Dufougeroux, Grevy, Grillon, Grimault, Gros, Guillier de la Tousche, Harscouet de Saint-George, d'Havrincourt, Hennecart, Hennequin, d'Hespel, Houel, Hovyn-Tranchère, Huot, Joret, Jouannet, de Kéranfleck, de Kératry, de Kéridec, de Kermasec, de Kersauron-Penendreff, Léo de Laborde, Laboulie, Lacave, Oscar Lafayette, Lafosse, Lagarde, Lagrenée, Lainé, Lanjuinais, Larabit, de Larcy, J. de Lasteyrie, Latrade, Laureau, Laurenceau, General Lauriston, de Laussat, Lefebvre de Grosriez, Legrand, Legros-Desvaux, Lemaire, Emile Leroux, Lespérut, de Lespinois, Lherbette, de Linsaval, de Luppé, Maréchal, Martin de Villers, Maze-Saunay, Mèze, Armand de Melun, Anatole de Melun, Mérintié, Michaut, Mispoulet, Monet, de Montébello, de Montigny, Moulin, Murat-Sistrière, Alfred Nettement, d'Olivier, General Oudinot de Reggio, Paillet, Duparc, Passy, Emile Péau, Pécoul, Casimir Périer, Pidoux, Pigeon, de Piogé, Piscatory, Proa, Prudhomme, Querhoent, Randoing, Raudot, Raulin, de Ravinel, de Rémusat, Renaud, Résal, de Rességuier, Henri de Riancey, Rigal, de

la Rochette, Rodat, de Roquefeuil, des Rotours de Chaulieux, Rouget-Lafosse, Rouillé, Roux-Carbonel, Sainte-Beuve, de Saint-Germain, General de Saint-Priest, Salmon (Meuse), Sauvaire-Barthelemy, de Serré, de Sesmaison, Simonot, de Staplante, de Surville, de Talhouet, Talon, Tamisier, Thuriot de la Rosière, de Tinguy, de Tocqueville, de la Tourette, de Tréveneuc, Mortimer-Ternaux, de Vatimesnil, de Vandoeuvre, Vernhette (Hérault), Vernhette (Aveyron), Vézin, Vitet, de Vogué.

The call being finished, General Oudinot begs the representatives, who are scattered about the court, to assemble around him; and he makes them the following communication: —

"The adjutant, who has remained here, in order to take command of the barracks, has just received an order to have rooms prepared, into which we shall have to retire, considering ourselves as in captivity. (Very good.) Do you wish me to have the adjutant come here? (No! no! no! It is useless!) I am going to tell him that he may execute his orders." (Yes, that's right!)

A few minutes afterward, the rooms being prepared, several representatives entered them. The others remained in the court. (Note 97.)

The report of this memorable session will call up many reflections. Faithful to our own task of the simple narrator, we shall be sparing of comments.

The imperialist writers who have related it, affirm that its nature is such as to cause disgust of parliamentarism. The reader will decide for himself.

The Republicans have criticized, from a point of view diametrically opposite, the conduct of the representatives of the Right, who formed the immense majority of the Assembly.

They reproach them for having talked when it was necessary to act; for having lost two hours of precious time

in vain formalities; for not having made an immediate appeal to the patriotism of the people; for not having surrounded themselves with a sufficient number of the National Guard, under arms, — since it would have been so much more easy to assemble, by displaying a little activity, as many would have hastened spontaneously, and as the colonel of the 10th legion, M. de Lauriston, was a member of the Assembly; for not having given the signal of resistance, with arms in hand, while it was so easy to have done so, and since the first shots might have exercised a decisive impression upon the hesitating people. They reproach them above all, for the cries, "To Mazas! Let them take us to Mazas!" — which seem to them unworthy of the National Assembly. Once more, let the reader judge.

We shall tell further on what was the fate of the representatives taken prisoners to the barracks of Orsay Quay. Let us note, in passing, that the number was increased, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, by members who came and voluntarily constituted themselves prisoners, with the intention of sharing the fate of their colleagues. Among them were Messieurs Bixio, Victor Lefranc, and Valette. The latter said to the police, who hesitated to admit him among the prisoners: "But I have a right, for two reasons, to be arrested to-day: I am a representative of the people, and a professor of law."

An incident happened pending the session at the mayoralty of the tenth district, which might have considerably modified the result. It has been little noticed. Toward ten o'clock in the morning, a considerable assemblage had formed in the square of the Medical College. The young men who composed it, warned by the presence of the representatives at the mayoralty of the tenth district, formed in procession, to the number of twelve to fifteen hundred, with the intention of going to render assistance to the National Assembly. At the moment they were debouching into the square of the Church of Saint-Sulpice, in order

to commence operations in Vieux-Columbier Street (Note 98), they were charged by a strong detachment of the mounted Municipal Guards, who pressed them into the neighboring streets, and compelled them to turn back. Although these young men were unarmed, no one can say that their presence around the mayoralty of the tenth district, had they been able to reach the place, might not have rendered infinitely more difficult the arrest of the representatives in a body.

During this same morning, the republican journalists tried to unite, and renew the memorable example given by their predecessors, in analogous circumstances, on the 26th of July, 1830, after the publication of the ordinances.

A preliminary protest was prepared in the offices of the *Révolution*, signed by Messieurs Xavier Durrieu, a former representative, Kesler, Gaspérini, and Merlet, who were editors of the newspaper, and by some other citizens. Toward noon, a meeting, in which nearly all the republican press was represented, was held in the office of the *Siècle*[1] in Croissant Street. There a united protest was framed; it was agreed to try all possible means, in order to publish the newspapers which had been seized. These resolutions had but little effect. The printing-offices were occupied by soldiery. Nevertheless, a considerable number of proclamations, and appeals to arms, were printed by means of types and dies, carried away almost under the eyes of the police, from the printing-office of the *Siècle*, and removed to a neighboring house, where one of the editors of that paper was then lodging. A great number of them were likewise printed in the office of the *Presse* (Note 99). Representative Noel Parfait succeeded in carrying away several hundred copies, without arousing the suspicions of the soldiers and police, stationed like sentinels at the approaches of the printing and editorial offices of the journal.

[1] It means the "Age," and its present chief editor is the author of this work. — *Translators.*

Similar acts must have been accomplished in some other printing-offices; for the decrees of the Assembly at the mayoralty of the tenth district, the appeals to arms of the republican Left, as well as the warrant of the High Court of Justice, were spread abroad in the night of the 2d–3d of December, and posted up by thousands of copies.

We have just spoken of the High Court of Justice. Before going further, it is proper to tell the part of that supreme tribunal of the Republic during the day of the 2d of December.

Did the High Court assemble spontaneously? Or did it rather wait for a communication of the decree passed at the mayoralty of the tenth district? We should be unable to say, both versions having been given by narrators who seemed to be well informed. Whatever the case may have been in this respect, the High Court convened in one of the rooms of the Court of Errors, — in the Palace of Justice; deliberated, and rendered the following judicial order: —

"The High Court: — Considering the placards printed and posted upon the walls of the capital, and especially that one purporting that: 'The President of the Republic,' etc. . . . . 'The National Assembly is dissolved,' etc. . . . . The said placards being signed: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; and lower down: The Minister of the Interior, Morny;'

"*Whereas*, these acts, and the employing of the military force, by which they are enforced, would constitute the case provided for by Article 68 of the Constitution —

"*Declares:* That it be forthwith organized; and that there is cause for proceeding to the execution of said Article 68; it appoints M. Renouard, Counsellor of the Court of Errors, to be its prosecuting attorney; and adjourns to to-morrow, for the continuance of its operations.

"Have signed the register: Hardouin, President;

"Pataille, Delapalme, Aug. Moreau, Cauchy, Judges.

"Present, the two Associate Judges, Quénault and Grandet.

"BERNARD, *Recorder-in-chief.*"

This order differs perceptibly from that which was pla-

carded through the care of the Republicans, and which alone has been reproduced in the accounts of the *Coup d'Etat* published in France up to this time. The order, when taken cognizance of, had the effect of an arraignment of high treason against the President, and the convocation of the high jurors. The version which we reproduce is borrowed from a good source.

We will complete, according to information from the same source, the record of the operations of the High Court.

"The same day at five o'clock, the same judges, being assembled at the residence of their president, showed that, by order of M. de Maupas, Prefect of Police, three commissaries of police, accompanied by peace-officers, and by a detachment of the Republican Guards commanded by a lieutenant, had invaded the council-room, and summoned the High Court to disperse under penalty of being dissolved by force, and its members imprisoned. The High Court had protested, and declared that it yielded to force only.

"The 3d of December, the High Court convened at the Palace of Justice, at noon, as the registers still say. M. Renouard, who had been notified of the order of court of the day before, was introduced, and declared that he accepted the functions of prosecuting attorney.

"The court officially received his declaration, and, inasmuch as material obstacles to the execution of its process continued, it adjourned."

We thought that this account, dry, in recorder's style, denoting the judicial origin of the document, would not be without interest to the reader.

There is, however, one point to which we must return. The High Court, in session on the 2d of December, was summoned to dissolve by armed force. The troops were led by M. de Montour, aide-de-camp of the Minister of the Navy (Note 100). The soldiers penetrated, with fixed bayonets, inside the bar of the court, where the magistrates were then sitting. M. Mayer[1] relates the incident, and

[1] Page 91.

adds some reflections which are worthy to be quoted, if only for curiosity's sake : —

"Two commissaries," he says, "accompanied by some of the municipal guards, entered the court-room, and enjoined the jurists to withdraw, under pain of immediate arrest. The Court obeyed, without saying a word, with that sentiment of individual duty which, in the dangers of the public cause, speaks even more loudly to the heart of a magistrate than the clearest right and the plainest law !"

The members of the High Court, let us say, — before taking leave of them, to trouble ourselves about them no more, — experienced no detriment on account of their murmurs of resistance to the *Coup d'Etat.* They retained their seats in the Court of Errors, and might have been seen a little afterwards, at the Palace of the Tuileries, taking an oath of fealty to the Prince President (Note 101).

Before relating what the representatives of the Left did during this day — most of whom appeared neither in the National Assembly, nor at the mayoralty of the tenth district, — let us say a word concerning a promenade made in the morning, by Louis Napoleon. He quitted the Elysian Palace, mounted, surrounded by a numerous staff, in which was noticed the ex-King Jerome Bonaparte, uncle of the President (Note 102), Marshal Excelmans, the Count of Flahaut, Generals de Saint-Arnaud, Magnan, de Lowœstine, Daumas, etc. He passed the front of the troops, who continued to occupy the positions we have indicated. He was greeted with lively acclamations. Pushing further on, toward the interior of Paris, the President passed through a few streets, but was not tardy in reining up to return to the Elysian Palace. If he had counted upon a triumphal reception on the part of the Parisian populace, he was undeceived. Although he had scarcely passed beyond the quays and streets near the Tuileries, which were occupied by troops, the compact crowd who saw this brilliant staff pass by, looked on with coldness. If there was not decided hos-

tility in its attitude and cries, there was still less enthusiasm.

At the height of the Pont-Royal (Note 103) — this statement may be considered certain — the cortége of the President was greeted with the dominant cry, "*Vive la République!*" with which were mingled here and there acclamations to the Constitution and the National Assembly. The crowd seemed unsympathizing; nevertheless, when the President approached, saluting with a gesture, the mass uncovered their heads.

The President returned to the Elysian Palace, retired to his cabinet, whence he transmitted his orders to the ministers; and, save a short review passed in the afternoon of the same day, he did not go out again until all was finished.

The republican Left of the Assembly had not felt it their duty to join with the Right. Most of its members had thought that all attempt at legal resistance — we mean, surrounded with legal formalities, as at the mayoralty of the tenth district — would be powerless; that there was but one sole means of saving the Republic: to call the people to arms, and to resist with ball and powder.

The first meeting of the Left, small in numbers, was held in Blanche Street, or the Chaussée d'Antin, at the house of M. Coppens. There were members of every shade of the republican party. There were noticed Messieurs Victor Hugo, Michel (of Bourges), Schoelcher, Emmanuel Arago, Brives, Charamaule, Joigneaux, Chauffour, Baudin, etc. (Note 104).

M. Victor Hugo proposed to give, immediately, the signal of resistance. Several members seconded him, saying: "Let us immediately descend into the streets, with our scarfs upon us, and commence the combat." Most thought it would be better to temporize still. They brought into view this incontestable fact, — that the people had seen in the proclamations of the President, only the reëstablishment

of universal suffrage, and the appeal to the national sovereignty; that the *Coup d'Etat* agitated the working-class, but did not cause it to be indignant; that consequently, it was necessary to employ the following day and night in acting individually upon the groups; to try by all possible means to spread and placard proclamations emanating from the republican representatives. This counsel was adopted. M. Victor immediately prepared an appeal to the people, which two young men undertook to have printed, and which was in fact placarded in the evening, in a great number of copies. M. Mayer[1] has reproduced this first placard, which was conceived as follows:—

"Louis Napoleon is a traitor!

"He has violated the Constitution!

"He has placed himself outside the law!

"The republican representatives remind the people and the army of Articles 68 and 110 of the Constitution, conceived as follows:—

"Article 68. Every measure whereby the President of the Republic dissolves the Assembly, prorogues it, or obstructs the exercise of its authority, is a crime of high treason. By this simple fact, the President is bereft of his functions; citizens are bound to refuse him obedience.

"Article 110. The Constituent Assembly confides the defense of the present Constitution, and the rights which it makes consecrated, to the National Guard and to the patriotism of all Frenchmen.

"The people, henceforth and forever in possession of universal suffrage — the people, who have no need of any prince in order to bestow it, will know how to chastise the rebel.

"Let the people do their duty; the republican representatives march at their head.

"*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!* To arms!

"*Signed:* Michel (of Bourges), Schoelcher, General Leydet, Mathieu (of the Drome), Lasteyras, Brives, Breymand, Joigneaux, Chauffour, Cassal, Gilland, Jules Favre, Victor Hugo, Emmanuel Arago, Madier de Montjau, Mathé, Signard, Roujat (of the Isère), Viguier, Eugène Sue, de Flotte."

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, pp. 120, 121.

The members assembled at M. Coppen's separated, after having appointed a rendezvous elsewhere. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a certain number were at Bouvallet's, in the Boulevard du Temple. M. Michel (of Bourges) harangued the crowd who covered the boulevard. The police being warned, hastened toward the Bouvallet house, but could not arrest any of the representatives.

A new and very numerous meeting of the Left, among whom were most of the representatives of the *Montagne*, was held at M. Beslay's, an old constituent of the Assembly. M. Joly (of Toulouse), directed the deliberations. The colonel of the 6th legion of the National Guard, M. Forestier, was present. At the end of half an hour, the meeting had to disperse, in order to escape the troops which arrived, guided by spies.

Other partial meetings were held that day. We shall not pause to consider them. Let us rapidly pass to that one in which the taking up of arms on the morrow was decided upon. A certain number of representatives were, at eleven o'clock in the evening, at the house of their colleague, Lafond (of the Lot), on Jemmapes Quay. There it was that the Committee of Resistance was elected. Its members were, Representatives Victor Hugo, Carnot, Jules Favre, Michel (of Bourges), Madier-Montjau, Schoelcher, and de Flotte.

The house of M. Lafond (Note 105), seeming to be too much exposed to visits from the police, the members toward midnight betook themselves to Popincourt Street, to the house of M. Frédéric Cournet, an old officer of the navy, and a tried Republican.

A confusion of names, which at first deceived the representatives who arrived at the house of Cournet, equally deceived the police and a battalion of troops charged with arresting them, and was the cause of the deliberation being held without impediment. Some agents of the secret police saw representatives entering the house of a M. *Cornet*,

which was but a few steps from the house inhabited by Frédéric Cournet. They ran for armed force, and minutely searched the Cornet house, while more than fifty representatives, and a great number of journalists, officers of the National Guard, workmen, and citizens of divers professions, including some of the most energetic of the republican party, deliberated in quiet close at hand.

It was decided that as early as the morning of the next day, the representatives were to repair to the populous quarters, and themselves commence the barricades. Some workmen of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, assuring that the district would revolt if the representatives of the *Montagne* would give the signal, a certain number of the latter fixed a rendezvous for the morrow at the Roysin rooms, a socialist coffee-house, situated in the great street of the faubourg. A number of intrepid citizens likewise promised to repair thither, and kept their word, as will be seen further on. At one o'clock in the morning the meeting dispersed.

The aspect of the capital in the evening of the second, already differed sensibly from what it had been during the first hours of the day. The commotion was quite lively on the left bank (the south side of the Seine), in the Latin Quarter (Note 106). On the right bank, considerable crowds covered all the line of the boulevards. There the news of the day was commented upon with ardor. The people became aroused and irritated through the vehement words of the republicans, and began to assume a hostile attitude. In the wealthy quarters, on the *Boulevard des Italiens* above all, the groups formed by the elegant throng noisily manifested their opposition to the *Coup d'Etat.*

Toward five o'clock, at nightfall, the brigade of General Korte took a military promenade, from the Madeleine Church to the square of the Bastile. "It cleared the way for the whole extent of the boulevards," says M. Granier de Cassagnac, "without finding other resistance than the

suppressed menaces of the *bourgeoisie* of the rich quarters, and the vain insults of the *jeunesse dorée*."[1]

M. de Cassagnac adds, that Commander Fleury encountered a gunshot the same evening, near the Porte Saint-Martin. It is an error of date; that incident happened only in the evening of the next day. Not a percussion-cap was exploded before the morning of the third.

A certain number of representatives, prisoners in the barracks of Orsay Quay, among them Messieurs Gustave de Beaumont, Vatismenil, General Oudinot, General Lauriston, de Falloux, Piscatory, de Montebello, etc.,were transferred that evening to Mont Valérien (Note 107). At the moment when they were compelled to enter the cellular prison-vans, M. de Montebello recognized, it is said, the chief of the escort, Colonel Feray, and said: "Gentlemen, to-day is the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz; and here is the son-in-law of Marshal Bugeaud, making the son of Marshal Lannes (Note 108) enter a convict wagon."

Toward midnight, the city had resumed its wonted physiognomy.

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis Philippe*, etc., vol. ii. p. 424.

CHAPTER V.

On the 3d of December, Paris seemed tardy in its awakening. The weather was dark and rainy. The shops opened slowly. There was little moving about.

The troops soon resumed their positions of the day before.

The first division of the army of Paris, commanded by General Carrelet, having under his orders Brigadier-generals de Cotte, Canrobert, de Bourgon, Dulac, and Reybell, occupied the approaches of the Tuileries and the Elysian Palace. This division comprised six regiments of infantry of the line, a regiment of light infantry, a battalion of dismounted chasseurs, two battalions of the movable gendarmery, three battalions of artillery, two regiments of lancers, and a few detachments of engineers. The cavalry of reserve, two regiments of riflemen, two of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons, kept in the rear of the infantry, near the upper part of the Elysian Fields. They were commanded by Generals Korte, Tartas, and d'Allonville.

These various forces amounted to more than twenty thousand men, of all arms.

The second division, commanded by General Renault, and Brigadier-generals Sauboul, Forey, and Ripert, occupied the quarters on the south bank of the Seine. This division comprised seven regiments of infantry of the line, two battalions of dismounted chasseurs, three batteries of artillery, and some detachments of engineers; forming a total of about seventeen thousand men.

The third division had for its chiefs General Levasseur, and Brigadier-generals Herbillon, Marulaz, and de Cour-

tigis. The troops comprised six regiments of infantry of the line, two regiments of light infantry, a battalion of dismounted chasseurs, artillery, and engineers. This constituted a force of about eighteen thousand men. This division occupied the City Hall (*Hôtel de Ville*), and the surrounding quarters, as far as Vincennes. The Marulaz brigade was stationed in Bastile Place; the de Courtigis brigade, partly at the city entrance *du Trône*, and partly at Vincennes.

Such were, independently of the municipal guards, the police, and the troops which might be called from the neighboring garrisons — the forces that were to be braved by the few handfuls of Republicans resolved to engage in the armed conflict.

It was on the morning of the 3d of December, that the new ministry of Louis Napoleon was definitively constituted. Here is its composition: —

De Morny, Minister of the Interior.
De Saint-Arnaud, Minister of War.
Fould, Secretary of the Finances.
De Turgot, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Rouher, Minister of Justice.
Ducos, Minister of the Navy and the Colonies.
Fourtoul, Minister of Public Instruction.
Magne, Minister of Public Works; and
Duruflé, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. (Note 109.)

On the same day, there was published, in the *Moniteur*, the list of a Commission, called Advisory, instituted by the President of the Republic.

This list contained the names of certain members of the conservative section of the Assembly, who had sustained the policy of the Elysian Palace up to the 2d of December, but whom it had not been judged advisable to consult before appointing them members of this commission. Hence, several refusals, which produced a certain sensation.

M. Léon Faucher, a former Minister of the Interior, was of the number. He immediately addressed the following letter to Louis Napoleon. Our text perfectly agrees with that given by M. Mayer in his *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, p. 197.

"*M. President:* It is with painful astonishment that I see my name figure among those of the members of an Advisory Commission which you have just instituted. I did not suppose I had given you the right to do me this wrong. The services I have rendered to you, believing that I was rendering them to the country, perhaps authorized me to expect from you another kind of recognition. My character, in any case, was deserving of more respect. You know that, in a career already long, I have no more belied my principles of liberty than my devotion to order. I have never participated, either directly or indirectly, in violation of the laws; and in order to decline the mandate which you confer upon me without my consent, I have only to remind you of that which I have received from the people, and which I still retain.

"LÉON FAUCHER."

Doctor Véron says a great deal in his *Mémoires*, of this Advisory Commission, which he calls the "list of the candidates to power, to place, to honor."

"The number of those devoted and courageous ones of the next day, increased daily," adds the Doctor, "in proportion to the increasing certainty of the complete victory of Louis Napoleon. Some, after having solicited the day before the honor of being inscribed upon that list, wrote the next day to the Minister that their name might be erased therefrom; then asked that it might be restored, — according to the news and agitations of the day." [1]

More than one official personage will recognize himself in this sketch. We ought to say, however, that none of those persons whose letters of refusal have been *published*, has since rallied to the new régime.

The definitive list of the accepting members of the Ad-

[1] *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, tome vi. p. 186.

visory Commission was not published until toward the 15th of December. There were found in it but few parliamentary names of any notoriety, other than those of Messieurs Montalembert, Baroche, and Billault. (Note 110.)

In spite of the success of the previous day, — although the whole of the 2d of December passed away without any material resistance having been made to the *Coup d'Etat*, — its ultimate success was strongly doubted, not only in the Parisian populace, but even among the most exalted partisans of the President.

Almost none, save the general officers of the army, had openly adhered to the *Coup d'Etat*.

The Elysian Palace had received so few visitors the day before, that Louis Napoleon and his first confidants remained apparently isolated.

The centre of the government was not, it is true, at the Elysian Palace. It was at the Ministry of the Interior, in the cabinet of M. de Morny. Every one has heard speak of the coolness, resolution, and presence of mind displayed by M. de Morny in these circumstances. We believe, however, that the preponderance of his *rôle* has not even yet been sufficiently appreciated. We have no fear of being mistaken, in saying that the act of the 2d of December was indeed decreed by Louis Napoleon, but that it was *executed* by M. de Morny. In proportion as the intimate details of what transpired during those days at the Elysian Palace shall become known, we shall see more and more plainly what we premise, touching that immense part which reverts to M. de Morny, in the success of the *Coup d'Etat*.

Doctor Véron, who saw M. de Morny at work during the critical moments, has left some precious revelations. It is to be regretted only, that the Doctor was afraid of pushing his indiscretions too far.

"It was there too" (at the Ministry of the Interior), he says,

"that bad news arrived. The rumor spread at first, that General Castellane and the garrison of Lyons, did not recognize the *Coup d'Etat.* A new train coming from Lyons, fortunately contradicted this false rumor. I went morning and evening to the Ministry of the Interior, and there I was a witness of more than one scene the recital of which would be an indiscretion. More than one countenance paled and lengthened at the least alarm. More than one person murmured between his teeth, — 'Barricades are being raised everywhere, ... that is the way they always commence. You will see that this will end like the 24th of February.' Others asked with a feverish anxiety, of those going to and fro — 'Are the people with us? What will the suburbs say? Can we count upon the army?' M. de Morny, I must say here in order to do homage to the truth, — M. de Morny and a few resolute friends who surrounded him, reassured all these tremblers, who quite willingly kept themselves in the vicinity of the outer doors."

The Prefect of Police, M. de Maupas, was far from having preserved the same *sang-froid* as M. de Morny. The latter was obliged to intervene more than once, in order to rectify the ideas of M. de Maupas, a little troubled by the difficulties of the situation. The dispatches exchanged between the Ministry of the Interior and the Prefecture of Police, which have been published by Doctor Véron, while evidently incomplete, furnish very curious indications in this connection.

M. de Maupas does not seem to have been more fortunate in the choice of the items of news brought to him by his agents. The following despatch, which he addressed to General Magnan, in order to inform him of the plans of resistance of the Republicans, affords quite an interesting sample of this: —

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO GENERAL MAGNAN.

"*December* 2. — *Evening.*

"The Socialist sections will commence at six o'clock in the evening. The principal quarters are, — for the barricades, the faubourgs of the Temple, Marceau, Saint-Antoine, and the city-gate

(barrière) du Trône. The sections are convoked for ten o'clock ; at a quarter to eleven each one will be at his post.

"The arms are bomb-shells carried in the hand. The 44th will be with them ; three hundred men follow it crying, — *'Vive la République Sociale, et pas de Prétendant !'*

"They intend to ring the alarm-bell; in several of the churches they are having the bell-ropes cut.

"The night will be very serious and decisive. It is planned to get at the Prefecture of Police. Keep some cannon at my disposal; I shall ask you for them if it shall be necessary.

"P. S. — Your troops are in want of provisions at several points ; it is often for want of comfort that troops are disposed to flag. (The brigade of General Forey.)

"They want to sound the tocsin. I have ordered the bell-towers to be occupied." [1]

Nothing of all this had the shadow of a foundation.

The dispatches of M. de Morny to the same General Magnan are otherwise significant. M. de Morny directed, even to the military operations. Here are three dispatches that seem to us to be worthy of interest: —

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

"PARIS, *December* 2, 1851.

"The patrols of the night are not good ; they are few in numbers, easily surrounded. It would be better not to see any troops at all, or to see more of them. This fatigues them uselessly.

"I maintain my system with obstinacy. The police alone are to spy out the plans; the troops to act with violence if those plans are carried into execution. But cumbersome patrols never prevent anything; they simply render the use of the troops less efficacious the next day.

"*Signed:* MORNY."

[1] Despatch published by Dr. Véron, in his *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*. All those that we shall cite further on, whether of the Prefect of Police, or of the Ministry of the Interior, are borrowed from the same work. Their authenticity has never been questioned.

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

"PARIS, *December* 3, 1851.

"Word is sent to me from the Prefecture of Police, that some too-feeble troops are surrounded. How happens this fault, instead of letting the insurgents go to work quite in earnest, and serious barricades be formed, so that we may afterward crush and destroy the enemy? Take care not to wear out the troops in skirmishes, so as not to have them at the decisive hour.

"*Signed:* MORNY."

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO GENERAL MAGNAN.

"PARIS, *December* 3, 1851.

"I repeat to you that the plan of the rioters is to tire out the troops so as to get them cheap on the third day. That is the way it was on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830; and the 22d, 23d, and 24th of February, 1848.

"Let us not have the 2d, 3d, and 4th of December, with the same conclusion. The troops must not be exposed; make them enter and lodge in the houses. With a few troops at each street-corner, at the windows, a whole quarter is kept in respect. I have met many little useless patrols. The troops will be harassed. By making them rest in private houses, they repose, and intimidate a whole quarter. It seems to me we are following the old errors. The provisions are unworthily served; provisions are plundered.

"I leave you to these reflections. It is only by wholly refraining, *surrounding a quarter and taking it by famine, or by invading it with terror, that war will be carried on in the city.*

"*Signed:* MORNY."

The reader has not forgotten that a certain number of the representatives assembled in the house of Frédéric Cournet, had appointed a rendezvous in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

Before retracing this episode of the days of December, made famous by the death of Representative Baudin, it is proper to say from what sources are drawn the information in accordance with which we make up our account. This is the more necessary since, up to the present time,

no truthful narrative of that event has been published in France.

The historiographers, apologists for the *Coup d'Etat*, have limited themselves to the reproduction of the version of the newspapers of the time, without giving themselves the trouble of examining those accounts, improvised upon *on dits*, and without even taking care to correct certain points contradicted by other details published later in those same newspapers.

We have been able to obtain a communication of the facts in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the account being prepared by a man whose mere name makes it reliable, — M. Schoelcher, a witness and actor of those events. The well-known character of M. Schoelcher, the esteem which his political enemies themselves profess for him, amply justify the value that we attach to his testimony.

Besides, we have seriously examined his narrative; we have consulted other ocular witnesses, whom we might name if necessary, and who have confirmed for us the scrupulous exactness of the details given by M. Schoelcher.

A little before eight o'clock in the morning, certain representatives of the people, on foot, ascended the great street of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, directing themselves toward the Roysin saloon, where the rendezvous had been appointed.

The workmen of the faubourg were standing in numerous groups in front of their doors, talking about the events of the day before.

The representatives, without great success, addressed them stirring exhortations: —

"What!" said they, "are you doing nothing? Why are you waiting? Is it the Empire that you wish?"

"No, no," responded most of the workmen; "but why should we fight? They give us universal suffrage! . . . And then what could we do? We have been disarmed since June; there is not a gun in the whole faubourg."

Some, but in small numbers, promised to act. An incident, little known, occurred in the mean while to chill the slightly combative disposition which the republican representatives met with in the district.

Nine or ten omnibuses, laden with arrested representatives, passed under the escort of lancers. These prisoners were being transferred from the barracks of Orsay Quay to Vincennes. "Those are representatives that they are carrying away!" some exclaimed; "let us rescue them!" We know how sudden are the impulses of popular throngs. A movement took place in the groups. Some intrepid men sprang forward. The first omnibus was stopped. Representative Malardier and Frédéric Cournet were among those who had thrown themselves at the heads of the horses. Immediately, they saw some representatives incline toward the carriage doors. They were members of the Right, who, beside themselves with bewilderment, begged the people not to rescue them.

The indignant crowd did as they were desired. "You see very well that there is nothing to be done with those folks!" said one of the men of the people, who had sprung at the horses' heads with great earnestness, to M. Cournet.

This extraordinary incident at the outset (it is rarely that one sees prisoners opposed to being set free) will not surprise the reader, who remembers the cries uttered the day before at the mayoralty of the 10th district: "To Mazas! Let them carry us all to Mazas!"

Toward half-past eight o'clock, a certain number of Republicans, determined to give the signal of resistance — among them fifteen or sixteen representatives of the peòple, — assembled at the Roysin saloon. Among the representatives were Messieurs Baudin, Bouzat, Brillier, Bruckner, Charamaule, Dulac, Esquiros, de Flotte, Madier de Montjau, Maigne, Malardier, Schoelcher, etc. Among the citizens who had joined them were Messieurs Jules Bastide,

Alphonse Brives, Charles Broquet, Xavier Durrieu, Frédéric Cournet, Kesler, Lejeune (of the Sarthe), Amable Lemaître, Maillard, Ruin, Léon Watripon, and others.

There had been, it appears, a misunderstanding about the hour fixed upon. Some among those who had promised to come arrived too late.

However this may be, toward nine o'clock the representatives and their friends, in all forty persons, sallied from the Roysin saloon. The representatives had put on their scarfs. They appeared in the great street of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, crying, "To arms! to the barricades! *Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*"

In a few moments a hundred workmen had joined them. The mass, however, remained inactive, if not indifferent.

The mustering ceased at the corner of Cotte and Sainte-Marguérite streets. They commenced the task of constructing a barricade, without even inquiring whether the position was well selected. A great cart, two small carriages, and an omnibus, that were passing, were successively stopped, detached, and upset. There were no other materials employed; not a stone from the pavement.

In a few minutes the frail barricade was constructed. It did not even wholly bar the great street of the faubourg, very wide at this place. Those who constructed it were still without arms.

The remembrance of that first barricade of December, which was to be wetted with the blood of Representative Baudin, has remained among the most sorrowful, but at the same time among the proudest souvenirs of the republican party.

The men who erected it did not by any means dream of inducing a struggle which was likely to succeed immediately. In the midst of a people who were apathetic, without arms, without real shelter, placed between two masses of troops, — several thousand soldiers encamped at the two extremities of the faubourg, — they had and could have

had but one sole object: to sacrifice themselves, make appeal to the soldiers, show them the representatives of the people, — to be slain should it be necessary, — in order that the blood poured out might arouse the combatants.

What was really noble in that action, whatever judgment may be formed upon the political ideas inspiring it, has commanded the respect of several among the most furious enemies of the republican party. In the work of M. de Cassagnac, already cited,[1] it is said: "What could the isolated and rare *devotion* of a few *montagnard* deputies accomplish: like Baudin, of the Ain, who had been killed the day before, and like Gaston Dussoubs, of the Vienne, who was to be killed on the morrow? No real hope of conquering, or even of resisting, with their own resources then," etc.

Certainly, a barricade had never presented so extraordinary a spectacle. Upon it were seen soldiers of the same political faith, a hundred men whom the hazards of birth or the accidents of life had placed in every degree of what is called the social scale. The workmen, artisans, and small shop-keepers, formed the greatest number, as always. But mingled with them in this feeble group, a veritable *résumé* of French democracy, were counted two men who had exercised the highest functions of the State: an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Jules Bastide, and an under-Secretary of the Ministry of the Navy and the Colonies, M. Schoelcher; an excellent writer, to whose talent the works of exile have added a new *éclat*, M. Alphonse Esquiros; journalists of merit, Messieurs Xavier Durrieu, Kesler, and Watripon; a distinguished officer of the army, Captain Bruckner; two old lieutenant-commanders of the national navy, de Flotte and Cournet; a physician, M. Baudin; lawyers of talent, Messieurs de Montjau, Brillier, Bourzat, etc.

The various sections of the republican party were also represented there. At the side of Socialists, Montagnards,

[1] Vol. ii. p. 246.

and the " Reds," as they were then called, one might see — and he was not the least active — one of the most moderate members of the Left, M. Charamaule (of the Hérault).

The barricade was already formed, when some went to look for arms. The crowd possessed, in all, three muskets that had been taken from some soldiers passing singly.

They then went, the representatives at their head, to the guard-house situated in the middle of the faubourg, near Montreuil Street. It was occupied by a half-score of soldiers under the orders of a sergeant; they allowed themselves to be disarmed without much resistance. There, some one indicated the post of the Marché-Noir as being able to supply a few muskets more. The soldiers there were disarmed in the same way, without accident.

They returned to the barricade.

Representatives Alphonse Esquiros, Madier de Montjau, and some others, then separated from the principal group, with the purpose of going, in company with some friends, to attempt to bar the faubourg in the direction of the Barrière du Trône, so that the first barricade might not be taken in the rear, by the troops stationed on the side of the avenue of Vincennes.

Some moments afterward, — it was about half-past nine o'clock, — three companies of the 19th regiment of the line, detached from the Marulaz brigade, which occupied Bastile Square, slowly ascended the street of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. They were led by Major Pujol. The advance company was commanded by Captain Petit. As soon as they were within range of the barricade, some of the citizens who had joined the representatives withdrew, considering resistance an act of folly, in view of the imperfect condition of the barricade and the want of arms, — twenty-two muskets for a hundred men.

The representatives mounted the upset carriages, and M. Schoelcher said, addressing himself to those who remained: " Friends, not a shot until the line has opened

fire. We are going to it; if it opens fire, the first discharge will be upon us. If it kills us, you will avenge us. But until then, not a shot."

Eight representatives were standing upon the barricade: Baudin, Brillier, Bruckner, de Flotte, Dulac, Maigne, Malardier, and Schoelcher. They signaled to the soldiery to halt. Captain Petit responded by a negative sign. Seven of the representatives then descended, and walked toward the troops. They were unarmed, in single file, and wore their official scarfs. The soldiers halted instinctively. M. Schoelcher commenced speaking: "We are representatives of the people," he cried; "in the name of the Constitution we ask for your concurrence in order to cause the law of the country to be respected. Come with us. It will be your glory."

"Silence!" answered the captain; "I will not hear you. I obey my superiors. I have orders; — retire, or I will fire."

"You can kill us; we will not flinch. *Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*" the seven representatives answered, with one voice. The officer had the arms brought to a "ready," and commanded, "Forward!" Several of the representatives, believing that their last hour had come, held their hats in a manner indicating that death was welcome, uttering a new cry of "*Vive la République!*" But the officer did not give the order to fire. Nine ranks of soldiers passed successively, marching toward the barricade, and turning aside from the representatives without harming them. The latter continued to adjure them to unite with themselves.

Nevertheless, some soldiers, more impatient than the others, repulsed the representatives, menacing them with their bayonets. A quartermaster took aim at M. Bruckner; but upon a word, calm and worthy of the representative, he raised his piece and discharged it in the air. At the same instant, a soldier made a pass with the bayonet at M. Schoelcher, in order to force him backward rather

than to thrust him, as M. Schoelcher himself says. Unfortunately, one of the Republicans who had remained upon the barricade believed, undoubtedly, that the soldiers were really shooting the representatives. He lowered his piece, and fired. A soldier fell mortally wounded. The head of the column, which was not more than three or four paces from the barricade, responded by a general discharge.

Representative Baudin (Note 111), who had remained standing upon one of the carriages, and who continued to harangue the soldiers, fell crushed, — three balls had shattered his skull.

A young man of the people, who was standing at Baudin's side, a musket in his hands, fell at the same time, mortally wounded. We have been unable to learn the name of this intrepid workingman, whose blood was mingled with that of the representative!

An incident had saddened the last moment of Baudin.

Some minutes before the arrival of the troops, he appealed to a group of workingmen. One of them said to him: —

"Do you think we wish to be killed, in helping you to retain your twenty-five francs per day?"

"Remain here a minute, my friend," replied Baudin, with a bitter smile, "and you will see how one dies for twenty-five francs!"

The body of the representative was taken up by the soldiers, and carried to the Morgue. The young workingman who had fallen by the side of Baudin, and who still lived, was taken up by one of the Republicans present, M. Ruin, who transported him, at the peril of his life, to a house in the vicinity.

The troop had fired but once. It cleared the barricade, and went into Cotte and Sainte-Marguérite streets, following some citizens who hurriedly retreated before them.

All these incidents occurred in less time than has been required for their relation.

The seven representatives who had advanced to the front of the soldiers, had remained alone in the middle of the street. They did not see their colleague fall.

Some workmen soon approached; together they bore the body of the young soldier of the 19th, which had remained lying upon the roadway, to the hospital Sainte-Marguérite.

This pious duty being accomplished, the representatives separated into two groups. Messieurs Schoelcher, Malardier, and Brillier, continued to pass through the faubourg, calling the people to arms. A battalion with cannon approached. Workmen drew the representatives into a court, whose doors they closed. The troops having passed, the representatives recommenced their journey, accompanied by M. Sartin, who had just rejoined them. They went through Charonne Street, rallying a few men around them. At the Basfroid cross-roads, five or six workmen tore up the pavement in order to commence a barricade. But the voices of the representatives found but a slight echo. "They greeted us from the doors and windows," says M. Schoelcher; "they swung their hats and caps; they repeated with us, *Vive la République!* — but they did nothing more. It must be confessed, indeed, that people would not stir; they had made up their minds."

After about an hour of vain attempts, the representatives quitted the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in order to go and rejoin their friends in other quarters of Paris, where resistance was tried with more success.

The noise of the events which had just transpired in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, spread rapidly throughout all the city, increased as always by public rumor. The news that Representative Baudin had been killed while giving the signal of resistance, produced in the quarters more remote from the scene of action a much more profound impression than in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. From that moment the agitation increased, and soon ac-

quired considerable proportions. Crowds gathering from parts, and from hour to hour, above all in the central sections, assumed a more menacing attitude. Between the boulevards, Temple and Saint-Denis streets, and the quays; in this, at that time inextricable entanglement of populous, narrow, and crooked streets, eminently favorable to a war of barricades, armed groups, still rare but full of audacity, were now to be encountered for the first time. The proclamations and appeals to arms of the Left were openly placarded in these quarters. Barricades began to rise in Saint-Denis, Aumaire, Grenéta, Transnonain, Bourg l'Abbé, Beaubourg, and other streets. But they were mostly individual attempts, improvised without general plan, without understanding between the divers groups.

Those of the republican representatives who urged resistance and appeared in the assemblages, were not agreed as to the opportunity for open and violent conflict; while several (those who had gone to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and others still, among them the illustrious poet Victor Hugo) were of opinion that it was important to commence barricades immediately, and to resist with firearms. Others thought it would be best to temporize still; to wait until the people appeared better disposed, etc. Hence, a thousand different counsels that crossed each other in the various assemblages, and often paralyzed the good-will of the most resolute. It was rumored about that a committee of resistance, composed of republican representatives, was constituted. Many passed long hours in search for this committee, whom it was so much the more difficult to join, because its members mostly acted individually in different quarters.

However, while many Republicans have complained because on that day of the 3d, the inactivity of some, the counter-orders of others, compromised the success of resistance, it is incontestable that the movement increased

singularly in the afternoon of that day, and that the appearance of Paris became more and more sombre.

In the rich quarters about the Boulevard des Italiens, there were the same noisy demonstrations as the day before, still more emphatic. Some charges of cavalry were executed in order to disperse the throngs; there was, however, no effusion of blood on that day, in those quarters.

North of the Seine, the agitation had reached the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, whither Representative de Flotte had gone, after the death of Baudin.

At Belleville,[1] Representative Madier de Montjau and M. Jules Bastide succeeded in causing a commencement of hostilities. Barricades were begun. An appeal to arms, whose language has been preserved, was printed and placarded in great numbers of copies. It was conceived as follows: —

"To Arms!

"The Republic, attacked by him who had sworn fealty thereto, must defend itself and punish the traitors.

"At the voice of its faithful Representatives, the Faubourg Saint-Antoine is aroused and combating.

"The Departments await but a signal, and it is given.

"Up, all those who wish to live and die free!

"*For the Committee of Resistance of the Montagne; the delegated Representative of the People,* —

"A. Madier Montjau."

The warrant of the High Court of Justice was likewise printed and distributed by thousands of copies, especially in the wealthy quarters. In the streets in the vicinity of Saint-Martin Square, people gathered around an appeal to arms, audaciously placarded by some young men. This document is not signed; but the style of Victor Hugo, by whom it was in fact prepared, will be easily recognized in it.

[1] In the northeast corner of Paris.— *Translators.*

"To the Army!

"Soldiers!

"A man has just broken the Constitution. . . . . .

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"Look toward the true function of the French army. To protect the country; to propagate revolution; to deliver the people; to sustain nationalities; to free the continent; to break chains everywhere; to defend the right everywhere;—these are your part among the armies of Europe. You are worthy of the great battle-fields.

"Return to yourselves; reflect; recognize yourselves; rise up again. Think of your generals arrested. . . . . .

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"Soldiers! if you are the Grand Army, respect the Grand Nation.

"We citizens; we representatives of the people, and your representatives; we, your friends, your brothers; we who are the law and the right; we who array ourselves before you, stretching out our arm to you, and which you strike down. . . . . do you know what it is that drives us to despair? It is not our blood which is flowing away; it is, to see . . . . .

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"If you persist, do you know what history will say of you? She will say . . . . . .

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"French soldiers! cease to assist. . . . . .

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"PARIS, *3d December* 1851."

We believed that we might legally give this revolutionary piece *in extenso*, by reason of its being a historical document. Several proclamations, as violent in expression, have been reproduced in France without trouble. Nevertheless, a scruple seized us at the last moment, and we substitute points for the too emphatic passages. (Note 112.)

A very active group, having numerous relations with the working population, had organized during the day, and ardently urged forward resistance. They were, principally, Messieurs Leroux, representative of the people; Desmoulins, typographer; Gustave Naquet, a political refugee who had just arrived from London, at the risk of being recognized on the frontier; Boquet, Nétré, and some delegates of the laboring associations. It was to this group that the preparation of a very remarkable document, which was placarded in the evening, was due.

M. Mayer, who has reproduced it in his work, says that it was spread about in profusion. Here is the text of it: —

"TO THE WORKING PEOPLE!

"*Citizens and Companions!* The social pact is broken!

"A royalist majority, in concert with Louis Napoleon, violated the Constitution on the 31st of May, 1850.

"In spite of the magnitude of that outrage we were waiting for the general election of 1852, in order to obtain a signal reparation thereof.

"But yesterday, he who was the President of the Republic effaced that solemn date.

"Under pretext of restoring to the people a right which no one could take from them, he wishes in reality to place them under a military dictatorship.

"Citizens, we will not be the dupes of this shameless artifice.

"How could we believe in the sincerity and disinterestedness of Louis Napoleon?

"He talks of maintaining the Republic, and he casts the Republicans into prison.

"He promises the reëstablishment of universal suffrage, and he has just formed an Advisory Council of the men who mutilated it.

"He speaks of his respect for the independence of opinions; and he suspends the newspapers, he invades the printing-offices, he disperses popular meetings.

"He calls the people to an election, and he puts them under martial law. He contemplates we know not what perfidious legerdemain, which would place the elector under the scrutiny of a police kept in pay by him.

"He does more: he exercises a coercion upon our brothers of the army, and violates the human conscience in forcing them to vote for him, under the eye of their officers, in forty-eight hours.

"He is ready, he says, to resign his power; and he contracts a loan of twenty-five millions, binding the future, under the produce of the imposts, which indirectly affect the sustenance of the poor.

"Falsehood, hypocrisy, perjury! such is the policy of this usurper.

"Citizens and companions! Louis Napoleon has outlawed himself. The majority of the Assembly, that majority which has assaulted universal suffrage, is dissolved.

"The minority alone maintain a legitimate authority. Let us rally around that minority. Let us fly to the deliverance of the republican prisoners; let us gather in the midst of us the representatives faithful to universal suffrage; let us make for them a rampart of our breasts; let our delegates come and increase their ranks, and form with them the nucleus of the new National Assembly!

"Then, united in the name of the Constitution, under the inspiration of our fundamental dogma, Liberty, Fraternity, Equal-

ity, in the shadow of the popular flag, we shall easily get the advantage of the new Cæsar and of his prætorians.

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF ASSOCIATIONS.

"The proscribed Republicans come within our walls again, in order to second the popular efforts."

Two despatches from M. de Maupas to M. de Morny, dated the afternoon of the 3d, will now show how the Prefect of Police regarded the situation on his part.

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Four o'clock, *December* 3.

"Here is the word of order which the delegates are sending at this very moment to all sections: 'Everybody to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and to that of the Temple, this evening! Ledru-Rollin, Causidière, Mazzini (Note 113), will be in Paris to-morrow morning at six o'clock at the latest. Let us not deceive ourselves; it is the great struggle of 1852, which we have to fight in December 1851.'

"I am assured that the Prince de Joinville debarks at Cherbourg; that his brothers will try to penetrate France at other points (Note 114). Cherbourg then is essential to be watched over. For my part, I am going to keep watch of the approaches to Paris.

"Madier de Montjau is killed; Schoelcher seriously wounded. We shall find in our enemies, when they shall have recovered from the first shock, the resolution of despair.

"Barricades at the Medical College. The *Moniteur* calls for work immediately.

"The representatives of Pyramides Street are trying to renew to-day their session of yesterday. I do not believe they are hostile; nevertheless, I would like to have your advice as to what action to take.

"*The Prefect of Police,*

"DE MAUPAS.

"P. S. — The truth as to the situation. The sentiment of the masses is the safest element of wise and good resolutions; at the same time it is the most imperative duty for the Prefect of Police. I ought to say, then, that *I do not believe that the popular sympathies are with us.* We find *no enthusiasm anywhere.* Those

who approve of us are lukewarm; those who fight us are inexpressibly hostile. The good side of the medal whose reverse I have just given you, is: that at all points, chiefs and soldiers, the troops seem decided to act with intrepidity. This was proved this morning. It is there that our strength and safety lie. For my part, however pessimist I may be, I firmly believe in success." . . . .

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"PARIS, *December* 3, 1851, four and a quarter o'clock.

"They are commencing barricades in Rambuteau Street, at the height of Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin streets. Vehicles have been stopped.

"It is affirmed that Madier de Montjau is not dead, and that he is among the groups. The cry 'To arms!' is raised at the corner of Grenéta Street. The point of general assemblage at this moment is in the quarter of Saint-Martin. It seems certain that a troop, chosen from among men of action, is convoked in arms, at about five o'clock, in Saint-Martin's Square, and that the leaders of this troop have announced that the question would be as to proceeding to the President's house. It is pretended, too, that the Rouen patriots are arriving, and that Ledru-Rollin is in the outskirts of the city.

"*For the Prefect of Police, at this moment at the Council of the Ministers.*

"THE DELEGATED COMMISSARY OF THE GOVERNMENT."

Toward three o'clock, the bill-posters of the Prefecture of Police placarded the two proclamations following, which would suffice alone to cause the real condition of Paris at this moment to be appreciated.

The first is from M. de Maupas: —

"WE, PREFECT OF POLICE, ETC.

"Order as follows: —

"ART. 1. All assembling together is strictly prohibited. It will be entirely dispersed by force.

"ART. 2. All seditious cries, all public reading, all placarding of political writings not emanating from a regularly constituted authority, are likewise prohibited.

"ART. 3. The agents of the public force will attend to the execution of the present order.

"Done at the Prefecture of Police, December 3, 1851.

"*The Prefect of Police,*

"DE MAUPAS.

"Examined and approved, —

"*The Minister of the Interior,*

"DE MORNY."

The second proclamation emanated from the Minister of War, M. de Saint-Arnaud: —

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS!

"The enemies of order and society have entered into conflict. It is not against the government, against the elect of the nation, that they combat, but they desire pillage and destruction.

"Let good citizens unite, in the name of society and of menaced families.

"Remain calm, inhabitants of Paris! No useless curious people in the streets. They impede the movements of the brave soldiers who protect you with their bayonets.

"As for myself, you will find me always unshaken in the determination to defend you, and to maintain order.

"The Minister of War — by virtue of the law of the state of siege —

"Orders: Every individual taken constructing or defending a barricade, or with arms in hand, WILL BE SHOT.

"*Major-General and Minister of War,*

"DE SAINT-ARNAUD."

The order of M. de Saint-Arnaud was without example in the history of our civil troubles since the commencement of this century.

We do not mean by this that prisoners had never been shot in the wars of the streets. We should be answered by evoking the souvenirs of April, 1834, under Louis Philippe; and of June, 1848, under the Republic. But the execution of disarmed prisoners had always been, in those lamentable instances, spontaneous acts of rage, retaliation, cruelty if you please — committed by exasperated

soldiers or national guards, drunken with the fury of the conflict. What had never been seen, was a Minister of War ordering in advance, publicly, openly, the condemnation to death and execution, without other legal form than a discharge of musketry, of *every individual taken constructing or defending a barricade, or with arms in hand.*

As to the law of the state of siege, had in view by M. de Saint-Arnaud, it is hardly necessary to say that it did not contain, and never has contained any provision of that sort.

Besides, these proclamations, so threatening, far from abating the commotion, contributed perhaps to give it a more lively impulse.

What is indisputable is, that these placards were posted at about three o'clock, and that at four o'clock volleys of musketry began to be exchanged in the streets where we have indicated the construction of barricades.

An ocular witness, very credible, has related to us a curious fact which he had occasion to remark, in the morning of the next day, on the subject of the effect produced by these proclamations.

The order of M. de Saint-Arnaud was placarded at certain points where barricades arose; and the Republicans who took part in their construction had not even taken the trouble to tear down these bills.

They could read, and they did read, posted upon the walls that supported their barricade, the order which threatened them with death and summary execution, if they should have the misfortune to be captured.

At half-past four o'clock, General Herbillon started from the City Hall Square (Hôtel de Ville) at the head of a column composed of a battalion of dismounted chasseurs, and two battalions of the line, with one piece of cannon. It passed through Temple and Rambuteau streets, as far as the Church of Saint-Eustache, scouring the neighboring streets by its detachments. The barricades were carried everywhere without serious resistance. The citizens who

had constructed them had instinctively adopted as their tactics, to harass the troops, scarcely defending the barricades, but reoccupying them in the rear of the troops; thus fatiguing the soldiers by continual alarms.

Up to nine o'clock in the evening there was in all these quarters a series of skirmishes, some of which were quite active. A barricade in Aumaire Street was resolutely defended; another likewise near the National Printing-office. The movable gendarmery took this latter. Toward nine o'clock in the evening an armed assemblage, which appears to have been quite numerous,— more than a hundred men, — had reoccupied the barricades of Grenéta, Transnonain, and Beaubourg streets. A real combat was entered into at this point. Colonel Chapuis had attacked the barricades in front with a battalion of the third regiment of the line. He met with a very active resistance, until a battalion of the sixth of the line, light infantry, Boulatigny commanding, debouched upon the rear of the defenders of the barricades, and placed them between two fires. A certain number fell, fighting. From sixty to eighty were captured, and several of them were immediately shot. General Magnan says, in his official report, "All the obstacles (in Beaubourg Street) were carried on the run, and those who defended them were put to death."[1]

While the discharge of firearms was resounding in those quarters of the centre of old Paris, the republican representatives at liberty continued to meet together and concert matters. The Committee of Resistance had issued several provisional decrees, which it had procured to be printed. One of these decrees bestowed upon Baudin the honors of the Pantheon (Note 115); another convoked the electors to choose a sovereign assembly, etc.

At five o'clock in the evening, quite a considerable meeting took place at the house of M. Landrin. There were noticed, besides the several representatives whom we have already named, Messieurs Garnier-Pagès and Marie, old

[1] *Passés par les Armes.*

members of the provisional government; M. J. Bastide, Messieurs Emile de Girardin (Note 116); and Napoleon Bonaparte (to-day Prince Napoleon), cousin of the President.

There, the events of the day, and the course of conduct to be taken, were considered. M. Emile de Girardin proposed, it is said, that all the representatives remaining free constitute themselves prisoners, and that a general refusal to do duty (grève) be organized, until the fall of the President. A very spirited altercation arose after this proposition, between Messieurs Emile de Girardin and Michel (of Bourges). Nothing, it seems, was decided upon in this meeting, save the framing of a new proclamation, conceived in the most energetic terms, which was signed by all the representatives present, the signature of him who to-day is Prince Napoleon, being comprised therein. This at least is what persons worthy of belief have affirmed to us. In a second meeting, at M. Marie's, some resolutions were passed. It was determined there, it seems, to take an active part in the armed resistance which was becoming more serious. Besides, the sentiments of the populace seemed so far modified, that hope of success, confidence in the issue or the crisis, to those even who the day before were most afflicted by the attitude of the people, was restored to them.

All the Republicans who traversed Paris in the evening of December 3, affirm even to-day, that no revolutionary movement had ever seemed more potent, on the first day of conflict, than that which was being manifested at this moment.

The most enthusiastic writers upon the *Coup d'Etat*, have not disguised the fact that on the third, in the evening, the groups that formed and re-formed upon the boulevards, from the Chaussée d'Antin to the Faubourg du Temple (Note 117), and especially in the adjacent streets, in spite of the patrols and the charges of cavalry, presented the sombre and menacing aspect of the Parisian throngs in

the first part of the great revolutionary days. Rumors of bad news for Louis Napoleon — mostly false — were received with avidity. The few persons who dared, in the midst of the throngs, express opinions favorable to the President, were threatened, maltreated even.

The incitements of the Republicans who traversed the streets, aroused, on the contrary, cheers and acclamations.

An old constituent, now dead, M. Xavier Durrieu, who wrote some time after the event, said: "Upon my honor, I declare, that from seven o'clock until midnight (the 3d of December), all my hope had returned. I almost believed the revolution assured. . . . . I was present during the last hours of the reign of Louis Philippe; I was strongly identified with the events which led to his fall; but in truth, never had I met with . . . . "— We cannot finish the quotation literally; but the meaning is, that M. Durrieu had never, even in February, seen a mass so strongly inclined to revolution.

It is not without interest now to transcribe a passage from the book of the military writer, the enthusiast of the 2d of December, M. Mauduit; a passage relating an incident of that evening of the 3d. It will be seen that the impressions felt by these two men, with opinions so diametrically opposed, confirm the reality of the facts such as they appeared to us, that is to say, the feeling of hostility toward the *Coup d'Etat*, on the part of the people, in the evening of the 3d of December.

"December 3d," says M. Mauduit, "at about half-past six o'clock in the evening, Colonel Rochefort, of the First Lancers, received orders to start, with two squadrons only, in order to maintain the boulevards unobstructed, from the Rue de la Paix to the Boulevard du Temple. That mission was all the more delicate, because he had been prohibited from repressing by force other cries than those of '*Vive la République démocratique et sociale!*'

"The colonel, *foreboding what was to happen*, had warned all his detachment *not to be astonished by the crowd to be passed through*, and by its utterances. He directed his lancers to remain

calm, impassible, up to the moment when he should order the charge; and, once an engagement commenced, to show no mercy to any person whatever.

"Scarcely arrived upon the boulevards, at the height of the Rue de la Paix, he found himself in the presence of an *immense tide of people, manifesting the most marked hostility*, under the mask of the cry of, '*Vive la République !!!*' Those lawful exclamations were accompanied by menacing gestures.

"With eyes and ears open, ready to order the charge upon the first seditious cry, the colonel continued to march thus, on the walk, followed by frightful yells, as far as the Boulevard du Temple.

"The colonel having received orders to charge all the groups he should encounter upon the roadway, availed himself of a military trick; the result of which was the chastisement of a certain number of these vociferators in overcoats.

"He masked his squadrons for a few moments, in an uneven piece of ground near the Château d'Eau, in order to distract their attention, and to make them believe that he was occupied in the direction of the Bastile Square. But suddenly making a half-turn, without being perceived, and ordering the buglers and the advance-guard to enter the ranks, he went marching on at a walk, until the moment when he found himself in the densest part of that *compact and incalculable crowd*, with the intention of PIERCING WITH THE LANCE all who should oppose his passage.

"The most audacious, emboldened perhaps by the *pacific demonstration* of these two squadrons, placed themselves in front of the colonel, and caused the insulting cries of '*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale !!! A bas les traitres !*' (Long live the National Assembly! Down with the traitors!) to be heard. Recognizing in this cry a *challenge*, Colonel Rochefort launched like a furious lion into the midst of the group whence it arose, cutting, thrusting, and lancing. There remained QUITE A NUMBER OF DEAD UPON THE GROUND.

"In these groups, but *few individuals in blouses* were found.

"The lancers bore this *severe moral test* with admirable calmness. Their confidence was not shaken by it a moment, etc.

"Returning to the Place Vendôme, *his mission* accomplished, Colonel Rochefort hastened to report the matter to Major-General Carrelet."[1]

[1] *Révolution Militaire du 2 Décembre, par le Capitaine H. Mauduit*, pp. 176, 177, *et* 178.

At midnight, Paris seemed to have become calm again. Certain people in governmental places believed that all was finished.

It was on that evening that Generals Bedeau, Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Leflô, as well as Messieurs Baze, Charras, and Roger (of the North), were conducted to the northern railway station, in order to be transported to Ham, the old prison of Louis Napoleon.

On that fearful night, whilst the movement of resistance was growing, and threatened to inaugurate (as M. de Morny communicated to General Magnan) the days of the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th of December, the counterparts of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, or the 22d, 23d, and 24th of February, — on that night, when it was of capital importance to choose a line of conduct, a great military council was held, at which were present, the Minister of War, Saint-Arnaud; the General-in-chief, Magnan; the principal generals of division of the army of Paris; M. de Morny, and probably also, the President of the Republic, although we could not affirm this latter particular. There, M. de Morny caused the plan of operations to prevail, which he had recommended with so much persistence to M. Magnan. It may be summed up as follows: To concentrate the troops in great masses, care for them, feed them well, keep them from coming into contact with the people, withdraw the too feeble posts, dispense with patrols, allow the barricades to be constructed. Then, the moment for action being carefully chosen, to attack unexpectedly, with compact forces, and crush all resistance.

The last sentence of one of the dispatches of M. de Morny to General Magnan, has not been forgotten: "It is only by holding aloof, by surrounding a quarter and taking it by famine, or *by invading it with terror*, that urban warfare (*guerre de ville*) will be carried on." This plan was adopted. The continuance of this narrative will show with what exactness it was followed.

CHAPTER VI.

On Thursday morning, December 4, the agitation commenced early. The attitude of the people did not belie the hopes which the Republicans had formed in the evening of the previous day.

The throng was soon immense, at the ordinary points of gathering. From the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle to the Château d'Eau, and in all the neighboring quarters, the crowds were enormous. The working-men predominated there; their sentiments seemed quite modified since the last two days; the revolutionary movement was gaining the masses. Armed men showed themselves in groups. The appeals to arms, printed in the night, were read loudly. The throng applauded.

The strangest rumors circulated. At times, people talked of the escape of arrested generals, who were said to have succeeded in rallying some regiments in a neighboring department, and who would march against Paris; at times of the triumphant popular insurrection, it was said at Rheims and at Orleans. Later, it was the contradictory news, but not less greedily received, of the summary execution of General Bedeau and Colonel Charras. This was false, but it was believed. There were likewise related a thousand details concerning the shootings that had followed the combats of the day before; upon the throttling of prisoners, massacred in cold blood. Some announced the approximate arrival of the Republicans exiled since 1849. Some said that General Neumayer — the general disgraced after Satory — had pronounced in favor of the National Assembly, and was arriving at the head of his troops.

These rumors found so much credence in the multitude, that the Prefect of Police himself, to whom his agents brought it, was tempted to believe in the reality of some of them, as will be seen further on.

The excitement which the announcement of such matters produced in the public, is conceived without difficulty.

A rumor of a different character, quite peculiar, also circulated, was so persistently affirmed, and so generally accepted as true, that the government was disturbed about it.

It was said that twenty millions ($4,000,000) had been removed from the Bank of France (Note 118), by order of the President of the Republic. It was added that part of that considerable sum had been distributed among the principal coöperators of the *Coup d'Etat* — some mentioned the figures of the sums given to such or such ones, — and the remainder, it was assured, was dispensed since the previous day, in largesses to the troops.

The newspapers published, a little later, letters from Messieurs Casabianca, a former Minister of the Finances, and d'Argout, a director of the Bank of France, which opposed the most formal denial to these assertions. The latter declared that a sum of twenty or twenty-five millions, due to the state by the bank, and whose payment might have been required at this moment, had not been withdrawn. Nevertheless, these rumors left so many traces, that several years after the event M. Granier de Cassagnac judged it necessary to respond by the recital of a fact until then unknown.

" The truth," he said, " about the disbursements to the soldiers during the days of the 2d, 3d, and 4th of December, is much more simple and much more noble.

" When the Prince decided, on the evening of the 1st of December, to save society by a decisive measure, he had remaining of all his personal fortune, of all his patrimony, a sum of *fifty thousand francs* ($10,000). He knew that in certain memorable circum-

stances, the troops had flagged before the riot for want of provisions, and more starved than vanquished. He took, then, up to the last crown-piece, what he had left, and charged General Fleury to go, brigade by brigade, and man by man, and distribute this last farthing to the soldiers, conquerors of the demagogues." [1] (Note 119.)

In the first hours of the morning, M. de Maupas caused a new proclamation, more significant than the preceding ones even, to be posted up: —

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS!

"Like us, you desire order and peace; like us, you are impatient to have done with this handful of factionists, who have raised, since yesterday, the flag of insurrection.

"Everywhere our courageous and intrepid army has overthrown and vanquished them.

"The people have remained deaf to their provocations. There are nevertheless measures which the public safety requires.

"Martial law is decreed.

"Making use of the powers which it gives us, we, the Prefect of Police, order: —

"Article 1. The movement of all vehicles, public or private, is prohibited. There will be no exceptions but in favor of those employed in supplying food to Paris, and in the transportation of materials.

"*Pedestrians, standing* in the public streets, and forming in groups, WILL BE DISPERSED BY FORCE WITHOUT A PREVIOUS SUMMONS.

"*Let peaceable citizens remain in their lodgings.* There will be serious peril in violating the provisions decreed.

"*The Prefect of Police,*

"DE MAUPAS.

"PARIS, *December* 4, 1851."

M. P. Mayer, in his *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, has commented upon this proclamation, in terms which deserve to be reproduced: —

"At daybreak," he says, "the Prefect of Police posted up the

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis-Philippe*, tome ii. pp. 433, 434.

following proclamation (the proclamation follows). For everybody except the deaf and blind, it was intended to mean, and did mean: 'There is to be a great battle to-day; let those who do not wish to be killed, not go upon the field of combat.' This document is, and was, an answer to all the reproaches of inhumanity, and all the evocations of innocent blood poured out, that parties, since the fatal combat of the boulevard Poissonnière, have sought to bring upon the government."[1]

But let us not anticipate concerning what M. Mayer calls "*the fatal combat* of the Boulevard Poissonnière."

All the troops having been withdrawn, as agreed in the military council, nothing opposed the construction of barricades. As early as nine o'clock in the morning, they arose in great number, in the streets comprised between the boulevards and the quays, and Montmartre and Temple streets; likewise in the Faubourg Saint-Martin, as far as the approaches to the canal. That portion of the popular mass which in times of revolution scarcely moves until the third day, did not yet act, but it revealed its sympathy with those who acted. The latter were the *élite* of the intrepid Republicans in Paris, as well of the people, as of the *bourgeoisie.*

A formidable barricade was constructed at about eleven o'clock, in Saint-Denis Street, in sight of the boulevard. It was flanked with obstructions of less importance, that barred all the neighboring streets. Little-Carreau Street was already at the same hour intersected by five or six barricades. There were more still in Jeuneurs and Tiquetonne streets, and in nearly all the streets that open from that side into Montmartre Street. In the centre, toward Grenéta Street, all the barricades overthrown by the troops in the evening of the previous day were reërected and fortified. Quite a number of them were seen in Saint-Martin Street, in the approaches to the market of that name. A very strong one was constructed as far up as

[1] Page 151.

the Conservatory of Arts and Trades. Temple Street, in the part adjoining the boulevards, was cut by them; also the small streets near by. Toward the quays, between the Hôtel de Ville and the Church of Saint-Eustache, all the streets were covered with improvised intrenchments. The cloister of Saint-Merri, celebrated in the revolutionary demonstrations of June, 1832, was barricaded.

At the corner of Temple and Rambuteau streets, a formidable barricade was erected, almost as well constructed as that of Saint-Denis Street.

Toward noon, barricades were commenced even on the boulevards. A quite considerable one was erected on the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, some twenty mètres from the gate Saint-Denis. (Note 120.)

In front of the Théâtre du Gymnase, another obstruction was begun, but remained quite imperfect. A few capsized vehicles, garnished with materials of demolition accruing from public urinals that the crowd had thrown down, formed at this point an advanced post, where about fifteen armed men were stationed.

At the same hour, toward noon, the mayoralty of the 5th district, in the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, was taken without great resistance by a crowd of Republicans, mostly working-men. We can name among them; citizens Laurens, an old sergeant of artillery; A. Gay, Edouard Baudoin, Bourdon, and Favrelle. Most of these citizens were transported to Africa some months later.

There have also been mentioned among those who figured a little later in the barricades of the Faubourg Saint-Martin: citizens Denis-Dussoubs, he who died like a hero a few hours later; Artaud, Lebloy, Longepied, and J. Luneau, a lieutenant of the republican guard, retired because of his democratic principles, and who had gone to the barricades, dressed in his uniform. There were found at the mayoralty of the 5th district, three hundred muskets, and ammunition. It was the drum-major of the le-

gion who voluntarily indicated the cellar in which this deposit of arms was found.

During this time, other groups traversed the quarters of the centre, principally the warehouse streets, asking for arms. The *bourgeois* donated their guns willingly. Thus it was that many arms of the fifth legion of the National Guard passed into the hands of the Republicans disposed to fight. The impulse was already strong enough in those quarters for the famous inscription, "Arms given"— which is scarcely seen until the moment of triumphant insurrection, — to be read upon the doors and shop-fronts of all those streets. A correspondence which may be read in the *Moniteur*, between M. de Morny and General Lowœstine, commander of the National Guards, adds faith to what we advance concerning this. Here is an extract from the letter of De Morny, dated December 7 : —

TO THE SUPERIOR COMMANDER OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS OF THE SEINE.

"PARIS, *December* 7.

"*General:* — In several quarters of Paris some proprietors have had the indecency to put upon their doors, '*Arms given.*' One would conceive that one of the National Guard would write, *Arms wrested by force*, in order to shelter his responsibility. I have ordered the Prefect of Police to have these inscriptions effaced, etc.

"*Signed:* DE MORNY."

General Lowœstine responded the same day, designating the 5th legion as the one whose arms had been thus given. It was disbanded immediately.

From the Boulevard Montmartre to the Chaussée d'Antin, in a section which is rarely seen to sympathize with revolutionary movements, the multitude was great, and a prey to extreme agitation. The "Yellow-gloves," according to the expression of M. Granier de Cassagnac, applauded resistance. The detailed aides-de-camp, the re-

connoitring platoons, that broke through this well-dressed mass, were received with cries of anger: "*A bas les traitres! A bas les Prétoriens!*" ("Down with the traitors! Down with the Pretorian cohorts!") A staff-officer was assaulted at the corner of the Rue de la Paix (Peace Street), unhorsed, and had difficulty in escaping from the crowd, who were disposed to treat him roughly.

"The revolt," says M. de Cassagnac, "had found, if not partisans, at least auxiliaries, in a part of the lettered and well-to-do younger class, belonging either to the press or to the commerce of Paris. These young people filled with tumult the richest and most elegant part of the boulevards, where it had not seemed probable that communism was to expect such a diversion."[1]

The same writer has said elsewhere: "When the dead bodies of the rioters were gathered up, what were found to be in the majority? *Malefactors* and Yellow-gloves."[2]

The word "malefactors," is here, like "communism," a little higher up. It is an honest and moderate style of designating the men of the people who fell on the 4th of December. We have under our eyes a list — very incomplete, it is true, — but the only official one that has been published of the dead of that day. Of one hundred and fifty-three names inscribed thereon, many belonged to the middling class: merchants, lawyers, retired business men, land-owners; many also are names of working-men. He who has cast this posthumous insult upon them — *malefactors* — would be shamefully embarrassed in the presence of that funereal list, were he compelled to say which of those dead deserved, on account of his public or private life, to be tarnished with the name of "malefactor."[3]

But let us continue our narrative.

The agitation was not concentrated in the quarters of

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis-Philippe*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 427, 428.
[2] *Récit Complet et Authentique*, etc., p. 38.
[3] See this list in the Appendix.

which we have just spoken. Attempts at barricades were made at many other points. In the quarters south of the Seine, gatherings were numerous. Some young men in the schools tried repeatedly to raise barricades, especially in La Harpe, Saint-André-des-Arts, and Dauphiné streets, and at the Buci cross-roads.

The Faubourg Saint-Antoine became aroused. Barricades were formed there which de Courtigis' brigade destroyed only by employing force.

Some were also commenced near the upper part of the Faubourg Poissonnière; several quite strong ones at the Chapelle-Saint-Denis. At Montmartre, and at the Batignolles (Note 121), the commotion was also very violent.

The following despatches of M. de Maupas show how threatening the situation appeared to him: —

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, *December* 4, 1851, one and a quarter o'clock.

"The tidings are becoming quite serious. The insurgents are occupying the mayoralties; the shopkeepers are delivering their arms to them. The mayoralty of Ward V. is occupied by the insurgents. They are fortifying themselves at this point. *To allow them to increase now would be an act of great imprudence.* Now is the moment for striking a decisive blow. The sound and the effect of cannon are necessary; and *they are needed immediately.* Let the rumors not spread that there is indecision in the authorities; that would be giving a useless moral force to our enemies.

"*The Prefect of Police.*

"*Signed:* DE MAUPAS."

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, *December* 4.

"The barricades are assuming great proportions in the quarter Saint-Denis. Houses are already occupied by the mob; they

are firing from the windows. The barricades go up as high as the second story. We have had nothing so serious yet."[1]

M. de Morny, as Doctor Véron states, had pushed personally a reconnaissance toward the quarters in arms. Reentering the Ministry of the Interior, "and finding his waiting visitors pale, frightened at this news that numerous barricades were raised in Paris, he said to all, with an animated gayety: 'How now! Yesterday you wanted barricades; they are making you some, and you are not pleased at it.'"[2]

A little later, toward one o'clock undoubtedly, he addressed a despatch to General Magnan, in which are noticed these words: "I am going, in accordance with your report, to have the political societies of the boulevards closed. STRIKE STRONGLY IN THAT DIRECTION."[3]

In fact, the moment had come in which the plan of campaign revealed by the despatches of the 3d, from M. de Morny to General Magnan, and definitively resolved upon in the military council of the day before, might be executed with full success.

The barricades were in fact already numerous, and sufficiently strong for their defenders to be tempted to accept combat. The number of the latter was not considerable enough for the result of the conflict to be doubtful; but they formed a nucleus of *élite*, comprising the most energetic men of the republican party, workmen and *bourgeois*. Should it be vouchsafed to them to keep up during one day more the warfare of skirmishers, their numbers were to increase tenfold, and the morning of the morrow would have found them formidable. By enveloping the quarters in which they were entrenched with great masses of troops, by attacking with vigor, what revolutionary Paris accounted the most intrepid men could be crushed by a single blow.

1 Reproduced in the *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, by Dr. Véron.
2 Vol. vi. p. 210.
3 Pages 208, 209.

The occasion was opportune for the conduct of "urban warfare," as M. de Morny understood it.

By "striking strongly" in the boulevards, they were going to cut short the *bourgeois* opposition. They would not have to fear seeing the next day, as in February, the uniforms of the National Guard mingled with the blouses and overcoats of the insurgents.

The soldiers, quite refreshed, kept since the previous day away from contact with the people, bountifully supplied with provisions and wines, were in as good humor as the government could desire.

It certainly was correct to say, that in 1830 and 1848, the want of material care had strongly contributed to the depression of the *morale* of the troops. The administration had carefully provided that a like accident should not be repeated. We read, among other details, in the *Moniteur Parisien* of the 6th of December: "Wines, eatables, were lavished upon them." This newspaper is speaking of the soldiers who encamped on the boulevards on the evening of December 4. But it is quite legitimate to believe that they did not wait for the issue of the conflict, in order to entertain the soldiers. A thousand ocular witnesses still live, who saw, in the morning, the troops in position in the Champs-Élysées, eating and drinking copiously. Several soldiers present told us, a few years later, that in the matter of the contribution of material comforts, great things were done that morning.

Nor were there any longer, isolated in the quarters in arms, feeble posts, detached patrols, to the attack upon which the previous revolutions had owed their first success, and the troops their first cause of demoralization.

The employment of these military tactics, different from the old errors, was certainly the determining cause of the disaster to the Republicans. Several of those who escaped safe and sound from the struggle of the afternoon, have told us that the revolutionary movement seemed to

them, in the beginning of the day, more serious than it had on the 23d of February.

The Committee of Resistance had assembled in a neighboring house of the boulevards. Favorable news flowed in to them. One of the members of the Committee has related some significant details, — "Paris has started!" said, on entering, a veteran of the revolutionary struggles, who had just traversed several quarters of the capital. — "Now let a regiment hesitate, or a legion fall out, and Louis Napoleon is lost!" cried M. Jules Favre, struck with the growing progress of the popular excitement.

It seems that at the Prefecture of Police, the impression was hardly different, as to the well-understood facts. We have seen above, this passage of the dispatch of M. de Maupas: "To allow them (the barricades) to increase now, would be an act of great imprudence. . . . . The noise, and the *effect* of cannon, are necessary, and they are needed immediately."

General Magnan says also, in his report inserted in the *Moniteur*, —

> "At noon, I learned that the barricades were becoming formidable, and that the insurgents were intrenching themselves there. But I had decided not to attack until two o'clock, and, unwavering in my resolution, I did not advance a moment sooner, whatever importunities were urged for it."

Toward one o'clock, the barricade between the Théâtre du Gymnase and the Porte Saint-Denis (Note 118, *ante*) was almost finished. A young woman, standing between two armed workingmen, at the summit of the barricade, read an appeal of the representatives of the Left. The throng applauded. A member sought to penetrate the mayoralty, in what to-day is Drouot Street, asking for arms. On the boulevards Montmartre and des Italiens, an immense crowd, very animated, shouted: "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*" mingled with cries directly offensive, for the President of the Republic.

However, upon the whole line of the boulevards, from the Théâtre du Gymnase to the Madeleine Church, no armed men were seen, and there were no traces of barricades.

A little before two o'clock, the troops commenced their movement.

Carrelet's division debouched from the Place Vendôme, and from the Madeleine (Note 122), in the following order: at the head, the brigade of General de Bourgon; then the brigades of Generals de Cotte and Canrobert. These infantry troops were supported by several batteries of cannon and howitzers, with twelve or fifteen mortars. The cavalry of General Reibell, two regiments of lancers, brought up the rear of the column.

General Dulac's brigade, belonging to the same division, took position at the Pointe Saint-Eustache, near the great markets (*Halles*). The regiments composing it were supported by a battery of artillery.

Major-general Levasseur formed the Herbillon and Marulaz brigades in columns, in the approaches to the Hôtel de Ville, and took position in the outlets of Temple, Saint-Martin, and Saint-Denis streets.

The de Courtigis brigade got in readiness to quit the Barrèire du Trône, in order to sweep the barricades that had just been erected in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

On the south side of the Seine, General Renault, with his division, occupied the Luxembourg (Note 123), the square of the church of Saint-Sulpice, the Odeon (theatre), the Panthéon (Note 114), Maubert Square, and also covered the college-district, and the Faubourg Saint-Marceau. The Prefecture of Police, situated in the Cité, (Note 124), was guarded by imposing forces.

If the reader has not lost sight of the position of the barricaded quarters forming the centre of resistance, he will see that the Republicans who had taken up arms, were about to be assailed and enveloped by a converging

movement of the brigades of Bourgon, de Cotte, and Canrobert on one side, and the brigades of Dulac, Herbillon, and Marulaz on the other. There were not less than thirty thousand men, acting in masses, whose onset they were to brave.

It will be asked, without doubt, what was the number of the armed citizens who occupied the barricades? However difficult it may be to form such an estimate, it is not impossible to arrive at an approximate figure.

It is agreed that there were a hundred combatants at the Porte Saint-Martin; about one hundred and fifty at the great barricade in the street of the same name; a like number at the approaches to the Conservatory of the Arts and Trades; two hundred and fifty at most, in the Faubourg Saint-Martin; seven or eight groups of fifteen to twenty men each, in the little streets leading toward Montmartre Street; some groups of the same force, in those that border on Temple Street, near the boulevard. That is to say, from eight hundred to nine hundred men, in the positions which were to receive the onset of fifteen thousand soldiers of the brigades of Bourgon, de Cotte, Canrobert, and Reibell.

On the opposite side, facing the quays, between the great markets (*Halles*) and the Hôtel de Ville, there was, at the great barricade of Rambuteau Street, an assemblage of about two hundred men, flanked in the neighboring streets, by divers groups of from fifteen to twenty combatants each: at the very most four hundred armed men, in the face of the three brigades of Dulac, Herbillon, and Marulaz.

It is hardly below the truth to estimate at a total of twelve hundred armed men, those of the Republicans who prepared themselves for combat.

As fast as the troops of Carrelet's division defiled into the boulevards, the crowd that covered the roadway fell back upon the sidewalks, and massed together upon the

corners of the adjacent streets. It looked upon the passing soldiers, sometimes in silence, sometimes crying, "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*" At some points more emphatic cries were heard: "*A bas les prétoriens! A bas Soulouque!*" (Note 125.) At two o'clock, Bourgon's brigade, which formed the head of the column, arrived within a few paces from the first positions of the Republicans. The fifteen or twenty men who kept themselves in ambuscade behind the overturned vehicles near the Théâtre du Gymnase, had not abandoned their post, notwithstanding the enormous mass of troops that marched toward them. A piece of cannon was aimed and fired at the little barricade. The first ball passed over. The Republicans responded by a few shots. These, as well as can be determined, were the first exchanged during the day. The infantry, the 33d and 58th of the line, was shortly after launched forward by General de Bourgon. It rapidly carried the barricades of the boulevard, near the Porte Saint-Denis; swept with musketry all the portions of boulevards comprised between the Faubourg Saint-Denis and the Château d'Eau; then, turning to the right, became engaged with the barricaded quarters through Temple Street.

De Cotte's brigade followed soon after this movement. The 72d of the line, supported by several pieces of cannon, penetrated into Saint-Denis Street, where the great barricade, of which we have spoken, was erected. The line was abruptly checked by the most energetic resistance.

During this time, a part of the infantry of General de Cotte, all of the brigade of Canrobert, and the cavalry of General Reibell, remained massed upon the boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle, Poissonnière, Montmartre, and des Italiens.

Suddenly, toward three o'clock, a fearful *fusillade*, mingled with cannonading, resounded through all that line of boulevards, where neither barricades nor insurgents had been perceived up to that time.

The account of that event, forever lamentable, which was to exercise so decisive an influence, and to be so prolific in disaster, deserves a separate narration, made with special care. We limit ourselves to the hour in which the event occurred, reserving the part of returning to it fully when we shall have completed the account of those military operations prosecuted independently of the actions of the boulevards.

General de Cotte, whose brigade had received orders to take the barricades of Saint-Denis Street and the streets adjoining, soon came to direct, personally, the attack upon the formidable obstacle which arrested the 72d of the line.

The barricade was formed at the point where Saint-Denis Street describes a curve. It could not be breached by cannon-balls without raking adjoining houses. Consisting, moreover, of masses of paving-stones, it was of unusual solidity.

Its defenders communicated, through an alley, with their comrades who were guarding the barricades of Saint-Martin Street. They had established a foundery for bullets, and an ambulance, in the alley. The tri-colored flag of the post of the Arts et Métiers floated at the top of the barricade.

Here were one hundred and fifty men of rare bravery.

We regret our inability to give with certainty the names of any of them. Among them have been mentioned, however, M. Carlos Forel, a representative of the people; and M. David, a professor, who was killed.

During an hour's time, four pieces of cannon, in battery, on the roadway of the boulevard, fired without relaxation, with shot and shell. The barricade was breached, but they could not cause its defenders to loosen their hold. Several soldiers of the 6th artillery were wounded at their guns. The 72d infantry of the line, vainly attempted several assaults with the bayonet. One of them was murderous.

The colonel, and the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment dismounted in order to infuse zeal into their grenadiers. They led them at the pace of the charge, to within a few steps of the barricade.

The Republicans, who had reserved their fire, received them with a veritable hailstorm of bullets. Colonel Quilico fell, seriously wounded; the lieutenant-colonel was killed outright; three other officers, and more than thirty soldiers had fallen, killed or wounded. Almost at the same moment, General de Cotte had his horse killed under him.

The 72d of the line, repulsed in disorder, was led back to the boulevards. The Republicans, it is said, standing upon the barricade, saluted the retreat of their enemy with an immense acclamation: "*Vive la République!*"

It was not until nearly four o'clock, when the columns of troops who were operating in the lateral streets threatened to take them in the rear, that the group of brave men abandoned the position they had so valiantly defended.

During this time, the 15th light (infantry,) had carried, successively, the barricades of the Petit-Carreau and the adjoining streets, but not without having encountered resistance. This regiment had fifteen or twenty men *hors du combat.* A barricade in Jeuneurs Street, defended by thirty men, resisted vigorously.

The Canrobert brigade defiled in the rear of de Cotte's brigade, took position at the Porte Saint-Martin, and attacked the quarter.

The nearest barricades, attacked at first by cannonade, were carried by the bayonet, by the 5th battalion of chasseurs of Vincennes. They were defended by citizens who had taken possession, toward noon, of the mayoralty of the fifth ward. At the barricade raised at the corner of Vinaigriers Street, the resistance was particularly obstinate. The chasseurs of the line were repulsed several times,

and succeded in causing the fall of the obstruction, only by flanking it by the lateral streets. Lieutenant Luneau, of the old Republican Guard, distinguished himself in the midst of the Republicans, by extraordinary bravery. Although his uniform made him more conspicuous for the shots of the chasseurs of Vincennes, it is told that, disdaining to shelter himself, he stood upon the heap of paving-stones forming the barricade, his sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, directing the defense with as much *sang-froid* as intrepidity.

The Republicans suffered cruel losses. Many were killed in fighting; others were captured; some, it is said, were shot in the mayoralty of the fifth ward; others, finally brought to a stand upon the banks of the canal, were killed before having been able to gain the quarters beyond.

The 5th battalion of chasseurs, commanded by M. Levassor-Sorval, had suffered, on its part, quite serious losses. Twenty-two men, among them two officers, were killed or wounded. General Magnan, in his report, gives a great eulogy upon the valor displayed by this troop; a eulogy which reverts, by repercussion, to those against whom they had to combat, and whose number was infinitely inferior.

General de Bourgon's brigade, which we left entering Temple Street, descended that street, carrying the barricades, and searching the whole quarter, until it had effected its junction with the column started from the Hôtel de Ville. It had more than one combat to offer in the interval. The newspapers of the time have all told us, that in Phélippeaux Street, a score of young men, armed with muskets of the National Guard, arrested for some time a regiment of the line which had debouched from Temple Street, supported by a battery. This handful of young men fought with extreme obstinacy. "They perished to the last one," says the *Constitutionnel* of December 6th.

Perhaps this is exaggerated; but the publication of such

details in the officious newspapers of the 2d of December, well demonstrates, it seems to us, the impression produced upon the victors by the intrepidity of the vanquished.

While these events were transpiring in the streets in the vicinity of the boulevards, the Dulac, Marulaz, and Herbillon brigades penetrated the barricade-quarters, starting from the opposite direction, thus inclosing the Republicans in a circle of iron.

General Dulac quitted the square of Saint-Eustache at about two o'clock, and rushed to the attack of the barricades of Rambuteau and the contiguous streets, with columns formed from three battalions of the 51st regiment of the line, Colonel Lourmel, and two other battalions, one of the 19th, the other of the 43d, supported by a battery of artillery. The Herbillon brigade, in two columns, debouched through Temple and Saint-Martin streets. General Marulaz operated in the same way, through Saint-Denis Street. Three or four hundred Republicans, divided into little groups, occupied the barricades on that side. They fought no less valiantly than those who faced the boulevards. The cannon commenced the work, and the bayonet finished it. In Rambuteau Street, a formidable barricade made the counterpart of that of Saint-Denis Street. An omnibus and several carriages, carefully stocked with paving-stones, gave it considerable solidity. One of the historiographers of the *Coup d'Etat*, whom we have already cited, M. Belouino, appears to have possessed some circumstantial details concerning this barricade. He says there were a hundred veterans of the "barricade-wars" present; "old hired murderers of Causidière (Note 112, *ante*), making admirable shots;" with whom were fighting — according to the same writer — young men, enthusiastic for liberty; an *artiste* of the future, who fell valiantly, struck fairly in the breast; children of fifteen years, having hardly sufficient strength to shoulder a musket.

The resistance of this little group was deadly. During three fourths of an hour, says M. Belouino, the cannonade and musketry resounded frightfully. The barricade, breached by balls, was at last carried, covered with the corpses of a great number of its defenders. M. Mauduit, the military historian of these events, relates that he visited the next day the theatre of that struggle: —

"Arrived," says he, "at Rambuteau Street, I directed myself, as the public did, in the procession, toward Saint-Eustache; and did not tarry on seeing all heads turned upward, and eyes fixed upon several houses; particularly upon that forming the corner of Temple Street, and which in fact was riddled. At its base were still found the fragments of the omnibus that had served for the foundation of the barricade, the cause of all this havoc. The omnibus was demolished by cannon-balls, all filled as it was with paving-stones, and served to supply the bivouac during the night.

"A company of grenadiers, of the 43d regiment of the line, occupied the four corners of Rambuteau and Temple streets. At each window a grenadier was seated upon a chair, having a loaded musket, and ready to fire upon the least hostile gesture of that populace, more restrained than satisfied with what it saw. The faces were gloomy." [1]

Nevertheless, a certain number of armed Republicans, who occupied the barricades between Saint-Denis and Montmartre streets, had been able to escape from the converging movements of the troops, and rallied in the Place des Victoires.

In a few moments they had barricaded, feebly, it is true, du Mail, Pageviu, des Fossés-Montmartre, and other streets. The 19th regiment of the line, commanded by Colonel Courand, assaulted them before their means of defense were complete, and dispersed them after a few minutes of musketry. Some barricades attempted, a little later, in Saint-Honoré, Poulies, and the little streets adjacent, by a few men of spirit, who could not make up their minds for a defeat, were carried by the troops in position at the Palais Royal (Note 126).

[1] *Révolution Militaire du 2 Décembre*, pp. 269, 270.

Whilst from two o'clock until five, the musketry and cannon thundered on the boulevards, and in all those central sections of Paris, scoured in every direction by thirty thousand soldiers, noteworthy incidents occurred at other points in Paris.

In the Latin Quarter, some groups of young men kept the division of General Renault hard at work. Barricades were rudely formed here and there, and shots were exchanged, especially in La Harpe Street.

An audacious group, toward three o'clock, caused great alarm at the Prefecture of Police.

M. de Maupas, who was easily alarmed (it was M. de Morny who so stated, that same day, in a dispatch to General Magnan), M. de Maupas believed himself in peril.

The following dispatches exchanged between the Prefecture of Police and the Ministry of the Interior, show this: —

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, 4 *December*.

"Barricades in Dauphine Street; I am surrounded. Notify General Sauboul. I am without forces; I do not understand the matter at all."

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, 4 *December*.

"It is said that the 12th dragoons is arriving from Saint-Germain, with the Count of Chambord (Note 127) in its ranks as a soldier.

"I believe little of it."

ANSWER OF M. DE MORNY.

"And I do not believe in it at all."

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, 4 *December*.

"Gatherings at the Pont Neuf (New Bridge); shots on the

Quay aux Fleurs (Note 128); compact masses in the vicinity of the Prefecture of Police. They are shooting through a grating. What am I to do?"

ANSWER OF M. DE MORNY.

"Respond by firing through your grating."

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, 4 *December.*

"My duty requires that my cannons and battalions be sent to me. Is it General Magnan who refuses to send them?"

THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

"Thursday, 4 *December.*

"I am reassured for the moment. The riot of Saint-Martin Street is crushed; but I am not reassured as to the Prefecture of Police, upon which the insurgents will fall back, after defeat."

The twenty or thirty young men who thus put the Prefecture of Police in alarm, by a few shots fired almost out of range, hardly surmised that they were so redoubtable. Some of them, then students, who in our days have conquered an honorable notoriety in journalism, have since related how great was their surprise when, after several years, the dispatches which we have just read, revealed by Dr. Véron, apprised them of the effect produced by their diversion.

At the same moment, the musketry resounded on the whole line of quays, from the Hôtel de Ville to the Châtelet (Note 129). M. Mauduit, an ocular witness of this incident, has related it in the following manner:—

"The left of the column of General Marulaz still touched the Pont d'Arcole (Arcola Bridge), when several *silly shots* came *from the windows* of Pelletier Quay, against the 44th regiment, and the line of skirmishers which commandant Larochette had stationed before the Hôtel de Ville, in order to protect its approaches.

"The whole square, as well as Pelletier and Gèvre quays, as

far as the Châtelet, were *instantly under fire;* and from the extremity of Louis Philippe's bridge, I believed for more than a quarter of an hour, and believed in truth, that I was present at a most serious combat. *More than twenty thousand cartridges were burnt,* thousands of window-panes broken, but only a few men killed or wounded in the two camps, the Socialists having executed their *attack* only with forces scattered in the houses, and too insufficient to attempt a demonstration upon the Hôtel de Ville."

At nine o'clock at night, a hundred Republican combatants, rendered desperate by the effect produced upon the Parisian population by the events of the day, — above all, by the events of the boulevards, which we shall presently relate, — resolved not to survive the disaster of the Republic, had gathered together in Montorgueil Street. They had rebuilt the barricades, and prepared themselves for a final struggle. Among them, was Denis Dussoubs, brother of the representative from the Haute-Vienne. An ardent soul, a loyal heart, Denis Dussoubs had espoused republican convictions; and his life, for the past ten years, had been but a struggle for their triumph. His brother, the representative of the people, being confined to his bed by a serious malady, Denis Dussoubs, by a heroic usurpation, had arrayed himself in his official scarf, and for the past two days had valiantly made it good with his person. In the Faubourg Saint-Martin, he had not quitted the barricades until the last moment. Escaped through a miracle, from the columns of General Canrobert, he had rejoined, in the narrow streets that wind about on the heights of the Petit-Carreau, that group of desperate ones who longed to fall with their arms in their hands.

The colonel of the 51st regiment of the line, M. de Lourmel, who encamped at the Pointe Saint-Eustache, was warned of the presence of a last remnant of armed men, at a little distance from his position. He detailed the 2d battalion of his regiment, Jeannin commanding, in order

to dislodge them. At the first barricade, Dennis Dussoubs presented himself alone, without arms. A recent accident to his right arm would not have even permitted him to make use of it. With a trembling voice, he addressed an appeal to the soldiers. His voice was heard, says M. Belouino, throughout the whole quarter. "Unfortunate soldiers," said he, "you must be madmen, to act as you have been made to; come to us!"

The commander, moved by the sorrowful tone of Denis Dussoubs, more even, perhaps, than by his words, conjured him to retire, and not to attempt a useless resistance. After having vainly harangued the soldiers still more, Denis Dussoubs went back toward the barricade. He turned round, uttering a last cry of "*Vive la République!*" when certain soldiers, firing without any order having been given, killed him, with two bullets in his head. He fell, and immediately expired.

It has been written abroad that the commander ordered the firing. M. Schoelcher, who had circumstantial information concerning this sad episode, affirms, in the most positive manner, that the commander, on the contrary, would have preserved Dussoubs, and that the discharge occurred without any word of command having been pronounced.

The three first barricades were cleared by the soldiers, on the run. At the fourth, a terrible contest was entered into. It was short but bloody. It was there, said the historiographers of the *Coup d'Etat*, that most of the dead bodies in fine clothes were taken up.

Frightful scenes followed the capture of this barricade. M. Mauduit permits them to be guessed, by these words, which we quote literally: —

"On the 4th," he says, "at 9 o'clock in the evening, a column of the 51st carried, not without losses, all the barricades that had just been constructed in Montorgueil and Petit-Carreau streets. Searching visitations were also immediately ordered in the wine-

shops; a hundred prisoners were taken there, most of them still having their hands blackened with gunpowder, an evident proof of their participation in the combat. *Why not then apply to a good number of them the terrible provisions of martial law?*"[1]

Those provisions had been placarded by M. de Saint-Arnaud, in his proclamation of the 3d: "Every individual taken constructing a barricade, or with arms in hand, WILL BE SHOT."

It has been said that more than twenty of the prisoners of Montorgueil Street were immediately shot. We could not affirm whether this number is exact. Gen. Magnan says in his report, that *forty* insurgents were killed at this barricade, but he does not specify how many were killed fighting, and how many were shot after being captured. It is related that two of the executed escaped by a miracle. One of them, M. Voisin, counselor-general of the Haute-Vienne, had been shot, and left for dead upon the spot. Received by an old woman, he was taken to the Dubois Hospital. In spite of his fifteen wounds, he was saved. In the month of March, he was convalescent. The police got possession of him; he was imprisoned in Fort Ivry, and later was deported to Africa.

These details have been given by several of his companions in captivity, who received them from his lips.[2]

Doctor Deville also has related, that a few days before he was himself arrested, he had noticed in the Charité (hospital), in the care of M. Velpeau, a wounded man, brought from the barricade of Montorgueil Street, who had been shot, after having been captured, and who still survived in spite of eleven wounds. This was, said M. Deville, a man from Rouen. We find, elsewhere, cited among those of the Republicans who succumbed at the same time with Denis Dussoubs, the name Paturel (of

[1] *Révolution Militaire*, p. 248.

[2] We borrow this account from that of M. Schoelcher. See, in the Appendix, a letter correcting the details of the fact which we borrowed from M. Schoelcher's Note, in his popular edition.

Rouen) ; it is undoubtedly the wounded man seen at the Charité, by Dr. Deville.

The reader will understand, that if we insist upon facts of this kind, it is because it is of real historical interest to ascertain whether the order of General Saint-Arnaud was, as might be supposed, only a menacing measure, a simple means of intimidation, or whether indeed, that unheard-of order was really carried into execution.

Now, the quotations already made, and those which are to follow, establish but too well the fact of the summary shootings of prisoners.

We would remark that the newspapers, or the books whence we borrow the subjoined extracts, having been published in the absence of all liberty of the press, the government may be considered as itself acknowledging the reality of the facts therein enounced.

Gen. Magnan said in his official report, speaking of the barricades of Beaubourg Street, —

"All the obstructions were carried on the run; those who defended them *were slain.*"

The *Moniteur Parisien*, of December 6, related the following fact: —

"An old guardian of Paris, recognized as having formed part of the band of Montagnards (Note 32, *ante*), of Sabrier and Causidière (Note 113, *ante*), in 1845, was passing at about two o'clock, this afternoon, over the bridge Saint-Michel, and was threatening the Republican Guards who were there as sentinels. Being arrested, and taken to the Prefecture of Police, there were found upon him munitions of war, and two poniards. As he opposed a vigorous resistance to the guards who were conducting him, persisting in his threats, and proffering cries of death to the agents of authority, *the commander of the post had him shot by two of his soldiers*, in Jerusalem Street. He had a wound on his right arm, and his hands were still all blackened by the gunpowder of the barricades."

In a list of the dead not belonging to the army, pre-

pared by the care of M. Trébuchet, chief of the bureau of health, at the Prefecture of Police, — a list whereof we shall say more further on, — there are found six "NAMES UNKNOWN," with this mention: "Whose identity could not be established, *executed*, or found dead upon the barricades."

The *Moniteur Parisien*, already cited, says in an article published under the title, "*The Fifth Day*": —

"A woman, carrying twenty-five poniards, was arrested this evening, *and shot* by the soldiers of the 36th of the line." (Note 130.)

M. Mauduit (in his book, the *Révolution Militaire*, p. 238), narrates this fact: —

"An individual, a carrier of arms under his blouse, having been arrested at the moment he wished to force the countersign, *was shot* at the entrance to Pont Neuf (New Bridge), and his body cast into the Seine, etc. . . . . His name was Berger, a gardener at Passy. He survived his wound, and dared to protest his innocence, saying that his carbine was unfit for service, whilst it was loaded."

The same Captain Mauduit says, p. 240: —

"There was nothing serious in the Cité (Note 124). All was limited there to one rioter killed, and *three individuals* arrested, — bearers of arms, munitions, proclamations, or false news, — *and who were shot and thrown into the river.*" (Note 131.)

La Patrie of the 14th December, published a letter, signed Vincent N——, corporal in the chasseurs, wherein the following is read: —

"At the second barricade, in a house whence most shots were fired, and which we entered, we found more than 300 insurgents. We might have bayoneted them; but as the Frenchman is always humane, we did not do so. It was only *those who would not surrender*, WHO WERE IMMEDIATELY PUT TO DEATH. In one room we found some who asked for pardon, crying, "We have done nothing; we are preparing remedies for the wounded." But they took care to hide several moulds, and five or six leaden

forks or spoons, with which they were casting bullets. WE KILLED ONE INDIVIDUAL, who said as he fell, '*Don't kill me*, for it would be unfortunate *to die for ten francs.*'

"I was much afraid of the riots of Paris. I always believed that people fought for one party or the other; or else against the workingmen who demanded labor. But there were not found among *these individuals a workingman worthy of figuring in the category of laborers.* They were men who were *actuated by money*, and who fought *without knowing for who, nor why. They sought only to plunder.* The intelligent workingmen, as well as the inhabitants, denounce them themselves, or cause them to be taken. The people are pleased only when they see the troops guarding their houses.

"We passed several nights outside, upon the boulevards. But we were not unfortunate. All the inhabitants *emptied their cellars, in order to give wine to the soldiers*, made soup, and gave wood to warm us all the night. People cried from all parts, '*Don't spare them!* Shoot them down.'"

Although all the details contained in this letter do not seem worthy of credit, it appears to us, nevertheless, sufficiently characteristic to be reproduced.

We close by two other quotations, of a little different bearing, but still worthy of interest.

M. Mayer says:—

"General Herbillon caused the insurgents brought to him, of less than twenty years of age, *to be whipped and delivered to the police.*"

After which, the Bonapartist writer adds:—

"The benignity of the son of Hortense (Louis Napoleon), communicated itself, like his absolute will, to the lowest agents of the popular government."[1]

M. Mauduit relates an episode which forms the counterpart to this:—

"A company of light-horsemen, of the 51st Regiment, posted in Meslay Street," he says, "was warming itself with the fragments of an omnibus that had served as the base of a barricade.

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, p. 165.

The wheels and the pole had burned, when, about an hour past midnight, the soldiers began the task of breaking up the body of the vehicle, in order to throw it upon the fire. A *gamin*, who had squatted himself therein at the moment of the capture of the barricade, came out of it.

"'Here is another of them!' exclaimed the light-horseman. 'We must shoot him, for certainly he fired upon our brethren.'

"They searched him, and under his frock they discovered a pistol and a dagger. The light-horsemen took him to the captain, to receive his orders, and this is the punishment they inflicted upon him. Near by, the dead body of a bugler of the dismounted chasseurs, killed in the attack upon the barricades of the Arts-et-Métiers, had been placed in a house. Near this bugler were the corpses of two men of the people.

"'You are to *ask pardon* of this bugler, and *upon your knees*,' said the captain to him. 'It was not I who killed him,' answered the urchin, sobbing. 'How do I know that? And besides, *you have killed others of them, perhaps*. So, ask his pardon, or else!' .... And the *gamin* knelt down and asked pardon of that unfortunate soldier. 'That is not all. Now you are going to pass the rest of the night with your comrades and their victim; and later, we shall see what is to be done with a little ragamuffin of your sort.'

"And the door was closed upon him. But *either from remorse*, or the terror from finding himself thus alone in the darkness, and side by side with three corpses, the *gamin* soon knocked violently at the door, conjuring them to rescue him from the *moral punishment* which was inflicted upon him.

"The captain, believing the lesson hard enough, let him out, and sent him to his parents."

We must now recur to the events that had happened in the boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle, Poissonnière, Montmartre, and Des Italiens.

Of all the episodes of the days of December, there are none that have left a deeper impression upon the memory of the Parisian people. There are none that have been more the subject of private conversation; upon which more oral details have been possible to be gathered; but at the same time there are none upon which less has been written.

For seventeen years, only a few rare allusions thereto have been made in books or newspapers. It seems that these facts, accomplished in broad daylight, in sight of Paris, in the finest and richest quarters of the capital, are considered a mystery whose divulging should be interdicted.

The officious narrators of the *Coup d'Etat* are sparing of details. Some glide rapidly over the facts; others relate only a very few matters, but devote themselves to irrelevant comments, employing — for the purpose of alluding to an event which they do not describe — precautions of language that do not seem justified by anything in their account.

We shall try to clear up the truth concerning that painful event; we are going to do this by bringing together the various indications that we have been able to gather here and there, in what has been published in France; and perhaps we shall succeed, by a rational criticism of what has been said, in establishing what really was the fact.

Let us take first the report of General Magnan. The commander-in-chief of the army of Paris hardly makes an allusion to the events of the boulevards, even in very vague terms: —

"The crowds," he says, "that essayed to re-form upon the boulevards, were charged by the cavalry of General Reibell, who, at the height of Montmartre Street, experienced quite a sharp volley of musketry."

Not a word more. Nothing that reminds one of cannons, of the firing of shells upon the Hôtel Sallandrouse, and upon the store of Billecoq; a shower of bullets falling upon the house-fronts, from the Gymnase as far as the Bains Chinois, upon more than eight hundred metres of boulevard!

M. Granier de Cassagnac, who wrote several years later, said: —

"A *remarkable incident* signalized the passage of these troops upon the interior boulevard (Note 132). At the moment when the Reibell brigade was just reaching the Boulevard Montmartre,

without striking a blow, some shots, *fired by gloved hands*, came from several houses. It halted for a moment, and, aided by the sharp-shooters of Canrobert's brigade, who poured a terrible fire upon the windows, it opened the doors of the hostile houses *by cannonade*. The lesson was short but severe, and from that moment the elegant boulevard understood it as such."[1]

Thus, to M. Granier de Cassagnac, the event of the boulevard is nothing but a "remarkable incident;" a short but severe lesson given by the troops, to the "Yellow-gloves" who had fired upon them. We shall see that M. P. Mayer, who wrote on the day following the event, and whose Napoleonic enthusiasm does not yield to that of M. Granier de Cassagnac, is nevertheless very far from looking upon facts in the same way. He speaks of "fifty or sixty unfortunate victims;" of "an eternal mourning" that "will sadden the country and humanity;" of "innocent and irreparable blood."

But let us quote verbally:—

"Following closely upon the battle of the 4th, in which *inoffensive passers-by were victims of the terrible fusillade* of the brigades of Reibell and Canrobert, the most monstrous exaggerations were current in Paris and France. People talked of hundreds, of thousands even, of persons massacred in cold blood, by soldiers drunken with gunpowder and blood. . . . . These calumnies have not been refuted," etc.[2]

An analysis follows, of the list of the dead, prepared by M. Trébuchet, chief of the Bureau of Health at the Prefecture of Police; a list, according to which, says M. Mayer, the total of the dead not belonging to the army should be one hundred and ninety-one; not one more.

Having said this, M. Mayer continues in the terms following:—

"This is too many, undoubtedly, and an eternal mourning will sadden humanity and the country with the remembrance of the

[1] *Histoire de la Chute de Louis-Philippe*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.
[2] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, pp. 167, 168.

FIFTY or SIXTY unfortunate victims of the snare into which the slayers and the slain fell at the same time; for this murderous discharge was but the response to shots fired upon the soldiers by people who were calculating to 'profit by the massacre.' Undoubtedly *innocent blood is irreparable, and cries out for justice in the hearts of good citizens;* while bad passions cry out for vengeance. Nevertheless, this misfortune — which might have been still more immense — had neither the excessive proportions that malevolence has loaned it, nor the atrocious character which the victorious demagogy, for example, has not failed to give to its triumph. If anything, in short, could extenuate *this disaster* — and we shall not say this in order to console, but to reassure the public grief, — it is, that the conscience of the government had the sorrowful satisfaction of *having foreseen as early as the day before*, and of having done everything, at least, in order to prevent this inauspicious eventuality. The proclamation of the Prefect of Police said clearly to every one: 'Do not go upon the boulevards; do not mingle with the groups, for they will be dispersed by arms, and without a previous summons.' It is beyond all doubt, that if the troops, assailed from so many parts at once, had not determined to instantly and exemplarily crush the insurrection, the civil war would have lasted longer. This is saying all; and, in the eyes — not of the people of property, who did not wait until the next day in order to decide, but of the *feeble and uncertain — justifies all.*" [1]

Eight months after the event, the *Moniteur Universel* published, in its number of August 30, 1852, the following note, which certainly refers to the events of the boulevards: —

"The government does not trouble itself about insults. It does not respond to them. But when the question is concerning facts, audaciously and outrageously disfigured, its duty is always to re-establish the truth.

"The *Times* (London), convicted of premeditated disparagements, defends itself only by new calumnies. In its issue of the 28th of August, it pretends that after the 2d of December, twelve hundred inoffensive and unarmed persons were murdered by drunken soldiers, in the streets of Paris. The refutation of such a calumny is found in its very exaggeration.

[1] *Histoire du 2 Décembre*, pp. 170, 171.

"Everybody knows that the official abstract fixes the number of persons *killed* during the insurrection, at THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY; even that is quite too many, without doubt. As to the number *accidentally wounded*, by good fortune it hardly exceeds EIGHT OR TEN.

"In presence of positive documents, opposed to lying assertions, let people judge of the candor of journalism."

Probably the inconsistency has already been noticed, which exists between the official figure, three hundred and eighty, of the killed, and the one hundred and ninety-one, given by M. P. Mayer, in accordance with the abstract of M. Trébuchet. It is clear that the government, when it published that note, had no interest in increasing the number of its victims. We ought, therefore, even though there were no other consideration, to accept it in preference to that of one hundred and ninety-one, given by M. Mayer. Nevertheless, this enormous discrepancy does not diminish the authority of the list of M. Trébuchet. That employé established and registered what he saw; he inscribed upon his list the names of the dead who were presented to him. But he did not see all. The one hundred and fifty-three names arranged upon his list constitute a document of none the less interest, and one that will serve us usefully in our research for the truth concerning the facts of the boulevards.

The note of the *Moniteur*, for example, contains a very singular statement: "As to the persons *accidentally wounded*, by good fortune the number hardly exceeds eight or ten."

If the word "wounded" is to be taken very literally, we can object only to improbability; for no abstract of the persons *wounded* has come to our knowledge. But, if by that euphemism the *Moniteur* meant to designate the inoffensive victims *accidentally killed*, that is another matter. The list of M. Trébuchet, however incomplete it may be, would furnish the proof of the inaccuracy of the assertion

We find upon this list, *nine* names of women; one of a child of seven and a half years; seven of men accompanied by this note: "*Killed at home.*" Finally, out of one hundred and fifty-three persons killed, whose names are inscribed in this abstract, nearly *sixty* are indicated as having fallen on the boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle, Poissonnière, Montmartre, and Des Italiens, and in some adjacent streets, where neither barricades nor insurgents ever showed themselves.

This number is already sensibly reconcilable with that of "the fifty or sixty unfortunate victims" of whom M. Mayer speaks.

We may already conclude therefrom, that in the eyes of that writer, those killed upon the boulevards were inoffensive persons *accidentally* struck.

We are already far, both from the dry mention made by General Magnan, and the disdainful allusion of M. de Cassagnac. But let us continue our quotations.

Captain Mauduit, the author of the book already cited, "*Révolution Militaire*," saw with his own eyes, not the occurrence, but the theatre of the occurrence, a few hours later. His testimony is valuable. M. Mauduit had gone out, at four o'clock in the evening, seeking to join his son, an officer of General de Cotte's staff.

"On the 4th, at eight o'clock in the evening, I determined," he says, "to venture toward the street of the Chaussée d'Antin. In Delorme Alley, I found one of my old regimental comrades, who said to me: 'You could not traverse the boulevard, my dear friend, *without exposing yourself to pistol-shots, or lance thrusts, on the part of the vedettes* stationed at each street-corner. The boulevards are *strewn with dead bodies*,' etc. I went on my way alone toward the boulevard; at long intervals some belated individuals were returning to their houses; but no curious people, no groups talking in the doorways, as is usual in like cases — *a lugubrious aspect everywhere!* 'Don't go near the boulevards,' said a passer-by, in a low voice, who was returning thence, and whom I found in the middle of Michodière Street; '*They are firing at every one who passes.*' 'Thank you, sir, for your good advice,' I answered

him, 'but I must go to the Chaussée d'Antin at any cost.' I continued, and crossed the boulevard at the height of the Bains Chinois.

"Quite a considerable crowd, *struck with consternation*, had congregated at the outlet of Mont-Blanc Street. There they were listening to the account of an individual who had just seen, he said, arranged upon the asphaltum adjoining Aubusson's great dépôt, *thirty corpses, well dressed, and among them that of a woman. A thrill of terror was dominant in this group*, and seemed to paralyze every one; for each withdrew in silence, after having received his part of the sinister news of the moment.

"At last I arrived at the house of my son; he had not yet appeared, etc.

"I retraced my steps, with the firm intention of reaching his brigade. . . . . But impossible. The boulevard was everywhere intercepted. One could not even approach a vedette in order to obtain the slightest information from him.

"Upon regaining Michodière Street, a gentleman came to me and asked me to accompany him. 'What frightful misfortunes, Sir,' said he, 'and how many more frightful misfortunes still, *unless all honest men unite, in order* TO ARREST THIS HORRIBLE BUTCHERY — *in sending to supplicate the President of the Republic to renounce his Coup d'Etat*, and resign his authority! . . . . To-morrow all Paris will be under arms, and the streets covered with barricades.' — 'I do not believe anything of it," I answered; 'the combat has been too vigorously accepted and sustained by the soldiers, to allow the Parisians any illusions upon the issue of a prolonged struggle. The Parisian population has never shown itself roysterous, except in the presence of adversaries feeble in number, irresolute in their plans, and ready to yield the field of battle to them. It will not be the same with the President of the Republic, nor with the army, *which is devoted to the accomplishment of his work.* To-morrow *Paris will be in its stupor;* I do not dispute that; but in nowise tempted to prolong the struggle.'"[1]

"The victory remained with Napoleon. . . . . Let us draw, readers, let us draw a funereal veil over the numerous victims of our discord, who lay stretched out here and there, from Tortoni's to the Porte Saint-Denis, and sometimes assembled in heaps."[2]

[1] Pages 225, 226.
[2] Page 257.

The same writer describes the aspect of the boulevards on the morning of the next day: —

"At the entry of the Faubourg Poissonnière, the boulevard presented a picture of the most frightful disorder. All the houses were riddled with bullets; all the window-panes broken; all the street urinals demolished, and their débris of bricks spread here and there upon the roadway. The broken limbers of artillery were still burning at a bivouac-fire, which at this moment was consuming the remnant of a wheel.[1]

"Here I am, upon the boulevard, which I ascend in the direction of the Madeleine Church. Almost all the houses of the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, and particularly those of the corners of Poissonnière and Mazagran streets, are riddled by bullets; and few window-panes have escaped the storm. In the Boulevard Poissonnière is still seen, upon the steps of Aubusson's great dépôt, *a sea of blood*, which it would have been as well to have prevented, by removing *the twenty-five or thirty corpses that had been ranged there, and left exposed* there, during twenty-four hours, to the gaze of a consternated public. *A musket-shot* fired from this vast establishment at the head of General Canrobert's column, *caused these misfortunes.* Masons are busy repairing the breaches made in the front of this fine house,[2] by the grape-shot and cannon-balls."[3]

It very evidently results from these quotations, that the cannonade and musketry had been directed with fury against the houses of the bouvelard; that the roadway was strewn with corpses; that they were seen lying from Tortoni's as far as the gate Saint-Denis, nearly a kilometre of distance, sometimes in groups; that twenty-five corpses were heaped up before the Hôtel Sallandrouze; that several hours afterward, the vedettes occasionally fired upon pedestrians; that the consternation was general and deep among the people.

Now let us see again under what circumstances these sad deeds were accomplished.

The hour when the firing upon the boulevards com-

[1] Page 266. [2] A carpet-store. — *Translators.* [3] Pages 273, 274.

menced has been very precisely established by several witnesses. It was at three o'clock. As will be seen further on, the firing was almost instantaneous along the whole line.

Now, at three o'clock in the afternoon, it was already an hour since the troops had defiled, or were stationed upon the boulevards, from the Rue de la Paix (Peace Street) as far as the Porte Saint-Denis. For one hour the crowd saw them passing; the windows were filled with the curious, the balconies likewise. No accident had been caused.

General de Bourgon's brigade had already exchanged several shots with the armed Republicans at the barricades near the Porte-Saint Denis; it had continued its march as far the Château d'Eau.

At the same hour, the battery of de Cotte's brigade, and the 72d of the line, of the same brigade, had brought cannonade and musketry to bear against the barricade of Saint-Denis Street. The remainder of de Cotte's brigade was still in the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle. Canrobert's brigade was most, if not all of it, in the boulevards Poissonnière and Montmartre. The movable dismounted gendarmes were in the direction of the Boulevard des Italiens. The cavalry of General Reibell followed. At three o'clock they were as far up as Lepelletier Street, in the Boulevard des Italiens.

At this moment the cannon was very distinctly heard in the direction of the gates Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin.

But the throng that was on the sidewalks of the boulevards and in the adjacent streets, had remained there for about one hour, separated from the troops by barely a few steps, without any act of hostility being produced on the one part or the other. It is essential that this be noted.

It has never been said that there were in this throng any men *ostensibly* armed, nor the least barricade in the street.

It is true some had cried, upon the arrival of the sol-

diers: "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution! A bas les traitres! A bas les Prétoriens!*" But were these hostile cries persisted in when, for an hour, ten thousand soldiers had occupied the boulevard? This is at least very improbable.

M. P. Mayer, in the passages quoted above, appears to have two somewhat contradictory ideas as to the causes that led to the disaster.

At times, he seems to say that only the requirements of M. de Maupas had been executed: "To disperse by force, without summons, the gatherings of pedestrians in the public thoroughfare." At times, he insinuates that the provoking agents (Republicans, of course) had fired upon these soldiers, ranged at a few paces from the inoffensive crowd, in order to elicit a murderous response, which should lay innocent victims upon the street. This odious calculation had for its object "the making of a profit out of the massacre."

We shall presently see whether the facts permit credence to be accorded to such an atrocious supposition, to whose support, moreover, M. Mayer furnishes no proof.

It has not been forgotten that General Magnan made mention of a "considerably sharp firing," experienced by the cavalry of General Reibell, at the height of Montmartre Street; and that M. Cassagnac speaks on his part of shots fired by gloved hands."

M. Mauduit, more explicit, says somewhere: —

" . . . . At the Porte Saint-Martin, I regained the line of the boulevards, which I followed this time as far as the Madeleine. The habitual population of this sojourn of the strollers, will retain for a long time the remembrance of the charges of the First Lancers; and will know that if there is courage in fighting upon a barricade, one does not always fire with impunity from the rear end of a brilliant saloon, and even masked by the breast of a pretty woman, against a troop armed only with lances and pistols. More than one bravo of that kind paid dearly for his insults

and volleys, after the Jarnac fashion (Note 133). More than one amazon of the boulevards paid dearly likewise for her imprudent complicity in this new kind of barricade. . . . . May they profit by it in the future!" [1]

Admitting for a moment the reality of this fusillade of the "Yellow-gloves," masked by "pretty women," it is clear that it applies only to the Boulevard des Italiens, where, at three o'clock, the cavalry of General Reibell were stationed. It in nowise explains the terrible fusillade, and simultaneous cannonade of Canrobert's brigade, in the boulevards Montmartre and Poissonnière. It has been seen above that Captain Mauduit attributed the misfortunes accruing at this point, to *a single* shot fired from the carpet warehouse of Aubusson upon the head of General Canrobert's column.

The same writer explains elsewhere, in a very different manner, without shots, the murderous charge of the First Lancers, in the Boulevard des Italiens. We read on pages 217 and 218 of his book: —

"At the height of Taitbout Street, he (Colonel de Rochefort of the First Lancers) perceived a considerable gathering, as well at the entrance of the street as upon the sidewalk near Tortoni's. These men were all well dressed. Several were armed. At sight of him, the war-cry (adopted during the last two days), was sounded: '*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution! A bas le Dictateur!*' At this last cry, swiftly as lightning, with a single bound, Colonel Rochefort leaped over the chairs and the walk, landed in the midst of the group, and immediately cleared the space around him. The lancers precipitated themselves closely behind him. One of his adjutants felled two individuals with his sabre. . . . . In the twinkling of an eye, the gathering was dispersed. All fled precipitately, *leaving a good number among them on the spot.* The colonel continued his march, scattering all whom he encountered; and *thirty* dead bodies remained upon the street, almost all covered with fine clothes."

Here, it was not shots that provoked the onset; it was

[1] *Révolution Militaire*, p. 278.

the cry "*A bas le Dictateur!*" M. Mauduit, it is true, adds that there were some armed men in the group.

This is very improbable. It would have been insensate to have shown themselves in arms, upon the walk of Tortoni, in presence of the masses of troops that covered the boulevards. Besides, whatever else may have been, the military historian does not say that a single shot was fired, and the contrary is inferable from his narrative.

Let us now pass to the only account, at all circumstantial, that has ever been published in France on this subject. It is simply the version to be found in the newspapers of that epoch. It is not without interest to remark, that it was inserted at the same time, in terms almost identical, in the *Patrie* and the *Constitutionnel*, two semi-official sheets (Note 134).

We first transcribe what concerns the events of the Boulevard des Italiens:—

"Yesterday was signalized by an unfortunate incident, on the Boulevard des Italiens. We have some of the facts in detail.

"During the passage of the First Lancers, of the Reibell brigade, and the movable gendarmery, several shots were fired from *different houses, and several lancers were wounded.* That regiment responded, and *fearful and natural, but necessary havoc, resulted therefrom.*

"*The individuals who were in those houses were more or less hit* by the shots from the troops. The soldiers, upon the order of their chiefs, were thereupon compelled to enter, with violence, several houses, and especially the Café de Paris; the Maison d'Or; the Café Tortoni; the Hôtel de Castille; the Petite Jeannette; and the Café du Grand Balcon (Note 135). *They seized muskets whose breeches were still warm.* The individuals found in these establishments were arrested. Two working tailors, *suspected* of having fired from the house of the tailor Dusautoy, No. 2 Lepelletier Street, were likewise arrested, and *would have been shot*, but for the intervention of General Lafontaine.

The Cercle du Commerce (Commercial Club), which occupies the great balcony of the second floor of this same house, and which is composed of notabilities of the army, of industry and

authority, freeholders, capitalists, merchants, generals, — all honorable men, — came near being a victim to its proximity to the tailor. The bullets of the lancers unfortunately struck two distinguished members of this club, General Billiard and M. Duvergier. The former was wounded in his right eye by a splinter; the latter, more seriously, in his left thigh."

Here are certainly precise statements, which explain how General Magnan was able to speak of the quite sharp attack of musketry experienced by the cavalry. They have but one fault: that of being false, save in what concerns the two members of the Cercle du Commerce wounded; the houses rummaged with violence; "the individuals therein more or less hit"; and the havoc, to be regretted, caused there.

The proof of the falsity of the other, the most important details, — those which would justify the explanation of M. Magnan, and that of M. Granier de Cassagnac, as well as that of the two newspapers, — is found in these same sheets.

The *Constitutionnel* wrote two days afterwards: —

"We said, by mistake, that a shot was fired from the house of the Café de Paris. . . . . We hasten to rectify that error. Nothing of the kind happened at the Café de Paris. . . . . A similar disclaimer is made for the Maison Dorée, and the Café Tortoni. We hasten to accept it.

"The Café du Grand Balcon in the Boulevard des Italiens, has been designated as one of the points whence the troops were fired upon. No act of that nature was done in that house."

"It was in consequence of an error, quite excusable in such a case, that the workshops of M. Dusautoy, tailor, upon the boulevard, were the object of a visit of search on the part of the troops. The sentiments of M. Dusautoy, as a man of order, are known. . . . . The error was recognized a few moments afterward." (Note 136.)

Corrections of the same kind were made concerning the Hôtel de Castille, and the warehouse of the Petite Jeannette. It was proved, therefore, that not a shot had been

fired from the houses designated by the newspapers. If it be considered that these corrections were made at a moment when the press was subjected to a veritable and rigorous censorship, it will be admitted that we should consider them as the establishment of a positive fact.

Had any one fired upon the lancers from other points than from the houses designated?

If really, as the *Patrie* affirmed, several soldiers of that corps were wounded, the matter would not be doubtful. But we possess the detailed list, regiment by regiment, of the soldiers killed or wounded in the days of December, — the official list, — and we can positively state that *not a single lancer* was either killed, or even wounded.

The historian cannot hesitate, then, to strongly doubt if any shot was fired upon that cavalry of General Reibell which laid so many corpses upon the roadway of the boulevard.

What, unfortunately, it is not possible to doubt, is, the murderous effect of the charges of the lancers, and the volleys of the transitory gendarmery. It is sufficient, in order to be convinced on this point, to cast a glance at M. Trébuchet's list of the dead. Thereon are found the names of *thirty-three* persons, with the information that they were killed on the Boulevard des Italiens, or the Boulevard Montmartre.

Now, we repeat once more, this list is very incomplete. It contains but one hundred and fifty-three names, while the *Moniteur* computes at three hundred and eighty, the number of the victims. Let us add, besides, that M. Trébuchet does not indicate the place where fell those whose names are inscribed upon his funereal list, except to the number of seventy or seventy-two thereof. No indication permits us to say with precision, how many among the three hundred and ten others killed, according to the figures of the *Moniteur*, also fell upon the boulevards. If the proportion was the same for the general total as for those in-

scribed upon the list of M. Trébuchet, we should reach the number of two hundred dead bodies upon the boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle, Poissonnière, Montmartre, and Des Italiens.

Let us now pass to the accounts of two semi-official journals, concerning the facts of the Boulèvard Poissonnière. It was there, above all as has already been seen by various quotations, that the cannon-balls, the grape-shot, and the fusillade of the infantry, perforated divers houses and riddled their fronts.

Here is the item, couched in terms almost identical, which appeared, like the preceding, in the *Constitutionnel* and the *Patrie* :—

"On the boulevards Montmartre and Bonne-Nouvelle, shots were likewise fired upon the soldiers of the 72d of the line, from several houses; and in particular from a house facing the *Cercle de l'Union* (Union Club), and the *Cercle des Étrangers* (Foreign Club), from the Tolbecque House, from the Hôtel Lannes, in which are the carpet stores of M. Sallandrouze, and from the other neighboring houses.

"The colonel and the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment were dangerously wounded, and an adjutant was killed. Some soldiers were wounded.

"A volley from the skirmishers, supported by a howitzer, was instantly directed against the houses whence the shot was fired. The windows, the fronts, were partly destroyed. Then detachments entered the interior, and put to death all individuals found concealed there. Six individuals in blouses, discovered behind the carpets that they had piled up in order to avoid the bullets of the troops, and to fire upon them without danger, — were shot upon the steps of the Hôtel Lannes, at present the dépôt of the Sallandrouze manufactory.

"Several scenes of the same nature occurred in the vicinity of the Variétés Theatre, and the troop did justice to its murderers."

There are in this account falsehoods not less apparent than in the one that we reproduced above concerning the Boulevard des Italiens.

In the first place, shots could not have been fired from

the houses designated, upon the 72d of the line, which at three o'clock was fighting in Saint-Denis Street, with the Republicans who were defending the formidable barricade of that street.

It was while pushing their troops to the assault of that barricade, that the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the 72d of the line fell.

No adjutant was killed. The official list of the soldiers killed or wounded, which we have under our eyes, contains but *one officer killed*, — the lieutenant-colonel of the 72d of the line.

The proprietors of the houses designated by the newspapers, protested, like those of the Boulevard des Italiens, and caused the assertions put forth by the two semi-official sheets to be rectified. M. Beaumeyer, director of the Sallandrouze establishment, affirms that not a shot was fired from the Hôtel Lannes. His letter is in the newspapers of the time. No one disputed his affirmation. M. Billecocq, shawl-merchant, whose house was beside that of M. Sallandrouze, affirmed likewise — and his affirmation is all the less suspicious because he approved the *Coup d'Etat* — that no shot was fired from his house. His house, nevertheless, was, like the Hôtel Lannes, perforated by cannon-balls and riddled by a shower of bullets.

There is no doubt that the firing of the soldiers of General Canrobert at this point was terrible. The appearance of the places next day, as described by Captain Mauduit, amply demonstrates this. The same writer said too, speaking of the events of the Boulevard Poissonnière: —

"General de Cotte's soldiers, electrified by the volleys of musketry, also opened fire, but at random; they continued it during eight or ten minutes, in spite of the efforts of the general and his aides-de-camp to arrest so useless an expenditure of ammunition, which could make only innocent victims; for certainly no combatant could have been tempted to show himself at the windows during this fearful storm." [1]

[1] *Révolution Militaire*, p. 258.

The *Moniteur Universel* published, some days later, the detailed account of one of the scenes witnessed during the invasion of the houses of the boulevard by the soldiers: —

"A bookseller, M. Lefilleul, established several years ago upon the Boulevard Poissonnière, was busy closing his shop a little before the drama of the 4th of December, when a pistol-shot fired by a clerk in the vicinity, at a bugler of the line, caused the crowd which was pressing against him to scatter, and left a free passage for the insurgent to enter his store. The latter was closely followed by the bugler, who succeeded in stretching him dead behind a counter, but who himself fell upon the dead body. Other soldiers, who came to the assistance of the bugler, wounded the unfortunate bookseller — who saw nothing, and who was taken for an adversary — in the abdomen. A terrible struggle was engaged in, between M. Lefilleul and a captain. The former was wounded twice more, in the thigh and arm; but the latter fell dead under the strokes of the soldiers who sought to defend him.

"M. Lefilleul, who in spite of his wounds still maintains his strength and his *sang-froid*, took advantage of this terrible moment to free himself, and quitted the store, leaving three corpses there. It is hoped to save the life of M. Lefilleul, who is an honest merchant, quite a stranger to the political passions."

This account must be true, taken as a whole. It however contains one inaccuracy. It is not possible that the captain mentioned therein was killed. The official list of soldiers killed or wounded makes no mention of any captain killed.

Though the facts we just cited enable one to get a glimpse of many things, to already comprehend some features of the drama of the boulevards, they are insufficient to give a view of the whole. And if we possessed no other documents, we should forego presenting a quite exact account, and seeking a plausible explication of this sad catastrophe.

Fortunately for the historian, there exists a narrative of

the acts of the boulevards, written by an ocular witness, placed in the best circumstances for well observing, and afterward recounting with scrupulous exactness. This witness is an officer of the English army, Captain William Jesse, who was lodging, on the 4th of December, in a hotel situated on the corner of Montmartre Street and the boulevard. From this point the prospect extends from one side as far as the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, from the other as far as the Boulevard des Italiens. The account of Mr. Jesse is extremely precise, touching what the narrator saw with his own eyes; and extremely reserved as to that which he knows by hearsay only. One will be struck with the Britannic calmness and *sang-froid* which characterizes this recital. This document has all the more value for us, who are looking simply for the truth, since Captain Jesse, a gentleman of perfect respectability, has among other merits the inestimable one in such a case of being absolutely a stranger to the political passions in play in these events. The letter in which he retraces what he saw on the 4th of December, was inserted in the well-known English historical collection, the *Annual Registrar*. It had at first appeared in the *Times* of December 13, 1851.

We translate, following the text as closely as possible. We have substituted points for some lines of Captain Jesse's reflections, wishing to limit ourselves to the reproduction of the pure and simple report of facts observed by him (Note 137):—

. . . . . "[At two o'clock, when approaching the extremity of the Rue Vivienne, I observed the troops passing along the boulevard, which they cleared, driving the people into the side streets, who ran down it, crying out, '*Sauvez vous.*' I sought refuge with my wife, in a shop, and subsequently reached my own house. At three o'clock, returning from the Place de la Bourse, it was with the greatest difficulty I got back again. The guns had been distinctly heard for some time in the direction of the Faubourg St. Denis,[1] and the passage of troops that way con-

[1] This was, as we have already said, the attack of De Cotte's brigade

tinued for a quarter of an hour after I came back. Having written a note], I went to the balcony at which my wife was standing, and remained there watching the troops. The whole boulevard as far as the eye could reach, was crowded with them, principally infantry, in subdivisions at quarter distance, with here and there a batch of twelve-pounders and howitzers, some of which occupied the rising ground on the Boulevard Poissonnière. The windows were crowded with people, principally women, tradesmen, servants, and children, or, like ourselves, the occupants of apartments. The mounted officers were smoking their cigars, — [a custom introduced into the army, as I have understood, by the Princes of the Orleans family, not a very soldierlike one, but at such a moment particularly reassuring, as it forbade the idea that their services were likely to be called into immediate requisition. Of the Boulevard des Italiens I could see but little, on account of the angle I have mentioned ; but in the direction of the Porte St. Denis I could see distinctly as far as the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle]. *Suddenly*, and while I was intently looking with my glass at the troops in the distance eastward, *a few musket shots were fired at the head of the column*, which consisted of about three thousand men. In a few moments it spread, and after hanging a little came down in the boulevard in a waving sheet of flame. So regular, however, was the fire, that at first I thought it was a *feu-de-joie* for some barricade taken in advance, or to signal their position to some other division, and it was not till it came within fifty yards of me, that I recognized the sharp ringing report of ball-cartridge ; but even then I could scarcely believe the evidence of my ears, for as to my eyes, *I could not discover any enemy to fire at*, and I continued to look at the men until the company below me were actually raising their firelocks, and one vagabond, sharper than the rest — a mere lad without either whisker or moustache, — had covered me. In an instant I dashed my wife, who had just stepped back, against the pier be-

against the great barricade of Saint-Denis Street, and perhaps too that of the barricades of the Faubourg Saint-Martin. It is not impossible that General Canrobert's advance-guard, the 5th battalion of Vincennes Chasseurs, had commenced that attack, whilst the bulk of the brigade was still on the boulevards Bonne-Nouvelle and Poissonnière. Several Republicans, who fought in the barricades of the Faubourg Saint-Martin, are confident that the chasseurs began firing at half-past two, if not sooner. One of the survivors repeated this to us quite recently.

tween the windows, when a shot struck the ceiling immediately over our heads, and covered us with dust and broken plaster. In a second after I placed her upon the floor, and in another a volley came against the whole front of the house, the balcony and the windows; one shot broke the mirror over the chimney-piece, another the shade of the clock; every pane of glass but one was smashed, the curtains and window-frames cut, — the room, in short, was riddled. The iron balcony, though rather low, was a great protection; still five balls entered the room, and in the pause for reloading I drew my wife to the door, and took refuge in the back rooms of the house. The rattle of musketry was incessant for more than a quarter of an hour after this, and in a very few minutes the guns were unlimbered and pointed at the *magazin* of M. Sallandrouze, five houses on our right. What the object or meaning of all this might be, was a perfect enigma to every individual in the house, French or foreigner; some thought the troops had turned round and joined the Reds; others suggested that they must have been fired upon somewhere, though they certainly had not from our house or any other on the Boulevard Montmartre, *or we must have seen it from the balcony.* Besides which, in the temper in which the soldiers proved to be, had that been the case, they would never have waited for any signal from the head of the column, eight hundred yards off. This [wanton] fusillade must have been the result of a panic, lest the windows should have been lined with concealed enemies, and they wanted to secure their skins by the first fire; [or it was a sanguinary impulse — either motive being equally discreditable to them as soldiers in the one case, or citizens in the other. As a military man, it is with the deepest regret that I feel compelled to entertain the latter opinion]. The men, as I have already stated, fired volley upon volley for more than a quarter of an hour without any return;[1] they shot down many of the unhappy individuals who remained on the boulevard, and could not obtain an entrance into any house; some persons were killed close to our door, and their blood lay in the hollows round the trees the next morning, when we passed at twelve o'clock. [The soldiers entered houses whence no shots came; and though *La Patrie*, the newspaper of

[1] Compare with what Captain Mauduit says, of the efforts of General de Cotte to repress the useless fusillade of his soldiers on the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle.

the Elysée, pretended to specify them by name, it was in a subsequent number obliged to deny its own scandalous imputations.

"But let us admit that a few shots were fired from two or three houses on the other boulevards, that a few French soldiers were killed, was that a reason for this murderous onslaught on the houses and persons of their fellow-citizens, to the extent of nearly a mile of one of their most populous thoroughfares? The loss of innocent life must have been great, very great, more than ever will be known, for the press is more free now in Russia than in France. The Boulevards and the adjacent streets were at some points a perfect shamble; but I do not mean to state what I have heard and ascertained of that loss, for I do not wish to make the picture darker than it need be; it has been engraved by the bayonet in the minds of the people inhabiting this quarter of Paris, who cannot but dread for the future the protection of their own soldiers.]

"I am sir, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM JESSE,

"*Late Captain Unattached.*

"MAISONETTE, INGATESTONE, ESSEX, *December* 12." (Note 137.)

After this luminous account, it seems to us easy, by connecting it with all that has been already quoted, to arrive at an exact understanding of the manner in which the facts occurred.

At three o'clock the troops were stationed, or were slowly defiling, with frequent haltings, on the boulevards. The crowd which surrounded them was especially curious, but nevertheless in general unsympathetic. Cries hostile to the President were heard at some points, often also derisive laughter, pantomimes, directed at the soldiers. We have seen above this detail, given by Captain Mauduit, that the limbers of a broken gun-carriage had served for fuel for the bivouac fires of the troops in the Boulevard Poissonnière. We have read, in a writing of M. Victor Hugo, published abroad, that these limbers were broken in a false maneuvre of the drivers of the artillery, toward two and a half o'clock, near the corner of the Faubourg Montmartre, at the rising of the Boulevard Pois-

sonnière, and that the crowd became quite merry at their expense. "You see they are drunk!" cried a workman. This fact had appeared doubtful to us; but the coincidence of the observation made by M. Mauduit, who saw the fragments of these limbers burning, has modified our sentiment. The incident related by M. Victor Hugo must be true. No doubt it has no great significance; but it seems well to note it, as contributing to establish the attitude of certain portions of the crowd in presence of the soldiers. The latter, greatly excited against the populace, exaggerating without doubt the degree of its hostility, the mind haunted by the terrible "war of the windows" in June, imagined themselves to be under the blow of a sudden aggression. It is certain that they supposed the houses filled with invincible enemies ready to fire; they believed themselves hedged in by ambush; they were in one of those conditions of nervous super-excitement in which men with difficulty preserve their *sang-froid*, and, if they are united in great masses, yield, by an irresistible impulse, to sudden movements; witness so many panics, apparently inexplicable.

This mental condition of the soldiers massed upon the boulevards on the 4th of December, was it aggravated by physical causes, by excesses of aliment and beverages? This has been claimed with so much persistence, that the general government believed it necessary to deny it in its official organ. We do not think it can be disputed that the troops were, on that day, infinitely better cared for than ordinarily.

But may one attribute to this cause a preponderating influence upon the deeds of the boulevards? We think not. The masses of troops stationed at other points had been not less well treated, and nothing similar happened there.

The arrangement of troops being such as we have stated, what Mr. Jesse saw is very naturally explained.

Shots were fired at the head of the column in the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle (Note 137 *a*); the forward platoons responded, riddling the windows with bullets. The mass was shocked as with electrical commotion. No more doubt on the part of the soldiers, "the war of the windows" was commencing! And, platoon by platoon, they fired in succession upon the groups standing by; upon the spectators of the balconies and windows, perforating those imaginary enemies with bullets!

Vainly most of the officers (this has been proved by a great many) sought to arrest this impulse. For a quarter of an hour it was a veritable tempest of fire and lead, from the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle as far as that of the Italiens.

M. Mauduit has written some lines that well confirm our own views. We transcribe them again:—

"The soldiers of General de Cotte, electrified by the fusillade which surrounded them, also opened fire, but at random, and continued it for eight or ten minutes, in spite of the efforts of the general and of his aide-de-camp to arrest so useless an expenditure of ammunition, which could make only innocent victims."

We have also heard it related, but we could not guaranty the fact, that an officer of artillery threw himself in front of the howitzer that was bombarding the Hôtel Sallandrouze, in order to arrest that insensate canonnade.

The reader imagines the frightful spectacle which the boulevards must have presented, above all during the early moments of the catastrophe. When that "sheet of waving flame" (according to the expression of Mr. Jesse) was seen to descend, the crowd rushed, stricken with terror, toward the doors of the houses; toward the outlets of the adjacent streets,—a prey to a too legitimate frenzy. The shower of bullets fell in part upon these horrified groups. They were seen to bend beneath the storm, to fall upon the sidewalks and door-sills. Some of the wounded arose, and reeled, only to fall again.

One of the persons hit, who survived in spite of two serious wounds, said: "It seemed as though a large water-spout was coming from the Boulevard Poissonnière, twisting and breaking in its passage the men, and the trees planted along the boulevards." The person whose words we quote, was a few steps from the Variétés Theatre, in front of the house then bearing No. 5 of the Boulevard Montmartre. He fell suddenly, with a group of six or eight, three of whom became corpses.

Many too were hit in the windows and interiors of rooms, by the bullets that ricochetted against the walls.

But let us no longer insist upon this lamentable picture.

After this quarter of an hour or twenty minutes of storm of musketry, those of the officers who had tried to arrest the disaster, nearly regained the mastery of their soldiers. The major part of the infantry of Canrobert's brigade defiled toward the Faubourg Saint-Martin. Upon the boulevards there remained only the lancers of General Reibell, and, it seems, the *gendarmerie mobile.*

Isolated shots were heard for a long time after. This sad fact, no longer produced by panic and feverish impulse, is but too well established.

Let us now recall some sentences from an extract cited above, from Captain Mauduit, the military writer so devoted to the Napoleonic cause: —

"You cannot cross the boulevard," said to him, several hours afterward, an old officer, his regimental comrade, "without exposing yourself to pistol-shots or lance-thrusts from the scouts stationed at each street-corner; the boulevards are strewn with dead bodies."

"A passer-by, whom M. Mauduit met a little further on, said to him in a low voice, —

"'Dont go upon the boulevards, they are firing upon every one who passes.'"

The Honorable M. Jules Simon, at present a Deputy of the Opposition (Republican), for the Department of the

Seine, wrote a few days afterward to a newspaper of another town, a letter, which was published, and in which were found these details: —

"In Montmartre Street, toward four o'clock, an unarmed, inoffensive group, not crying out, was fired upon. A man fell; we raised him up; he was only wounded! Three paces distant, another was dead. A woman had her arm broken by a bullet. I returned by Richelieu Street. I saw a soldier take aim, and fire upon a window."

We have further, as to the events of the boulevards, to examine but a single question. How did the fusillade commence at the head of the column?

It has been seen that it extended from the troops stationed in the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle to those who occupied the Boulevard des Italiens, as if one had ignited a train of powder.

It seems to us extremely probable that one or several shots must have been fired at the forward platoons of General Canrobert's column.

The *Moniteur*, in the account of the drama enacted at the bookstore of Lefilleul, speaks of a pistol-shot fired by a clerk at a bugler of the line. Some have likewise spoken of shots discharged from the upper windows of two houses situated on the south side of the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, between the sentry-post in front of the Gymnase Theatre and the corner of Cléry Street. These assertions have nothing in common with the story published by the newspapers, of the firing done from the Boulevard Poissonnière, especially from the Hôtel Sallandrouze, an invention whose falsity the newspapers themselves acknowledged.

The reader will remark that less than an hour before, there was fighting at this point. The brigade of De Bourgon had skirmished some time with the Republicans, continuing as far as the barricades on this side the Porte Saint-Denis.

They were still fighting at three o'clock, and very

sharply, in the streets a little distant from that part of the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle. *At this point*, the troops were already, so to speak, in the enemy's country.

Thus, there are strong presumptions for believing that some of those isolated shots, *suddenly* heard so distinctly by Captain Jesse in the direction of the head of the column, were fired by insurgents, perhaps by some of those who had already fought at the same place, against De Bourgon's brigade.

Such should be, it seems to us, the accidental cause of that panic (the expression seems to us applicable, although it is not the most ordinary sense of the word), — of that panic, we say, which being instantly propagated in the mass of troops stretched along for nearly a quarter of a league to the rear, caused such frightful misfortunes. This is, at least (until proof to the contrary and revelation of facts unknown at present), the only explanation we could admit.

The reader will perhaps be surprised that we do not take due account (in a moral and judicial point of view) of this woeful event, without example in the history of our modern civil conflicts. He will perhaps be surprised, too, that we do not inquire upon whom its responsibility falls. We will remind him that we are voluntarily circumscribed in the narrow limits of a simple narrative of facts. We do not wish — and we would have it so — that we were able to do more. The time to judge of what we are relating has not yet come.

The impression produced in Paris by this fatal event was immense, beyond all that may be imagined. The news spread rapidly, augmented by public rumor. The unspeakable fright of those who escaped was transmitted to the masses, and it congealed them. There was, as early as the evening of the 4th, a stupor, — a universal prostration.

A witness, little suspected of exaggerations in this re-

gard, — Captain Mauduit, whose Bonapartist enthusiasm is unlimited, — has established the existence of that impression. We have already cited some passages of his book, which confirm what we advance. We propose to conclude with other extracts: —

"As early as 7 o'clock on the morning of the next day, the 5th, I recommenced my historical peregrinations. Few inhabitants had yet hazarded going out. The aspect of the quay, from the Hôtel de Ville as far as the Champs-Élysées, was sombre. The few passers-by whom I met *bore upon their features the impress of inquietude, some even of stupefaction.*"[1]

"At the debouching of all the streets, and as far as the Bastile Square, was found a platoon of cuirassiers, all having strolling scouts, with hanging sabre, like the dragoons, and a pistol in hand. The entrances to Tortoni and the Maison Dorée, were occupied by the same groups as on the two preceding days, and almost as compactly; but the faces there were dark and generally sullen, and not defiant as on the evening before. The anger was concentrated, but not calmed.[2]

"An expression of stupor was revealed in the countenances of all. People did not accost each other except with hesitation and in order to inquire uneasily, 'How will it end?' There were few faces not at least gloomy; some depicted concentrated anger and rage, and expressed themselves half whisperingly, or breathed only hatred and revenge! . . . . against the President, against the generals, and against the plumes."[3]

The *Moniteur Parisien*, a semi-official journal, also said, speaking of that next day, the 5th of December: —

"The stores and houses remained closed all the day, upon the line of the boulevards, which continued to be occupied militarily by the brigades of Generals Reibell and Marulaz. Travelling was interdicted. Within the memory of man the boulevards had *never presented so lugubrious an aspect.*"

The revolutionary movement, which was initiated in the first half of the 4th day of December with so much power that it seemed as if it was to carry the entire city with it, was therefore broken.

[1] *Révolution Militaire*, p. 261. [2] *Ibid.* p. 264.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 273, 274.

The battle waged in the old streets of the central quarters, had crushed the *élite* of the men of action of the republican party. The half, if not more, of those who had fought, were killed, wounded, or captured.

The catastrophe of the boulevards, striking the city with an unspeakable thrill of terror, had done the rest.

The survivors of the barricades, and the representatives of the people, who tried, on the morning of the 5th, to recommence the agitation, ran against a populace frozen with fright. Some barricades, raised on the left bank of the Seine, at the Carrefour de la Croix-Rouge, on the right bank, at some points in the faubourgs, especially at the Barrière Rochechouart, were abandoned without combat at the approach of the troops.

"The insurgents," says Marshal Magnan, in his official report, "dumbfounded by the result of the day of December 4, no longer dared to defend their intrenchments."

A gloomy and silent throng gathered together during the whole day of the 5th, before the palings of the Cité Bergère, in the Faubourg Montmartre.

A great number of corpses, some say thirty-five, others say sixty, had been placed in rows in the passage. They were of the unfortunate fallen of the day before upon the boulevards. Most of them wore the garb of the middling classes. Two or three were women.

Later, these (or others, we do not know exactly which) were transferred to the Northern Cemetery. They remained there some time, half shrouded, the head bare, in order that they might be recognized by their families.

What was the number of victims in those days of the 3d and 4th of December?

The official and officious statements give but little light on this point, save in what concerns the army.

M. Granier de Cassagnac,[1] says 175 dead and 115 wounded. He borrows these figures from a report of the Prefect of Police.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 433.

M. Mayer [1] gives different figures, according to the estimates of M. Trébuchet, who, he says, would swear before God and man that his list was exact. These figures are 191 killed and 87 wounded. It is hardly necessary to notice the colossal improbability of these latter figures.

The *Moniteur* of August 30, 1852, already cited, gave, as resulting from the official showings, the number of 380 killed.

It is a pity that the *Moniteur* did not think it proper to tell upon what documents it relied, in order thus to contradict the figures of 175 of the Prefect of Police, and 191 of the Chief of the Bureau of Health.

In presence of such contradictions, the historian should refrain, if he does not possess other authentic sources of computation. All that we can say is, that the number 380 seems to us still very small in view of the grave indications which we gather from divers directions. But there is no occasion for insisting upon this subject.

As far as the army is concerned, the official figures have never been disputed. There were, on the 3d and 4th of December, one officer and twenty-three soldiers killed. Three other soldiers subsequently died from their wounds. That is, in all, twenty-seven *military persons* killed. This number, brought into juxtaposition with the 380 non-military persons *killed*, as is confessed by the *Moniteur*, is not a fact to weaken the opinion of those who think that the unfortunate victims of the boulevards must have been greatly superior in number to those of the combatants killed upon the barricades.

The number of military persons wounded was considerable, in proportion to that of the dead. It reached the sum of 181, of whom seventeen were *officers*.

We shall make a final remark upon these losses suffered by the army. If we deduct therefrom the seven or eight men put *hors de combat* in the skirmishes of the 3d of December,

[1] Page 169.

and the four or five others who appear to have been wounded by the bullets of their comrades on the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, it is established that more than 190 men were killed and disabled in the attack upon the barricades in the afternoon of the 4th of December. If we bear in mind that the troops always commenced (see the report of General Magnan) by breaching with cannons the improvised defenses of the Republicans, before assaulting them closely; that the number of the defenders of the barricades did not exceed 1,000 or 1,200 men, indifferently armed, — it will be admitted that the total of about 200 soldiers killed or wounded (a considerable number, regard being had to the small number of Republicans fighting), is an incontestable proof of the energetic resistance of the latter. (Note 138.)

CONCLUSION.

We might here discontinue this study of the *Coup d'Etat* of the 2d of December, at Paris.

As early as the 5th, the triumph of Louis Napoleon was assured. The republican Constitution of 1848 existed no more, except as a souvenir.

We shall, however, briefly sum up the acts accomplished between that day and the one on which the result of the Plebiscitum (Note 3, *ante*), of the 20th of December, was proclaimed.

The *Moniteur* of the 5th published a decree, signed the day before, specifying that the vote upon the "Appeal to the People" would take place in the *communes* (Note 43), by secret ballot, and not by a vote upon the public register, — as it had been indicated in the proclamation of the 2d, as a souvenir, undoubtedly, of the mode of voting adopted in 1804, by Napoleon I. (Note 139).

The army had, nevertheless, voted in this manner, within forty-eight hours. The roll had been called, and officers, under-officers, and soldiers, had successively signed upon a register, their *Yes*, or their *No*.

The result was, 303,290 voting *Yes*, and 37,359 voting *No;* 3,626 military electors had abstained. For the navy, the list furnished, 15,979 votes of *Yes*, and 5,128 of *No;* 486 sailors had abstained (Note 140).

On the 8th of December, a proclamation of Louis Napoleon to the French people appeared. The President felicitated himself with the appeasing of the troubles, invited the citizens to vote, and thanked, in particular, the Paris-

ian workingmen for the good spirit which they had evinced.

Let us point out a prominent feature of that proclamation: the name Republic did not occur in it.

On the same day, a decree (not abrogated yet) was signed, giving to the government the power of deportation to Cayenne (Note 141), as a measure of public safety; that is to say, without the judgment of a court, to deport the formerly-condemned who had left their places of banishishment, and the *individuals recognized guilty of having formed part of a secret society.*

During those same days, and almost without interruption up to the following month, innumerable arrests were made in Paris. In less than a week, the prisons, and the forts detached from the fortified circuit (Note 142), were encumbered with prisoners. Their number exceeded several thousands. Save with very rare exceptions, they belonged to the different shades of the republican party. The quota of the Parisian *bourgoisie* in this multitude of captives, was enormous; out of all proportion with what it had been since the beginning of the century. The workingmen, however, were in the majority. Some one said there was "a coat for each blouse." This is nearly the truth, but not of absolute accuracy.

On the other hand, the representatives of the Right (the Royalists), incarcerated on the 2d, were nearly all set at liberty.

The only ones among them who were stricken, belonged to the Orleanist party (Note 31). A decree temporarily exiled — with Generals Bedeau, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Leflô — Messieurs Duvergier de Hauranne, Créton, Baze, Thiers, Chambolle, Rémusat, and Jules de Lasteyrie (Note 143).

This decree was not published until after the 20th of December; but it enters into our subject as an immediate consequence of the *Coup d'Etat.*

The republican representatives were stricken in great numbers.

Five of them were designated by decree for deportation to Cayenne. These were Messieurs Marc-Dufraisse, Greppo, Mathé, Miot, and Richardet (Note 144). It must be said, however, that M. Miot alone was deported, to Africa, and not to Cayenne.

M. Mathé had succeeded in escaping, and Messieurs Dufraisse, Greppo, and Richardet received an order for exile at the moment they were expecting to start for Guiana. It has been said, but we do not know whether the statement is correct, that this commutation of penalty was decreed upon the solicitation of Madame George Sand (Note 145). What is certain is, that the representatives were absolutely ignorant that that step, or any other, had been taken in their behalf.

At the same time as for Messieurs Dufraisse, Mathé, and Richardet, an order for exile commuted the penalty of a certain number of Republicans of Paris, and of a neighboring department, the Loiret, who were already in the roadstead of Brest, on board of the ship that was to transport them to Cayenne. Among them were Xavier-Durrieu, the old representative to the Constituent Assembly; two members of the legislature, Michot-Boutet and Martin, representatives of the Loiret; an old prefect and former member of the Constituent Assembly, M. Pereira, of Orleans; some well-known men of letters; the fabulist Lachambeaudie; Hippolyte Magen, and Kessler, journalists; one of the most distinguished members of the medical faculty of Paris, Doctor Derville, son of the representative of the Upper Pyrenees, etc. (Note 146.)

Six republican representatives were punished with provisional exile, by the same decree as for Generals Bedeau, Changarnier, etc. These were Messieurs Pascal Duprat, Victor Chauffour, General Leydet, Edgar Quinet, Antony Thouret, and Versigny (Note 147). M. Émile de Girardin

was stricken at the same time with his republican colleagues, with whom he had made common cause for some time theretofore.

Sixty-six other representatives, all Republicans, were exiled by special decree. Here are their names, in the order adopted by the *Moniteur* (Note 148):—

Edmond Valentin, Paul Racouchot, Agricol Perdiguier, Eugène Cholat, Louis Latrade, Michel Renaud (of the Lower-Pyrenees), Joseph Benoit (of the Rhône), Joseph Burgard, Jean Colfavru, Joseph Faure (of the Rhône), Pierre Charles Gambon, Charles Lagrange, Martin Nadaud, Barthélemy Terrier, Victor Hugo, Cassal, Signard, Viguier, Charrassin, Bandsept, Savoye, Joly, Combier, Boysset, Duché, Ennery, Guilgot, Hochstuhl, Michot-Boutet, Baune, Bertholon, Schoelcher, de Flotte, Joigneux, Laboulaye, Bruys, Esquiros, Madier-Montjau, Noël Parfait, Emil Pean, Pelletier, Raspail, Théodore Bac, Bancel, Belin (Drôme), Besse, Bourzat, Brives, Chavoix, Dulac, Dupont (of Bussac), Gaston Dussoubs, Guiter, Lafon, Lamarque, Pierre Lefranc, Jules Leroux, Francisque Maigne, Malardier, Mathieu (of the Drôme), Millotte, Roselli-Mollet, Charras, Saint-Ferréol, Sommier, Testelin (of the North).

Article 2 of the decree, signed Louis Napoleon, and countersigned de Morny, threatened the *individuals* (the very word used) mentioned above, with deportation, if they reëntered the French territory. It was toward the middle of December that the famous mixed commissions were organized by a ministerial circular. They have sometimes been compared to the Provost Courts of the Restoration. This assimilation is not just, according to our ideas. The Provost Courts were a species of court-martial, judging summarily, but in short *judging;* admitting contradictory debate, and defense in public audience. The mixed commissions of 1852 decided without legal process, without the hearing of witnesses, without adverse debate, with-

out defense on the part of the accused, without public judgment, the fate of thousands and thousands of Republicans. The scale of penalties pronounced (in secret) by these commissions, was graduated from the "espionage of the High Police," up to deportation to Cayenne (Note 149).

During the first fifteen days of December, the *Moniteur* often published decrees, putting in a state of siege divers *départements*, in which resistance to the *Coup d'Etat* had commenced. The number of these placed under military régime, exceeded thirty on the 20th of December; or more than a third part of France.

Three extraordinary commissioners, invested with plenary powers, had been sent, — M. Carlier, the ex-Prefect of Police, into the Allier, the Cher, the Nièvre, and the Yonne; M. Maurice Duval, into the departments of the West (Bretagne and Vendée); and M. Bérard into the Somme. Their mission was very short; they were recalled at the end of eight days.

Decrees succeeded each other rapidly in the *Moniteur;* also ministerial instructions. Toward the middle of December, that one was rendered which placed the avocations of hotel-keeper, saloon-keeper, and coffee-house keeper, under the requirement of special authority, previously obtained.

The army, as was natural, was largely recompensed. Decorations and promotions were numerous (Note 150). The days of December were counted as *campaigns* to all soldiers whose regiments had concurred in repressing the resistance to the *Coup d'Etat* at Paris, or in the provinces.

The Catholic clergy was overwhelmed with kind attentions and favors (Note 151). It responded to them by an adherence to the *Coup d'Etat*, whose unanimity and enthusiasm called to mind that of which it had given proof after the 24th of February, 1848, when it blessed the trees of liberty, and preached the alliance of the Gospel to

the Democracy. The causes were very different, but the enthusiasm of the Catholic clergy had remained the same.

As early as the first days, a decree had transformed the Panthéon (Note 115, *ante*) into the Church of Sainte-Geneviève.

Among the official documents of that period, one may read a certain circular of M. de Morny, concerning the observance of the repose prescribed by the Church, on the holy Sabbath day, which breathes the most perfect Catholic piety and fervor (Note 152).

We have told how, on the morning of the 2d of December, measures were taken for preventing the independent press from continuing its publications. Those measures were regulated some days later. Many newspapers were definitively suppressed. The only important republican journal that could recommence its publication, the *Siècle* (Note 153), was condemned, for a long time, to the recording of the various news and official documents only. It was interdicted, not only from discussing the conditions under which the popular balloting was about to commence, from setting forth the reasons which should induce one to vote such or such a way; but it could not even inscribe at the head of its columns, "We vote *No.*" It was the same with all the organs of the independent press. M. P. Mayer stated the truth concerning the situation of the press after the 2d of December: "The *Moniteur*," he says, "spoke then; and in the *unanimous silence of the old dead press*, that also of the *Coup d'Etat*, the official journal, became," etc.

The ballot for the Plebiscitum was opened. The operation was generally accomplished in the midst of the greatest material calm.

The result gave 7,439,216 yeas, and 640,737 nays. The null ballots numbered 36,880.

The official abstract does not give the number of those abstaining. But it may be deduced from this fact, that the electoral lists of 1849, which were taken as the basis

for the entries after the 2d of December, stated the number of electors to be 9,618,057. There should therefore have been about 1,500,000 of the absentees.

In order to complete the account of the *Coup d'Etat*, we ought to give the result of the balloting in the capital.

The number of electors registered in the twelve districts of Paris, was 291,795. The number of those who voted was 216,693.

The votes cast were divided as follows: —

Yeas,	132,981	216,693
Nays,	80,691	
Null,	3,021	

There had been 75,102 absentees. The number of yeas was still less than half of the number of electors entered.

The general result of the Plebiscitum was solemnly presented to Louis Napoleon, on the 31st of December, by the Advisory Commission charged with canvassing the votes.

Two speeches were pronounced on this occasion; the first by M. Baroche (Note 40), the second by Louis Napoleon. We proceed to reproduce them *verbatim*, according to the *Moniteur*. They are the natural conclusion of an account of the *Coup d'Etat*.

M. Baroche, after having given the President an abstract from the register of the Advisory Commission, which established the results of the Plebiscitum, such as they are given above, spoke as follows: —

"M. PRESIDENT, — When making an appeal to the French people, through your proclamation of the 2d of December, you said: 'I no longer wish an authority which is powerless to do good, and which binds me to the rudder when I see the vessel running toward the abyss. If you have confidence in me, give me the means to accomplish the grand mission which I hold from you.'

"To this loyal appeal, made to its conscience and to its sovereignty, the nation has responded by an immense acclamation, by more than seven million four hundred thousand suffrages.

"Yes, *Prince;* France has confidence in you! She has confidence in your courage; in your exalted reason; in your love for

her! And the testimonial which she has just given you of this, is so much the more glorious because it is rendered after three years of a government of which it thus sanctions the wisdom and patriotism.

"The elect of the 10th of December, 1848, — has he shown himself worthy of the trust which the people conferred upon him? Did he well comprehend the mission that he received?

"Inquire of the seven millions of votes which have just confirmed this trust, adding it to a greater and nobler mission.

"Never, in any country, has the national will so solemnly manifested itself! Never has a government obtained a like approbation; had a broader base, an origin more legitimate, and more worthy the respect of all people! (Murmurs of approval.)

"Take possession, *Prince*, of that authority which is so gloriously deferred to you.

"Make use of it, in order to develop, by wise institutions, the fundamental bases which the people themselves have consecrated by their votes.

"Reëstablish in France the principle of authority, too much shaken for sixty years past, by our continuous agitations.

"Combat without relaxation those anarchical passions that attack society, even in its foundations.

"It is no longer odious theories only that you have to pursue and repress; they are changed into deeds, into horrible attempts.

"Let France be at last delivered from those men always ready for murder and pillage; from those men who, in the nineteenth century, bring horror into civilization, and seem, while awakening the saddest remembrances, to carry us back five hundred years into the past. (Lively assent.)

"*Prince*, on the 2d of December you took for your symbol *France regenerated by the Revolution of* 1789, *and organized by the Emperor;* that is to say, a wise and well regulated liberty; a strong authority respected by all.

"May your wisdom and your patriotism realize that noble thought! Render to this country, so rich, so full of life, and of the future, the greatest of all possessions — order, stability, confidence. Restrain, with energy, the spirit of anarchy and revolt.

"You will thus have saved France, preserved all Europe from immense peril, and added to the glory of your name, a new and imperishable glory."

(These words are followed by unanimous and significant marks of approbation.)

Louis Napoleon thereupon spoke:—

"GENTLEMEN,—France has responded to the loyal appeal which I made to her. She has comprehended that *I went outside of legality only to reënter into the right.* More than seven millions of suffrages *have just absolved me;* justifying an act which had no other end but that of sparing to France, and to Europe, perhaps, years of trouble and misfortunes. (Demonstrations of approval.)

"I thank you for having officially shown how national and spontaneous was that manifestation.

"If I congratulate myself for this immense adhesion, it is not through pride, but because it gives me the strength to speak and to act as is befitting the chief of a great nation like our own. (Repeated cheers.)

"I understand all the grandeur of my new mission. I do not mistake as to its grave difficulties. But with an upright heart, with the concurrence of all estimable men, who, as well as you, will enlighten me with their lights, and sustain me with their patriotism, with the tried devotion of our valiant army,—in short, with that protection which to-morrow I shall sincerely pray heaven to grant me still (prolonged sensation), I hope to render myself worthy of the confidence which the people continue to repose in me. (Approbation.) I hope to assure the destinies of France, by founding institutions which respond at once to the democratic instincts of the nation, and to that universally expressed desire of having henceforth a strong and respected government. (Warm concurrence.) In fact, to give satisfaction to the exigencies of the moment, by creating a system which constitutes authority without wounding equality, without barring any way of improvement; that is, to establish the real basis of the only edifice capable of supporting, later, a wise and beneficent liberty."

(Cries of *Vive Napoléon! Vive le Président!* are heard, etc.)

The reader who is curious for piquant and instructive comparisons, has only to refer back to chapter I. of this book. He will there find manifestos, letters, and speeches, which may profitably be re-perused after the above (Note 154).

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

List of a certain number of non-military persons killed on the 3d and 4th of December, prepared by M. Trébuchet, Chief of the Bureau of Health, at the Prefecture of Police: —

[The author here gives a list containing not only the name, occupation, and address, but the street and number of house of each, with the place where each was killed, or died in consequence of wounds received. We do not deem it necessary to copy these details in full, more especially as the list is of but a portion of the citizens killed. We have, however, taken the trouble to classify them, giving the number of each sex and occupation, and the result gives some facts and figures worthy of contemplation. — *Translators.*]

Whole number on the list	159
Of these there were men and boys . . .	150
Women	9

Of the men, there were of clerks, capitalists (*rentiers*), householders, each, 7; of those whose names and occupations are UNKNOWN, 7; merchants, 6; carpenters, shoemakers, employés, servants, each, 5; laborers, coachmen, each, 4; jewelers, house-painters, cooks, tailors, glovers, saddlers, masons, each, 3; druggists, lawyers, decorative painters, florists, cabinet-makers, carriage-makers, waiters, sculptors, dyers, curriers, butchers, barbers, porters, toy-dealers, each, 2; sheriff's clerk, ex-representative, ex-subprefect, clerk of court, professor, teacher of languages,

lawyer's clerk, count (Poninski), architect, draughtsman, perfumer, bookseller, founder, turner, newsdealer, builder, paper-dealer, lace-maker, baker, lapidary, button-maker, stone-cutter, bitumen-dealer, broker, wine-dealer, door-keeper, agent, shade-maker, color-grinder, hatter, milkman, harness-maker, tinner, carman, paver, gas-lighter, without occupation, child of seven years, each, 1.

Of the women, there were shop-women, 2; char-women (*femmes de ménage*), 2; landlady, corset-maker, embroiderer, dressmaker, unemployed, each, 1.

A RECTIFYING LETTER.

To M. Eugène Ténot:

Sir, — Here are the principal inaccuracies which have slipped into the account of an episode that is personal to me, and which you reproduce according to M. Schoelcher.

I am indicated under the pseudonym of Voisin, under which I was really known at that time, and with the qualification of Counselor-general of the Department of the Haute-Vienne.

In reality, my name is Mandavy; and I was a notary in the department mentioned.

It is quite correct that I was captured after having fought for the defense of the Republic; that I was summarily shot; and was deported after my recovery. But that execution took place, not at the barricade of Montorgueil Street; but rather, at that of the Faubourg Saint-Martin, near the mayoralty of the then 5th ward.

Shot first, then pierced all over while on the ground, by sabre-bayonets (one of these perforated my lung, making a wound that for along time was believed to be mortal), I was *not* received by an old woman; but by dint of energy, I was able to raise myself, and, aided by the old doorkeeper of the mayoralty, to reach the ambulance established there, where I was received by the resident attendants, who gave me the first care. The firemen, whose quarters are contiguous to the mayoralty, were able at a given moment to extricate me from the brutalities of the soldiers (who believed me quite dead), and to carry me clandestinely to the Dubois hospital.

I authorize you, sir, to make such use as you shall judge proper

of the above corrections, in the interest of the truth ; advising you at the same time, notwithstanding my sincere desire to adhere to the personal satisfaction of a duty fulfilled, that I always accept, whatever may be the consequences thereof, the responsibility of all my acts.

Be pleased to receive, sir, the sincere expression of my best fraternal sentiments.

P. MANDAVY.

BOULEVARD SAINT DENIS, 26.

TRANSLATORS' APPENDIX.

[Many of the Biographical Notices contained herein, are abridged from those of Vapereau's *Dictionnaire des Contemporains*. Some of the political definitions are taken from the *Dictionnaire Général de la Politique*, by Maurice Block.]

Note 1, p. v. In France the whole territory is divided into eighty-nine *Départements*, or Prefectures. Each is governed by a *Préfet*, or Prefect, and takes its name from some river, mountain, sea, or coast, etc. The Departments are divided into *Arrondissements*, or Sub-prefectures, governed by a *Maire* or Sub-prefect.

Note 2, p. v. The *Jacquerie* is a name first given to the revolted peasantry, in 1538. The word is derived from the term *Jacques-Bonhomme* (James Simple), which had been derisively bestowed upon peasants. They were often called "Jacks" (*Jacques*) when spoken of as a class.

Note 3, p. vii. The Plebiscitum (*Plébiscite*) was originally a resolution voted upon by the *Plebes*, the third order of the Roman citizens. In France it is a name given, since the first Republic, to a resolution submitted by the government to the citizens, for their ratification by vote. Thus, whenever a constitution, or an amendment thereof, a *Senatus Consultum* (see Note 16), or a vote for the Presidency is submitted to the people for their suffrages, it becomes a Plebiscitum.

Note 4, p. xi. In Rome, the *Quæstor* was one of the two officers charged with the guardianship of the Treasury. In France, under the Republic, the *Questeurs* were two officers "charged with the keeping and auditing of the Ac-

counts of the Service of the Assembly," and were elected by that body, each term. Now, they are appointed by the Emperor, and their office is in the Palace of the Deputies.

Note 5, p. 1. The Republic of 1848 was the second government of that form in France; the first Republic is reckoned to include the successive régimes of the National Convention, the Directory of five members, and the Consulate of three; that is, from the close of the Legislative Assembly, September 21, 1792, to the coronation of Bonaparte as Emperor, in 1804.

Note 6, p. 1. The Constituent Assembly was the name given to the "States-general" at the time that body convened in 1791, and *constituted* and decreed the first French Constitution. In 1848, the body of nine hundred members which sat in legislative convention until the formation of the Constitution of that year, assumed the old title, Constituent Assembly.

Note 7, p. 1. Since the history of the Constitution of France is closely associated with that of the *Coup d'Etat*, it seems well to submit the following *résumé* of the material changes therein from the first.

The Constitution of September 3, 1794, was formed from the body of Decrees theretofore issued by the Legislative, or Constituent Assembly. It declared, substantially, that all men are equal before the law; all are equally admissible to all dignities, offices, and public employment; all have the natural and indefeasible right of property, safety, and resistance to oppression. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. . . . . The source of all sovereignty resides in the Nation. The law is the expression of the general will, and all citizens have the right to assist in its formation; either personally, or by their representatives. Every public agent is responsible to society for his administration.

An auxiliary decree, passed by the Assembly in accordance with the principles of this Constitution, provided that the royal veto merely *suspended* the operation of a law for two legislative terms; and that whenever the Assembly should formally require the execution of a law, such law was thereupon to be executed without a previous submission of the same to the king for his approval.

At this period, citizenship was attained at the age of twenty-five years, provided the elector paid a direct tax equal to the price of three days' labor.

This Constitution, and the subsequent dethronement of Louis XVI., prepared the way for that of June 24, 1793, which was submitted to the people, and by them almost unanimously ratified, the votes having been 1,801,908 affirmatively, and 11,610, negatively. It provided for a Republic, at whose head was an Executive Council consisting of twenty-four members, elected by the people. This council had no power of veto, but was bound to execute all the laws of the Legislative Assembly. The Deputies, or members of the Assembly, were elected for one year. Citizenship was attained at the age of twenty-one years.

Turbulence and terrorism were still rampant, and in October, 1793, the Convention declared this Constitution "suspended." Soon afterward, a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of twelve members, reappointed every three months, was invested with a dictatorship.

The Constitution of August 22, 1795, was adopted by a large vote of the people. The head of the executive power was a Directory, consisting of five members elected by the Legislative Body; one member retiring from office each year to give place to a new member. The Directory had the power to appoint generals-in-chief, frame treaties to be ratified by the legislature, etc. The legislative power was vested in a "Council of Five Hundred" men, aged at least thirty years, whose term of office was one year each, and a Council of Elders (*Anciens*), of two hun-

dred and fifty men, at least forty-five years of age, and married or widowers. These two branches formed the Legislative Body (*Corps Législatif*). Citizenship was attained at twenty years of age, provided the elector paid a direct tax, or exercised a mechanical calling, and could read or write. This Constitution was more moderately republican than the preceding one.

The Constitution of December 13, 1799, was adopted almost unanimously by the people. Napoleon Bonaparte (through the perfidy and coöperation of some of the members of the Council of Five Hundred) had overthrown the Directory, vested the executive power in three Consuls, and appointed himself "First Consul." At that time the people were always ready for a change, and the *éclat* of Napoleon's name was potent to produce a hasty popular sanction of his acts of usurpation. The new Constitution provided for the continuance of the Consulate created by Bonaparte, and for the maintenance of him in the First Consulship. The Consuls were to hold office for the term of ten years; the First Consul to have the power to appoint the high military and civil officers; to declare war; and to conduct the diplomacy of the nation. Also, to appoint the members of the Council of State (then first organized), whose duty it was to frame laws on behalf of the Consuls, to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly.

The legislative power was placed in a Senate consisting of eighty members, at least forty years of age, holding office for life, and elected by their own body; a Tribunate consisting of one hundred members, at least twenty-five years of age; and a Legislative Body consisting of three hundred members, of at least thirty years of age each.

The Constitution of August 4, 1802, was a senatorial decree (*sénatus-consulte*), formed by the Council of State above mentioned, and submitted to the people for their ratification. It being a Bonapartist idea, it was almost unanimously adopted. It made Bonaparte First Consul *for*

life, with power to appoint his successor. It authorized him to appoint senators for his own reasons, until the number should reach one hundred and twenty (it was eighty before); and it enabled him to appoint a Privy Council (or cabinet as we would say), of eight members. The Tribunate was diminished from one hundred to fifty members.

All this paved the way for the Constitutional Amendment of May 18, 1804, which was likewise almost unanimously adopted by the people. By this, Bonaparte was made Emperor, and the heirship to the imperial crown was declared to be in his lineal descendants of the male line, and failing those, in the descendants of his brothers Joseph and Louis; the first older than Napoleon, and the second younger.

The Amendment of February 5, 1813, was not submitted to the people; it referred to the Regency of the Empire in case of the death of Bonaparte, who was then about to commence a new military campaign. It established a Council of Regency.

The Constitution of April 6, 1814, was a decree of the Senate, reciting the fall of Bonaparte, and declaring Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of Louis XVI. (executed in 1793), to be King of France, under the title Louis XVIII. This decree was not submitted to the people. The law-making power was vested in the Senate and the Legislative Body. Many of the republican principles resulting from the Revolution of 1789, were reaffirmed, and some wholesome provisions were established.

The "Constitutional Charter" of June 14, 1814, was framed by a committee appointed by Louis XVIII., and submitted to the allied powers (who at that time held and occupied Paris), for their approval. *They* ratified it, but the people were allowed no opportunity to do so. The charter was, however, quite liberal in some of its provisions.

On the 22d of April, 1815, the people, by a nearly unani-

mous vote, again modified their organic law. This was during the "hundred days" of Bonaparte's escape from the isle of Elba, and reappearance in France. It declared the warrior reinstated as Emperor, and possessor of the throne from which he had just pushed the Bourbon king.

Another change, not ratified by the people, was made June 29th, 1815. By this, the crown of which Louis XVIII. had been temporarily dispossessed, was declared restored to him; this was one of the results of Waterloo.

In 1825, Louis XVIII. was succeeded by his brother, called Charles X. The "Revolution of July," 1830, dethroned the latter; and on the 14th of August, in that year, a constitutional charter was made and ordained. It fixed the succession to the regal crown in Louis Philippe, then the head of the Orleans, or younger line of the Bourbon dynasty.

The Constitution made by the National Assembly, of November 4, 1848, resulted from the compulsory abdication of Louis Philippe, which had occurred on the 24th of February in that year. A provisional government had been installed on that day, and on the 5th of March following it had issued a decree, convoking the citizens to elect nine hundred representatives to a national assembly. Citizens of twenty-one years of age could vote, and all of twenty-five years of age were eligible to office. The election was held April 23d, and the Assembly met on the 4th of May. It appointed a committee of eighteen members to frame a constitution, which was adopted November 4, by a vote of seven hundred and thirty-nine in favor of, and thirty against it. It established a Republic, and it was the first constitution that had provided for universal suffrage. The representatives to the Assembly were elected for three years, and they had the right to elect the Vice-President of the Republic, and the members of the Council of State. The latter had previously been appointed by the sovereign. They held office for six years. The composition of the present Council of State is given in Note 71.

The other principal features of the Constitution of 1848 are mentioned by M. Ténot, in chapter I.

It is to be remarked that although this Constitution was never voted upon directly by the people, it had been almost unanimously voted for by their representatives, elected for that purpose.

On the 2d of December, 1851, President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, having overthrown the existing government on the night before, issued an "Appeal to the People," convoking them to vote upon the ratification of his *Coup d'Etat.* This Plebiscitum (Note 3), was voted upon on the 20th of December, and there were 7,439,216 ballots cast, with the syllable "Yes" printed thereon, and 640,737 with the syllable "No"; about 1,500,000 voters having abstained. This Plebiscitum was promulgated December 31st the same year.

The Constitutional Amendment of January 14, 1852, was the work of the Senate, and was not submitted to the people. It contained the substance of the propositions enumerated in the "Appeal" above mentioned, and provided for the maintenance of Louis Napoleon in the presidency for ten years. He had been elected for four years, and his official term would have closed on the second Sunday of May, 1852, when, by the terms of the existing Constitution, he would have been compelled to wait for an interval of four years, before being again eligible. The Senate and Legislative Assembly provided for by this amendment, are described in Note 12 of this Appendix.

The Constitution of December 25, 1852, declared Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be Emperor of France, with the imperial title, Napoleon III. It had been passed in the Senate (appointed by the Emperor), in the form of a Senatus Consultum (Note 16), on the 7th of the previous November, by a vote of eighty-six to one, and voted by the people on the 22d and 23d of that month.

As late as the 29th of March, 1852, the President had

publicly said: "Let us preserve the Republic; it menaces no one, and it may reassure all the world. Under its banner I wish to inaugurate anew an era of forgetfulness and of conciliation; and I call, without distinction, all those who wish to frankly concur with me in the public good."

A second Senatus Consultum, of December 25th, promulgated its revision; it makes the Emperor President of the Senate, etc.

The Amendment of July 17, 1856, relates to the Regency of the Empire, a son having been born to the Emperor on the 16th of March previous. That of May 27, 1857, relates to the election of Deputies, or members of the Assembly; that of May 4, 1860, to the powers of the Senate; that of December 2, 1861, to the discussion in the Senate of the Budget of the Empire.

All amendments which have been made to the Constitution of 1852, have tended to invest the Emperor with additional powers.

Note 8, p. 1. The 18th of Brumaire corresponds with the 8th of November of the Gregorian Calendar. The "18th Brumaire, year VIII.," of the Republican Calendar, — for in 1791, the French Legislative Assembly reformed the Calendar, — will always be remarkable in the history of France, as the day on which Bonaparte overthrew the Directory, and established the Consulate, making himself the "First Consul." The nature and circumstances of this operation were something analogous to that of his nephew, in December, 1851.

For the convenience of such as may have occasion to refer to the Republican Calendar, we have prepared the following tabular form of the same. The months were numbered and named as below: —

1. *Vendémiaire* (Grape-harvest), from Sept. 21 to Oct. 20, 1791.
2. *Brumaire* (Misty) . . . . " Oct. 21 to Nov. 20, "
3. *Frimaire* (Frosty) . . . . " Nov. 21 to Dec. 20, "
4. *Nivôse* (Snowy) . . . . " Dec. 21 to Jan. 19, 1792.

5. *Pluviose* (Rainy)	from	Jan. 19 to Feb. 19,	1792
6. *Ventôse* (Windy)	"	Feb. 20 to March 20,	"
7. *Germinal* (Sprouting) . . .	"	March 21 to April 19,	"
8. *Floréal* (Flowery)	"	Apr. 20 to May 20,	"
9. *Prairial* (Grassy)	"	May 21 to June 18,	"
10. *Messidor* (Harvesting) . .	"	June 19 to July 18,	"
11. *Thermidor* (Heating) . .	"	July 19 to Aug. 18,	"
12. *Fructidor* (Fruitful) . . .	"	Aug. 19 to Sept. 20,	"

Note 9, p. 2. The Concordat (agreement) of 1801, was the result of a convention between Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, and Pope Pius VII. It was much like that concluded between King Francis I. and Pope Leo X. in 1517. The religion of the Roman Catholics was guarantied for France, but the control was transferred from the Pontificate to the French Government.

In 1812, Bonaparte imprisoned the same Pope, at Fontainebleau, for eighteen months, in order to compel him to sign a renunciation of his temporal authority. He had previously, at the time of his coronation as Emperor, at which Pius VII. officiated, received the kindly blessing of the afterwards persecuted Pope.

Note 10, p. 2. By the terms of the Concordat (Note 9), which still is in force, the religion of France is directly governed by the state. Thus, the French Government appoints the archbishops and bishops, and they are afterward canonized by the Pope. The priests are appointed by the bishops.

Probably not less than nineteen out of every twenty of the clergy of France are Roman Catholics; so are the members of the imperial family. The Grand Chaplain of the Emperor (he is assisted by a bishop and eight abbots) is the Archbishop of Paris, who is likewise a member of the French Senate for life. The cardinals of France are likewise senators *ex-officio*. Practically, therefore, the Romish faith is maintained as that of the Church of France; but preachers, of whatever denomination, are paid and controlled by the general government. (See Note 151.)

Note 11, p. 2. The annual draft (*tirage au sort*), is applicable to all able-bodied men who have attained the age of twenty years. Those who are drawn, unless they procure substitutes, enter the military service for seven years, in the active list, followed by two years in the reserve list. The *regular* army of France is now about 250,000 men.

Note 12, p. 2. The present National Assembly, or more properly the Legislative Body (*Corps Législatif*), consists of two hundred and ninety-two members, called *Deputies*, elected by the people, for the term of six years; the elections since the *Coup d'Etat* having been held in the years 1857, 1863, and 1869. (As to the relative political strength of each party in that body, see Note 154). They receive a salary of 12,500 francs ($2,500) each per session, and there are sometimes several sessions in the same year.

Their president, until 1869, was appointed by the Emperor, and his salary is 100,000 francs ($20,000) *per annum*; their two vice-presidents were likewise appointed by him until 1869, and they receive a salary of 60,000 francs ($12,000) each *per annum*. Their sessions are held in what was formerly the *Palais Bourbon* (see Note 26), and the ministers of the Emperor appear in the chamber from time to time, and take part in the debates.

The Senate consists of about one hundred and seventy members, appointed by the Emperor for life. They get an annual salary of 30,000 francs. Among them are the nine marshals of France, the two admirals, the six cardinals, the Archbishop of Paris, three of the chamberlains to their Majesties, their First Surgeon, their Grand Master of the Stables (the *Écuyer*), the Grand Hunter, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, and three aides-de-camp to the Emperor. We suppose all these officials draw their pay for each office they hold. The Princes of France, arrived at the age of eighteen years, are also senators. Of this class there happens to be but one at present, Napoleon Joseph, the cousin of the Emperor.

The president of the Senate (salary 100,000 francs) is also appointed by the Emperor; so are the vice-presidents. The senatorial sessions are held in what was formerly the *Palais du Luxembourg*, which see in Note 123.

The Council of State (see Note 71), and the Ministry or Cabinet, are not branches of the legislative department, but are auxiliary to the executive power.

Note 13, p. 5. The Public Ministry (*Ministère Public*), is a name given to the body of officers connected with the higher courts, for the maintenance of order therein, and the execution of the mandates of the judges.

Note 14, p. 5. General Louis Eugène CAVAIGNAC was born in 1802, and was a graduate of the celebrated Polytechnic School of Paris. In the African campaigns his bravery and skill had obtained for him promotions from the rank of major to that of brigadier-general. In 1848, he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, and in May in that year, he was elected Minister of War by the Assembly's Executive Committee. During the insurrection of June, in consequence of the terrorism which prevailed, the same committee resigned, and invested General Cavaignac with absolute dictatorship, when he took strong measures for quelling the revolt which had almost become a revolution. The number of insurgents behind street-barricades was estimated to be sixty thousand; the National Guards were worse than useless, being little better than insurgents themselves. The General was unable, by promise, or by proclamation, to cause the revolters to submit to the then unstable government; and he was compelled to attack them in their defenses. The result was a loss of two thousand of the insurgents killed; two representatives of the Assembly; the Archbishop of Paris; five generals; many officers of a lower grade; and fifteen hundred soldiers.

After the suppression of the insurrection the General resigned his extraordinary authority, but the grateful As-

sembly reinvested him with it, and gave him the title "Chief of the Executive Power." He maintained public order during the discussion and until the adoption of the new Constitution.

Upon the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency, he resumed his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, where he so strongly manifested his desire for the maintenance of universal suffrage, that he was said to have considered it invested with a sort of divine right.

With the *Coup d'Etat* General Cavaignac was imprisoned (as narrated in chapter III.) in the Fortress of Ham. After a time he was released, and elected a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, but he refused to take the oath of fealty to the Napoleonic Constitution.

In 1857, while living in retirement at Mans, in the eastern part of France, he was again elected a deputy, but he died before entering upon the duties of his office. His remains were brought to Paris for interment, and the grief produced by the loss of the great and good citizen was very generally manifested, although the funereal honors due to his worth and station were not permitted.

At a recent public distribution of diplomas, by the Prince Imperial, to members of the graduating class of one of the colleges of Paris, a son of the late General Cavaignac, being invited by the Prince to step forward and receive a prize from his hands, refused the proffered honor; whereat he was publicly cheered, and the mother of young Cavaignac, taking occasion to say that he had shown that he was an honor to the name of his late father, quitted the hall with the high-minded young man.

Note 15, p. 5. Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, now the Emperor of France, with the title Napoleon III., was born April 20, 1808, in the Palace of the Tuileries, in Paris. His father, Louis Bonaparte, was the second below the first Napoleon in age, and the youngest but one of the five brothers. C. L. N. Bonaparte was born two years

after his father became King of Holland, 1806, and two years before he abdicated the throne of that kingdom, 1810. The ex-king died at Florence in 1846. The mother of C. L. N. B. was Hortense, a daughter of Josephine (the first wife of Napoleon I.) by Alexandre Beauharnais.

On the 29th of January, 1853, C. L. N. B. married Doña Maria Eugenia de Guzman y Porto-Carrero, Countess of Teba, and daughter of the Count of Montijo, "one of the grandees and senators of Spain." Of this marriage there was born, March 16, 1856, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph Napoléon, who is the only child, and the heir-presumptive to the throne. The said E. L. J. J. N. Bonaparte, by senatorial decree, bears the title "Prince Imperial."

Note 16, p. 6. The Senatus Consultum (*Sénatus-consulte*) was originally a decree of the Roman Senate. In France, the name was at first given to resolutions of the "Conservative Senate" of the first empire; at present it may be called a Senatorial Decree, having relation to the organic law of France.

An illustration of the nature and scope of the Senatus Consultum, is afforded by that one of 1866, which forbids the members of the Legislative Body (see Note 12) to discuss the Constitution, and fixes, as it were, a seal upon the lips of the representatives who would otherwise debate upon it.

Note 17, p. 6. The "Affair of Strasbourg," in 1836, was an attempt on the part of Prince Napoleon (then living with his mother, at Arenenberg, Switzerland) to incite a mutiny of the soldiers of the barracks of Strasbourg against their superior officers; or perhaps more correctly, to provoke an insurrection against King Louis Philippe, in the hope that it would result in his own attainment to the throne of France. It does not seem that he could have been essaying to establish a republic, for he had said as long ago as 1832 (in his *Rêveries Politiques*), that he would

wish for a republic "if *the Rhine were a sea*, if virtue were always the sole motive, and if merit alone came to be a power."

But undoubtedly he would have been glad to have it *appear* that he was favorable to a free government, for just before the affair in question he had said, "France is democratic, but she is not republican," etc.

The Duke of Reichstadt (son of the first Napoleon) had died in 1832, and Prince Napoleon had set his heart upon being possessed of the throne of his late uncle, of which he was the Napoleonic devisee. Accordingly, this enterprise, more rash than bold, was undertaken with the assistance of M. Fialin, *alias* de Persigny (Note 54), Colonel Vaudry, one of the officers in command, Madame Gordon, a sympathizing actress, and some others. Nothing more than a great commotion seems to have been accomplished. The attempt was claimed to have failed because of the rumor being suddenly started that the "Prince" was really the son or nephew of Colonel Vaudry. There must have been much misunderstanding among the soldiers, for some of them greeted the Prince with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" others, "*Vive Napoléon II!*" and still others, "*Vive le Roi!*"

M. Fialin de Persigny made his escape, but the Prince and Madame Gordon and some others were captured. At the time of his arrest, the Prince wore a great decoration on his breast, and epaulets upon his shoulders; these were torn off by Colonel Talandier, and trampled upon; but it is said that the Prince did not unsheath his sword in defense of these emblems of martial dignity.

For this indiscretion the Prince was ordered to go to America. Previous to starting, he received some pocket-money from the offended but magnanimous king whom he would have deposed.

Note 18, p. 6. The "Affair of Boulogne," August 6, 1840, was planned and begun in England, and was another

attempt to incite an insurrection against King Louis Philippe. Notwithstanding the ignominious failure of the first one, and the providing him with a free passage to and residence in America, by the said Louis Philippe, the Prince does not appear to have hesitated at the thought of a second disgrace, nor at a feeling of ingratitude such as might be presumed to be in him under the circumstances, toward his sovereign and benefactor.

The Boulogne in question — for there are several places of that name in France — is a seaport town near the Straits of Dover. It was but a few hours' sail from the English coast, and there were arsenals well stocked with the munitions of war, and barracks in which were soldiers whom he had been "educating" for some time, through his agents. Accordingly, the Prince, with Fialin, surnamed de Persigny (Note 54), General Montholon, a companion of Bonaparte at St. Helena, Dr. Conneau, now a senator and First Physician to the Emperor, and some sixty others, sailed from London, having previously calculated so as to arrive at Boulogne when the tide should be high, shortly before daybreak. They were on the steamer Edinburgh Castle, chartered for that purpose, and were well supplied with arms, and were disguised as soldiers of the French National Guard; even their military buttons had been expressly manufactured for them at Birmingham. It was not, however, until the steamer was at sea that the Prince informed his companions *where* he was going. Then it was that he had them summoned together upon the deck, and said in a speech to them, "My friends, I have conceived a project which I could not confide to all of you; for in grand enterprises secrecy alone can insure success. Companions of my destiny, it is to France we are going. . . . .

"And if I am seconded, as I have been led to hope, as true as the sun shines upon us, in a few days we shall be in Paris, and history will say that it was with a handful

of brave men such as you, that I accomplished this great and glorious enterprise!"

The steamer having come to an anchorage at a little distance from the landing, the invading party were taken ashore in boats which had been carried for that purpose. It was about five o'clock in the morning when they reached the barracks; the party, having at their head the Prince, and a person bearing a flag, with a live eagle belonging to the Prince perched thereon, followed by General Montholon, three colonels, a major, a captain, some other officers and the soldiers with Fialin de Persigny, etc. At the barracks they found two companies of soldiers, who at sight of the Prince and the eagle, and on a speech being made to them, rallied around them with considerable real or pretended enthusiasm, crying "*Vive la Liberté! Vive le Prince Napoléon!*"

Presently a captain in command of the barracks arrived, and then what confusion! Some of the invaders ran one way, and some another. The Prince took to the boats. Some of his companions were fired upon while in the water; one was killed; and all, including the Prince, were captured. But one person was wounded by the invaders, and he, a soldier, was accidentally shot by the Prince before any general firing had commenced.

For this affair, the Prince was tried before the Court of Peers, defended by Berryer (Note 34), and Barrot (Note 36), and condemned to imprisonment for life. He was taken to the fortress of Ham on the day after his trial, where he remained for more than five years. In May, 1846, he escaped in the guise of a working mason, through the assistance of his old friend, Dr. Conneau, a fellow-prisoner, who had been permitted to attend him medically — and went to England.

Note 19, p. 6. The interview here referred to was that which Bonaparte had after his return from the Isle of Elba, during the "hundred days" in which he kept Louis XVIII. from the throne, and maintained himself thereon.

Note 20, p. 6. The Isle of Elba had been ceded to Bonaparte in 1814, by the allied powers, and he had promised to remain thereon for the future. He in fact stayed there about ten months. The island was afterwards given to Tuscany, whose coast it adjoined.

Note 21, p. 6. Ham is a *canton* in the Department of the river Somme, in the North of France. After the dethronement of Charles X., some of his ministers were imprisoned there.

Note 22, p. 7. It was during this period of Louis Napoleon's sojourn in England that he was qualified and sworn as a "special constable for the preservation of the public peace, and for the protection of the inhabitants, and security of the property within the Parish of Saint Clement Danes, and elsewhere within the said district; such appointment to continue in force during the period of two calendar months from the date hereof." It was on account of the Chartist demonstrations in April, 1848.

One of the translators of this work, who was qualified and sworn in the same capacity, on the same occasion, frequently saw the Prince while on the "beat" adjoining his own.

Note 23, p. 8. We suppose this "taking up of arms against Louis Philippe," has reference to the affair of Boulogne, mentioned in Note 18.

Note 24, p. 9. The *Moniteur Universel* was established in 1789, as the official organ or gazette of the government. Its then editor, Mr. Panckoucke, was father of the present editor, or rather of the editor of the journal which bears the same name; for in 1869 the government established a *new* organ, with the title *Journal Officiel.*

The *Moniteur* has always been skillful in adapting its tone to the exigencies of the moment, opportune in abandoning the sovereign whose fortunes were waning, and in making love to the one whose star was plainly in the ascendant and near the governmental zenith. The following

illustration of this wonderful adaptability was published in the Paris newspapers at the time the *Moniteur* was itself abandoned by the government.

When Napoleon I. escaped from Elba in 1815, the *Moniteur*, then the organ of Louis XVIII., thus chronicled the progress of the returning exile, from day to day: —

"The Anthropophagist has escaped" — "the Corsican Ogre has landed" — "the Tiger is coming" — "the Monster has slept at Grenoble" — "the Tyrant has arrived at Lyons" — "the Usurper has been seen in the environs of Paris" — "Bonaparte advances toward, but will never enter the capital" — "Napoleon will be under our ramparts to-morrow" — and lastly, "His Imperial Majesty entered the Tuileries on the 21st of March, in the midst of his faithful subjects."

Note 25, p. 11. Alexandre Auguste LEDRU-ROLLIN was born in 1808. Although a lawyer by profession he has been a prominent editor of legal periodicals and of historical publications. In 1839 he suffered four months' imprisonment, and was fined three thousand francs for having publicly spoken his republican sentiments. He thereafter became the leader of the smallest or most ultra section of the "Left" or republican side of the Assembly, and gradually came to be an advocate of Socialism (see Note 29). He was so strongly interested in the promulgation of his "reform" ideas, that he sacrificed his pecuniary interests through neglecting his clients, and devoting his attention exclusively to his proposed public measures.

Upon the abdication of Louis Philippe, he hurried to the Chamber of Deputies, and entering at the moment when the majority were about declaring a regency in favor of the Duchess of Orleans (the daughter of the abdicating monarch), he mounted the tribune, and by veritable main-strength, prevented that consummation. He then and there parried the violent assaults made upon him, and declared that inasmuch as the fugitive king had not nomi-

nated a regent *before* his abdication, he could not nominate *after* that event, as he then lacked the requisite official capacity. He permitted M. de Lamartine to explain and advocate a plan for a provisional government, but he allowed no one to advocate the regency.

Under the temporary government of 1848 he might almost have become a dictator, but he was content with being Minister of the Interior.

In the subsequent elections a reactionary turn had made him far less popular than M. de Lamartine, whose republicanism was of a more moderate stamp. For the Presidency he was the candidate of the Socialists. In 1849 he became the leader of the insurrection against the "Violators of the Constitution;" but being defeated by the soldiery he remained concealed more than three weeks, in the vicinity of Paris, whence he fled to England. There he has been a conspicuous member of the school of Republicans to which Kossuth, Mazzini, etc., belong. In June, 1870, he was permitted to return to Paris.

François VINCENT RASPAIL was born in 1794. His republicanism became manifest in his early years, and he was thrice dismissed from employment as a teacher for this cause. He afterwards studied for the bar, but subsequently devoted his attention to the physical sciences. When but twenty-nine years of age, his democracy was judicially pronounced to be treason, and he was accordingly sentenced to death, but never was removed from prison to be executed. From this period until 1830, he wrote and published several works of considerable importance in the natural sciences.

In the Revolution of 1830, he was pleased with the fall of Charles X., but fought against the accession of Louis Philippe. The latter, however, offered him the position of Conservator-general of Museums, an office which was created expressly for him. His republicanism became so radical that it led to successful prosecutions against him,

when he openly avowed his sentiments, and his terms of imprisonment therefor amounted to about seven years in all.

He once said in a court-room, during a trial, that "the citizen who should ask from poor France the sum of 14,000,000 francs ($2,800,000) for his annual personal allowance, ought to be buried alive in the ruins of the Tuileries." He was referring, of course, to the sum proposed to be allowed to the King of France. For this outspokenness he was fined 500 francs, and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment.

From 1830 to 1837, being most of the time in prison, he published more scientific works.

When the Revolution broke out in 1848, he was the first to get possession of the City Hall (the Hôtel de Ville) in Paris, and had proclaimed a republic, before the arrival of the members of the Provisional Government. He refused to accept office, but he established a paper called "The People's Friend," with the motto "God and country; full and entire liberty of thought; unrestricted religious toleration; universal suffrage."

He took part in the compulsory reading of a petition in favor of Poland, in the Constituent Assembly, in May, 1848. This occasioned his arrest on the charge of having caused the violent dissolution of that body, and he suffered five years' imprisonment therefor. It was during this period, and when, of course, he could not have acted in any official capacity, that he was elected a deputy to the Assembly, and received 36,226 votes for the presidency of the Republic. At the end of this last term of incarceration, having been in prison fifteen years in all, he went to Belgium, where he remained until quite recently.

In May, 1869, he was elected a deputy to the French Legislative Body, where, although he is seventy-five years of age, it is believed that he will advocate with vigor and persistence his cherished doctrines of reform and liberty, much to the terror of the partisans of the Empire.

Alphonse DE PRAT de LAMARTINE was born in 1792. As a poet, author, and historian he is universally known, but of these attributes it is not our province to speak.

In 1848 he was probably more widely famous as a political orator and leader than any other person then living. He was an earnest advocate of real republican doctrines, and his influence was almost unlimited. But at a later period, he was believed to be in a conspiracy with Ledru-Rollin, against the established Republic, for selfish purposes. He admitted that he was against the government, but said he opposed it "as the lightning-rod opposes the storm." He, nevertheless, suddenly fell from the high eminence to which he had arisen in the popular mind, as is shown by the much diminished majority by which he was elected a deputy for the second term of the Assembly, and by the small vote he received for the presidency. He had always used his eloquence in assuaging popular excitement, and in calming the rising passions of the multitude; and perhaps this fact, in the end, made his republicanism seem weak and doubtful. Certainly, he was not sufficiently prominent at the date of the *Coup d'Etat*, to be an object of the persecutions of the government.

He died in February, 1869. His wife, an English lady of talent and wealth, is still living. When the government directed the funeral expenses of M. de Lamartine to be paid from the treasury of the state, she declined the proffered honor.

General CHANGARNIER was a Royalist in principles, but when the Republic was established, he felt it his duty to stand by it and give it his strong support. On the morning of December 2d (as will be seen in chapter III.), he was arrested and imprisoned. By a decree of January 9, 1852, he was compelled to quit France, and he took up his abode in Belgium, where he stayed until recently. He is now in Paris. Previous to the persecutions of the present government, he had been made a grand officer of the Legion of Honor.

Note 26, p. 11. This palace was originally a ducal mansion of the Bourbon family. Its construction was commenced in 1722, but it was not completed when the Revolution of 1789 occurred. At that time it was plundered; in 1795 it was occupied by the Council of Five Hundred; under the first Empire it was the hall of the Legislative Assembly. With the general restoration of 1814 it was restored to the Prince de Condé, a Bourbon, and descendant of the Great Condé; and in 1830 it fell to the possession of the Duke d'Aumale. It was subsequently purchased by the government for the use of the Legislative Body, whose sessions are still held therein. It is on the south bank of the Seine, and directly opposite to the famous *Place de la Concorde.*

Note 27, p. 12. In the Chamber of Deputies there is an elevated stand in front of the president's desk, for the use of orators addressing the Assembly. This stand is called the *Tribune.*

Note 28, p. 12. "I ask for the word" (*Je demande la parole*), is analogous to our own parliamentary expression, "Mr. President," and is the ordinary way in which a member indicates his desire to address the Assembly.

Note 29, p. 14. It was a party of Socialists who, on the 31st of May, 1848, entered the Chamber of Deputies, overpowered and dispersed the Assembly in something like Cromwellian fashion, and, under pretext of reading a petition in favor of Poland, declared a provisional government. They were led by Louis Blanc, Raspail, Ledru-Rollin, Barbès, and others (see Note 31).

Note 30, p. 14. The struggle here referred to, is that commencing June 22, 1848, during which the insurgents maintained themselves behind the barricades in the streets of Paris. The strongest of these were in the *Place de la Bastille*, the public square on which stood the Bastile until its demolition in 1789.

Note 31, p. 15. The political parties here mentioned still exist, as distinctly separate in their views as at that period.

The Legitimists are those "who maintain the hereditary principle of the crown, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, in the royal house of Bourbon." They favor the accession to the throne, of the Count of Chambord (Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné), Duke of Bordeaux, and son of the late Duke of Berri, who was the second son of Charles X. (see Note 127), and they would invest him with the royal title "Henry V." He is known to be strongly in favor of sustaining the temporal power of the Pope by the army of France. He has been married twenty-two years, but has had no children. He represents the heirship of the older line of the Bourbons.

The Orleanists favor the accession of Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris, and son of the late Ferdinand, Duke of Orleans, who was the first son of the late King Louis Philippe. Probably his title would be Louis Philippe II. This Prince, with his brother, the Duke of Chartres, served upon the staff of General McClellan, in the late war of the United States (see Note 114).

The Republicans desire a Constitutional Republic, like that of the United States. The Socialists are a branch of this party, the name having been first introduced in 1830. It is said that they desire "a clean sweep of whatever exists, to put everything into rubbish — laws, manners, creeds, guaranties of persons and property." Whatever diversities of views there may be among them as to details, "they are agreed upon one point, — the formal condemnation of societies, as at present constituted; and the necessity of arranging upon their ruins an order of things more conformed to the instincts of man and to his destiny in this world."

At present there are also the "Officials," or those who support the Emperor in all cases; and the Third Party (*Tiers-parti*), who are generally favorable to the Empire, but desire a much more liberal administration of its powers. Most of the latter are old Royalists.

Note 32, p. 16. Formerly the Girondins, or more aristocratic side of the Convention, occupied the seats on the left of the president's desk; but they were called the "Right," because, when the desk had been previously on the opposite side of the Chamber they *were* the right, and the name was retained as a souvenir of the old one. The Jacobins, and Cordeliers, who actually occupied the right side, were called the "Left."

The name *Montagne* (mountain) was given to the most revolutionary party, who occupied the highest seats in the Chamber. Those on the lowest seats were said to be on the "plain," the "marsh," etc. Subsequently the *Montagnards* (mountaineers) divided into Jacobins, Hébertists, Moderates, and Indulgents, and fought against and destroyed each other. The left side of the Chamber is at present occupied by the Republicans.

Note 33, p. 16. The Accusatory Arrest (*Détention préventive*), is the name given in France to a kind of arrest and imprisonment *without bail.* The "Judge of Instruction" is the magistrate who may always issue a warrant therefor, "by his sole will, without the requisition of a peace-officer; without furnishing a copy of the warrant; without announcing the nature of the offense; and without citing the law violated. He alone measures the duration of the imprisonment: no legal limit is fixed. From the fearful moment of the arrest, the fate of the prisoner is absolutely at the discretion of the Judge of Instruction." No recompense is allowed to the prisoner if he is ultimately discharged. In 1790, a provision of the law allowed an indemnity in such cases.

Note 34, p. 17. ALPHONSE THIERS was born at Marseilles in 1797. He is a member of the National Academy, a historian, an orator, and a statesman. He was one of the strong leaders in the movement which resulted in the dethronement of Charles X., at which time he was editor of the *National.* In the Council of State, under

Louis Philippe, he was a leader of the Left-centre, and M. Guizot (Note 58) of the Right-centre, and their contests were bitter and severe.

In 1848 M. Thiers became as violent an enemy of Louis Philippe, as he had previously been his efficient ministerial friend. In the *National*, for which he still wrote, he declared himself to be "of the party of the Revolution." But he did not desire the Republic. In the Assembly he voted for Louis Napoleon for the presidency, although he had previously opposed him.

After his imprisonment at the time of the *Coup d'Etat*, he was conducted by the government to Frankfort-on-the-Rhine. He returned to France a few years afterward, and in 1863, was elected an Opposition deputy to the Legislative Body. In 1869 he was reëlected to that office, and will be a vigorous opponent of the government. Notwithstanding his age, he is an active and energetic worker, and maintains his reputation as one of the first orators of France.

Pierre ANTOINE BERRYER was born in Paris in 1790; his ancestry was German, the old family name having been Mittelberger, which indicates that they were from *among the mountains*. Like his father, he was a distinguished member of the legal profession. When he foresaw the downfall of the first Napoleon, he hastened to proclaim the advent of the Bourbon Restoration, displayed the white cockade, and announced his joy over the approaching doom of the Emperor. Thereupon he was ordered to be arrested, fled to Nantes, and remained concealed for a time. During the "hundred days," he took up arms against Bonaparte, but he afterward took ground against the violence of the Royalists; saying that it was "a shame for the victors to gather up the wounded of the battle-field, and carry them to the scaffold." With his father, he ably and earnestly defended Marshal Ney before the Court of Peers, and was even suspected and accused

of having abandoned the cause of the Restoration. In 1850 he defended President Louis Napoleon against attacks which he then supposed to be groundless; he had formerly defended him in the trial for the Affair of Boulogne.

Although he had been hostile to the government of Louis Philippe, and a strong Legitimist (Note 31), he sought, after the *Coup d'Etat*, to coalesce the two branches of the Bourbon family. In 1852 he was elected Chief of the Bar of Paris; in 1854, member of the French Academy; in 1863, a deputy (with M. Thiers) for the Department of the Mouths-of-the-Rhône. In 1858 he defended the Count de Montalembert (see next name) when tried for "exciting hatred and contempt against the government of the Emperor;" in 1861 he combated (in behalf of Mr. Patterson of Baltimore) the succession of the ex-King Jerome Bonaparte (see Note 102).

He died in 1869, with the reputation of having been one of the first orators of his time.

C. F. de Tyron, Count of MONTALEMBERT, was born in London in 1810. His father was a peer of France; his mother was English. From 1830 to 1840 he advocated the cause of Greece, Syria, and Ireland. In the Assembly of 1849 he voted in favor of the expedition to Rome, and was often the antagonist of Victor Hugo. He protested against the arrest of the deputies on the 2d of December, but he afterward became a member of Louis Napoleon's Advisory Committee. In 1858 he was fined and imprisoned for having "excited hatred and contempt against the government of the Emperor." He has since lived in retirement, and written several politico-religious works. He died in March, 1870.

A. F. Pierre, Count of FALLOUX, has remained faithful to the Royalist cause, to which his family is indebted for its nobility. After the *Coup d'Etat*, which he feebly opposed, he withdrew from political life, and has since been engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Matthieu Louis, Count MOLÉ, born in 1780, was a son of the President Molé who perished upon the scaffold of the Revolution. The first Napoleon had made him "Count of the Empire," etc. With the Restoration he became an ardent Royalist, and when the Emperor returned from Elba, he told him that it was "a political blasphemy that the Emperor Napoleon held his crown by the wishes and choice of the French people." He was in the ministry of Louis Philippe, and while there was constantly attacked by Thiers and Guizot, who had fraternized and become leaders of the Left. He supported Louis Napoleon for the presidency, but resisted his measures after the *Coup d'Etat*. He died in retirement in 1855.

Note 35, p. 17. J. A. S. DUFAURE, a lawyer by profession, was a councilor of state, and a minister, under Louis Philippe. In 1848 he joined the Republicans. Since the 2d of December he has lived in retirement.

Note 36, p. 19. Alphonse Henri, Marquis of HAUTPOUL, was an officer in the army of the first Napoleon, and a Royalist under the Restoration. Under Louis Philippe he became a lieutenant-general and a peer of France. In 1848 he remained in retirement until the Republic was established, when he became a Royalist member of the Assembly. In 1852 he was appointed Grand Referendary of the new senate, and in 1854 a marquis. He died in 1865.

A. G. de RAYNEVAL was the French representative to the Pope in 1849, at which date His Holiness was a fugitive. After the reëstablishment of the latter through the aid of the French army, M. Rayneval became the Ambassador to Rome. He died in 1858.

Victoire FERDINAND BARROT had been an assistant attorney to Louis Philippe. He was one of the counsel for Prince Napoleon, after the Affair of Boulogne (Note 18). In 1852 he was made a commander of the Legion of Honor; in 1853 a senator.

EUGÈNE ROUHER was a Royalist in the Assembly of 1848. He called the Revolution of that year "a catastrophe," and defended the law of the 31st of May. In 1852 he was appointed President of the Council of State (Note 71); in 1860, Commander of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor; and in 1863, Minister of State in the Emperor's cabinet. He held that office until July, 1869, and his influence was such in the administration of the government, that the latter (in French the *Gouvernement*) was often facetiously called the *Rouhernement*, by the Opposition. He is now President of the Senate.

ACHILLE FOULD is the son of a wealthy Israelite. Under the present government he has been a Minister of State, senator, and Minister of Finances. In politics he had been a Royalist, but has generally devoted his attention to questions of finance, and the construction of public works. It was he who caused the New Opera of Paris, which has already cost the government about $10,000,000, to be included among the national institutions. He is a member of the Institute, and a commander of the Legion of Honor.

J. M. BINEAU was by education a civil engineer. In the Assembly he allied himself with the coalition against the Republic. He was at first Louis Napoleon's Minister of Finances, then a senator by his appointment. He has been decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. He died in 1855.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS, born in 1803, is the son of the Republican mulatto and general, Alexandre Davy, whose mother was a negress named Tiennette Dumas. Her name has been inherited and adopted by her quadroon grandson. Of his multitudinous writings, historical, romantic, and dramatical, it is not within our plan to speak; many of them have spoken for themselves.

As a politician, M. Dumas has not been prominent; but he has been at least moderately republican. He was

a companion of Garibaldi in his campaigns and battles of 1860. In 1848 he published a newspaper called the *Liberté*, which had but a brief existence. In 1852 he fled to Belgium on account of troubles both political and pecuniary. Since his return to France he has remained neutral in politics.

M. L. P F. Esquirou de Parieu is a lawyer by profession, and *was* a moderate Republican in 1848. He desired the President to be elected by the Assembly rather than by the people. He approved of the perpetual banishment of the family of Orleans. In 1852 he was appointed Vice-President of the Council of State, and he has been decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

R. J. Desfossés was a captain in the navy when elected a deputy in 1848. At that time he was a Royalist. In 1853 he was appointed a vice-admiral, and in 1855, a senator.

Note 37, p. 19. It will be seen that the new President, while receiving $240,000 per year, wanted an augmentation of his allowance, sufficient to raise it to $840,000. So great progress has since been made in this direction, that the Emperor now gets 25,000,000 francs, or $5,000,000; that is, a sum two hundred times as great as the salary of the President of the United States. Besides, the Imperial family have an annual allowance of about $450,000. Then, they have the free use of fifteen palaces, with their officials, appurtenances, and accessories. The Grand Master of their Majesties' Stables, the Grand Hunter, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, each get $12,000 annually for *those offices alone;* while the latter gets in addition $6,000 as a marshal of the army, and $6,000 as a senator, for life; and the other two get $5,000 each as majors-general, and $6,000 as senator each. And so, many of the other functionaries of the Emperor's household get pay in several official capacities (See Notes 150, 151).

Note 38, p. 21. Adolphe de GRANIER having been born in the village of Cassagnac, we suppose it is from this circumstance that he has given himself the title "de CASSAGNAC." (The *de* is usually added to a name in order to indicate that the person is of a noble family, and is in fact the sign of nobility in France.) He has been for many years an active contributor to political newspapers. Under Louis Philippe he conducted one in the interest of the government, called the *Globe*. Under the Republic of 1848 he remained in comparative obscurity, but after the *Coup d'Etat* he emerged therefrom, and became an active Bonapartist. He is now a deputy from the South of France.

Note 39, p. 21. The name *Rente* is given to the interest or annuity upon a perpetual debt due from the French government. While the State may redeem it at its option, it may not be redeemed at the option of the creditor. Rentes are offered at so much per five francs' worth; that is, an offer is made to redeem a rente or interest, worth five francs *per annum* (the principal being one hundred francs), at four francs. If the offer of four francs is accepted, the rente is said to have depreciated twenty per cent.

Note 40, p. 22. Pierre Jules BAROCHE is a lawyer by profession. Under Louis Philippe he was an active enemy of M. Guizot; under the Republic of 1848 he voted with the Royalists. He favored the law prohibiting public meetings; that requiring newspapers to be printed upon stamped paper; and that of the 31st of May. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he became one of the most subservient of Louis Napoleon's satellites, and was rewarded therefor by being appointed President of the Council of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Keeper of the Seals, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, etc. He was in 1869 Minister of Justice and Worship, and senator.

Note 41, p. 22. The Ministry of the Interior is in France a very important part of the cabinet. It is charged with the control of the prefects, or governors of the Departments (see Note 1); the execution of the laws relating to the elections; the organization of the national and municipal guards; the direction of the police; the bureau of telegraphs, etc.

Note 42, p. 22. Denis BENOIST, Viscount of AZY, was a Royalist of the Legitimist section, but he strongly protested against the *Coup d'Etat*. In February, 1870, he was offered and accepted an important office from the Emperor.

A. AUGUSTE Count BEUGNOT, was a peer of France, under Louis Philippe. He became a member of Louis Napoleon's Advisory Committee. He died a few years ago.

A. C. L. VICTOR, Count of BROGLIE, lost his father by the guillotine of the Revolution. He never admired the Bonapartes, and he welcomed the Bourbon Restoration. After the *Coup d'Etat* he went into retirement, since which he has published several works. He died in January, 1870.

J. L. BUFFET is a lawyer by profession, and a Royalist in politics. He is now a deputy in the Legislative Body, and votes, we believe, with the Third Party (Note 31).

Justin PRUDENT, Marquis of CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT, was a brigadier-general in 1848. In 1853 he was made a major-general. He died in 1863.

Napoléon, Count DARU, was born in 1807, and was held at his baptism in the arms of Napoleon and Josephine. Although a peer of France by descent, he voted with the Republicans in the Assembly of 1848–1851, of which he was part of the time vice-president. After his imprisonment of the 2d of December, he went into private life. In 1869 he was elected an Opposition deputy to the Legislative Body. In January, 1870, he became a member of the ministry of the Emperor, but resigned in the following May.

The Marquis LASTEYRIE was a grandson of the late Marquis of Lafayette, the military friend of Washington. He was exiled, but returned under the amnesty of 1859.

Napoléon LANNES, Duke of MONTEBELLO, was born in 1801, and is a son of the Marshal Lannes, killed at the battle of Essling. Louis XVIII. made him a peer of France, but he never sat as such, except as an Orleanist after the fall of Charles X. After the *Coup d'Etat* he lived retired for a time, but in 1858 he was appointed Ambassador to Russia, and in 1862 a senator. Probably, therefore, he is reconciled to the Emperor.

T. E. A. PISCATORY, in politics a Royalist, has lived retired since the 2d of December. So too have VATIMESNIL, de SÈZE, de Guignard, Count of SAINT-PRIEST, and Léon FAUCHER. The latter died a few years since. He had been very influential in the cabinet of Louis Philippe.

Note 43, p. 23. A *Commune* is a division of an *Arrondissement*, and subdivision of a *Département*. Communes are subdivided into *Cantons*.

Note 44, p. 25. These newspapers were called "Elysian" from their having been in the interest of President Napoleon, who at that time resided in the Elysian Palace. The latter took its name from the fact of its proximity to the Elysian Fields (*Champs-Elysées*). It had been occupied by Madame de Pompadour (a mistress of Louis XV), by the allied sovereigns in 1814, and by the first Napoleon in 1815.

Note 45, p. 28. The "Society of the Tenth of December" was so called because of its organizing with reference to the 10th of December, 1848, the day of the election in which Louis Napoleon was chosen President. Its object was to put him in possession of supreme power.

Note 46, p. 28. A. M. J. J. DUPIN is a lawyer by profession, and an Orleanist in politics. He was one of the executors of the will of Louis Philippe. As president of the Assembly, he feebly opposed the *Coup d'Etat*. In the

language of Victor Hugo, "He carried his thunderbolt in his pocket, and would have got in himself if he could." In 1857 the Emperor appointed him Attorney-general at the Court of Errors, and senator. He is decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Note 47, p. 29. The Permanent Commission was a body of nine or eighteen members, chosen by the nine committees (*Bureaux*) of the Assembly, in order to report the result of deliberations upon the proposed laws referred to said committees.

Note 48, p. 31. His full name is Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte. He is a son of Jerôme Bonaparte (Note 102), by his second wife, the Princess Frederika, daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, and was born in 1822, in Trieste, Illyria, about fourteen years later than his cousin the Emperor. His youth was mostly passed in the Romagna and Florence. In 1848 he came to Paris for the purpose, as he said, of rallying to the Republic. In the Assembly he generally voted with the Royalists, and he opposed the banishment of the family of Orleans. He remained politically inactive for a time after the *Coup d'Etat*, which he did not seem to approve, but in 1852 he was invested with the title "Prince of France," senator, etc. In 1859 he married Louisa Therésa Maria Clotilda, a daughter of Vittorio Emmanuele II., at present King of Italy, by whom he has had three children.

In the Crimean and Italian wars, where he had been given superior command at his own request, he did not distinguish himself, owing (as he said) to his ill health. In the senate he opposed the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope, much to the annoyance of the Emperor. The latter, in a letter published in 1865, so sharply reproved the Prince for his independent course, that he resigned the vice-presidency of the Privy Council, and the presidency of the *Exposition Universelle*, then being prepared. He did not however resign his senatorship, this

being an office to which a salary of six thousand dollars annually, for life, is accessory. In 1861 he visited the United States, had an interview with President Lincoln and his cabinet, and with General Beauregard and others of the rebel army.

When in Paris, he resides in the *Palais Royal* (see Note 126). He closely resembles the first Emperor, while Louis Napoleon resembles him not at all.

Note 49, p. 32. Pierre PASCAL DUPRAT is an active and influential Republican. With the *Coup d'Etat* he was first imprisoned, then banished. He has since been, until quite recently, a professor in the college of Lausanne, Switzerland.

Note 50, p. 32. At present, the Legislative Body is divided into nine committees (*Bureaux*), each electing its own chairman and secretary, for one month.

Note 51, p. 33. This sum, equal to about $360,000, was in addition to the $840,000 already granted to the President; and would therefore make his salary reach the sum of $1,200,000 (see Note 37).

Note 52, p. 34. M. Fleury was wounded in the head, in the course of his ventures in connection with the *Coup d'Etat*. His services to Louis Napoleon were rewarded by his appointment to the following offices, which he still holds: Aide-de-camp to the Emperor; *Ecuyer*, or Grand Master of the Emperor's Stables, salary $12,000; Senator, salary, $6,000; General of the First Division, salary $5,000; Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, annuity, $600, etc. Lately it was proposed to make him the Roman Ambassador.

Kinglake says (*Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. i. p. 156, Harpers' edition), "It seems that the man who was the most able to make the President act, to drive him deep into his own plot, and fiercely carry him through it, was Major Fleury. . . . . If Prince Louis Bonaparte was bold and ingenious in designing, Fleury was the man to

execute. The one was skillful in preparing the mine and laying the train; the other was the man standing by with a lighted match, and determined to touch the fuse. . . . . It would seem that from the moment when Fleury became a partaker of momentous secrets, the President ceased to be free." He also says (p. 163), referring to de Maupas, we suppose: "Fleury, they say, got into a room alone with the man who wanted to hang back, and then locking the door and drawing a pistol, stood and threatened his agitatated friend with instant death if he still refused to go on."

Note 53, p. 34. M. Despois, evidently *not* a "Napoleonic writer," had said of President Napoleon in a *brochure*, published in 1848, and addressed to "M. Louis Bonaparte": "his Democracy is that of the Roman Emperors." Was he wrong?

Note 54, p. 35. J. G. VICTOR FIALIN, called de PERSIGNY, was born in 1808, and was politically a decided Royalist at first. This, however, did not prevent him from being an accomplice of Louis Napoleon, in the affairs of Strasbourg and Boulogne (see Notes 17 and 18). He is now a most decided Bonapartist. In 1852, he married the daughter of Joseph Napoleon Ney, Prince de la Moscowa (from the battle of Moskowa River, in Russia), who was a strong partisan of the family, to whom he and his father (Marshal Ney) were indebted for their noble title. He succeeded M. de Morny, the same year, as Minister of the Interior, and was also appointed senator. He was sent ambassador to London in 1855. In 1860, he again became Minister of the Interior. In 1863, the Emperor made him a duke.

Note 55, p. 35. General de SAINT-ARNAUD, afterwards a marshal, lost his life in the Crimean War. Strange to say, he died under the care of a physician whom the Emperor had dispatched for his special treatment. There had been some private quarrels between Saint-Arnaud (whose name had once been Leroy) and the Emperor; there had

been mutual accusations, recriminations, and threats, of which Parisians whisperingly speak, but do not venture to openly converse. And so, they speak of the mysterious manner of the departure from this life of Leroy, or Saint-Arnaud, and of the equally inexplicable disappearance of his specially attentive Doctor. *Did* Saint-Arnaud compel the Doctor to take some of the same medicine which he had been giving him? Is the rest of the story true, and *did* the Doctor and Saint-Arnaud leave the world nearly at the same time, from the tent of the latter? We know nothing about the matter, and do not undertake to say what were the facts; but many people in Paris answer these questions affirmatively. We dare not believe these reports, and only mention them in order to make known the fact of their existence.

Colonel ESPINASSE was promoted brigadier-general for his services on the 2d of December, and was soon afterwards placed upon the personal staff of the Emperor. In the Crimean War, he was promoted to the grade of major-general. In 1858, he was appointed Minister of the Interior, and senator. He lost his life in the war in Italy, in 1859.

General d'ALLONVILLE became a major-general in the Crimea, in 1855, and a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

General HERBILLON was made a major-general a few days after the 2d of December. In 1856, he was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor; in 1863, he was appointed senator.

General FOREY was made a major-general immediately after the *Coup d'Etat*, and was given the Cross of the Legion of Honor; in 1854, he was made Grand Officer; and in 1859, he received the Grand Cross, and was appointed senator.

In 1862, he was placed in command of the forces sent to Mexico; he arrived there in September of that year.

In the following July he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the government which he was fighting with two divisions of the French army. He sequestrated the property of Mexicans who did not join the French cause. After the capture of Puebla he was made a marshal. He established a Provisional Government for Mexico; it being a triumvirate, consisting of General Almonte (a Mexican who had been Minister to the United States and to France), the Archbishop of Mexico, and General Palas. He soon afterward left General Bazaine in command, and returned to France.

François CERTAIN, or CANROBERT, had become a brigadier-general in 1850. After the *Coup d'Etat*, in which his services to the Prince-President were very important, he was sent, with almost unlimited authority, through the Departments of France, in order to study and report upon the political situation. In the Crimean War he was invested with the chief command, after the death of Saint-Arnaud, in 1854. In 1855, he resigned the command, because, as it is said, he could not agree and coöperate with Lord Raglan. The next year he was appointed a marshal. He is said to have fought well at Magenta and Solferino. In 1861, as a member of the Senate, he voted against the further maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope. Of course, he has been decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Note 56, p. 39. This remarkable speech presents no slight analogy to that equally famous one of the then President Johnson, at Washington, in 1867, we believe, wherein he speaks of the Congress as a "body hanging on the verge of the Government." Like President Napoleon, he claimed to be the chosen defender of the rights of the people. The Congress of the United States, and the National Assembly of France, were represented to be the parts of their respective governments most to be feared.

Note 57, p. 42. The Reds (*Rouges*) were the most com-

bative faction of the Republicans. In the bloody days of June, 1848, they displayed the Red Flag above their barricades, and many wore a red handkerchief about their heads.

Note 58, p. 43. François Pierre Guillaume Guizot was born in Nimes, in 1787. He published his *Annales de l'Education* as long ago as 1811. In 1812, he was a professor of modern history. Soon he commenced the translation of various works from the English and the German. Under the restored régime of the Bourbons, he was Secretary-General of the Department of Justice, and Councilor of State to Louis XVIII., and a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1830. Under Louis Philippe he was Minister of Public Justice, Minister of the Interior, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He fell from public life with the fall of the last-named monarch, and followed him to England. Since his return to France, he has been content to live in retirement. Notwithstanding his great age, he looks to be quite vigorous. In his religion he is Protestant, but strangely enough, favors the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope. As a minister, he is one of the very few Frenchmen who are accused of having constantly sought to maintain France at peace with all the world.

Note 59, p. 44. Colonel Charras had been Under-Secretary of State, in 1848, and in the interim of the Provisional Government, had acted as Secretary of War. After the *Coup d'Etat*, being taken from prison, and banished the country, he lived first in Belgium, then in Switzerland. In the latter country, he wrote and published a history of the campaign of Waterloo. He died in 1865.

Gabriel Claude Jules Favre, born at Lyons, in 1809, is well-known as one of the first orators of France. His republicanism was made known as early as 1830; he having, on the day before the fall of Charles X., demanded the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of a Con-

stituent Assembly. In 1831, he took up arms with the National Guards. In the Revolution of 1848, he was appointed General Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. In the Assembly, his seat was often vacant, owing to his attendance upon judicial trials, etc., he seeming at times to consider the interests of his clients to be superior to those of the State. When at his desk, he did not always vote; and when he voted, it was not always in concurrence with his party. Upon the question of acknowledging the services of General Cavaignac, while at the head of the Provisional Government, he abstained from voting. He voted in favor of increasing the personal allowance of President Napoleon (see Notes 37 and 51); and of the expedition to Rome. He seems to have subsequently repented of the latter vote.

He was reëlected to the Assembly in 1869, where he leads the Left Centre in that body.

Isaac ADOLPHE CRÉMIEUX, born in 1796, is a lawyer of great ability. As long ago as 1830, he defended a minister of Charles X. before the Court of Peers. At that time, his views were known to be liberal. In the Revolution of 1848, he pronounced himself in favor of the Republic, after having sought in vain to establish the regency of the Duchess of Orleans. He was made Minister of Public Justice, which office he filled to the satisfaction of all but the extremists of each party. As a representative, he voted with the Democrats. After the imprisonment which he suffered in connection with the *Coup d'Etat*, he returned to his profession, where he is very successful. In the election of May, 1869, he scarcely failed of election as a democratic representative, having but a minority of 263 votes, in a total of 26,115.

VICTOR Marie HUGO, born in 1802, was a son of a general and governor of some of the important provinces of Spain, under Bonaparte. His mother was a "Vendéean brigandess;" hunted and driven through the wooded

portion of the Vendée, known as the Bocage, with Madames Bouchamp and La Rochejaquelin. (The Vendéeans were a party in the Department of the River Vendée, who revolted against the Republic in 1793.) Much of Victor Hugo's youth was passed in Italy and Spain. His merits as a poet and romancer are everywhere known, and it does not come within our plan to speak of them. His republican inclinations became manifest in the Revolution of 1830; and in 1832, his play entitled "*Le Roi s'amuse*," was interdicted upon the stage, ostensibly because of its immorality, but really because of its political effect. In 1841, he became a member of the French Academy. In 1845, he was made a peer of France by Louis Philippe. In the Assembly of 1848, he generally voted with the radical Democrats, and he opposed the banishment of Louis Blanc (himself a member at that time) and others, for the affair of the 15th of May (see Note 29). He soon became one of the foremost orators of the democracy, and incessantly attacked the policy of Louis Napoleon. He founded a newspaper called the *Evénement*, which was prosecuted and condemned to death. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he went to the Isle of Jersey, where he still resides, sending thence the romances for which he is deservedly famous, and occasionally launching a bold and scathing literary attack upon the French Emperor. Two of his sons, living in Brussels, are editors of the *Rappel*, one of the most "irreconcilable" republican newspapers in the French language.

EDGAR QUINET is as remarkable as a writer and translator as he is as a politician. In 1847, he left a professor's chair in the College of France, to take a seat in the Assembly. There he voted with the radical Democrats. Being expelled after the *Coup d'Etat*, he went to Brussels, where he published several works. In Paris, in June, 1869, he published a *brochure*, entitled "The Awakening of a Great People," which, as a republican address, has created a great political sensation.

Note 60, p. 44. Pierre Bernard MAGNAN was at first bred to the law; but in 1809, being then eighteen years of age, he entered the army of Bonaparte. In 1835, he had become a marshal. He was so strongly attached to Louis Philippe, that he was the only general officer who accompanied his daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, to the palace of the Assembly, when it was proposed to invest her with the regency, after the abdication of her father. In 1849, he was elected a representative to the Assembly, but he was inactive there. In 1851, he became one of the most servile instruments of Louis Napoleon; for which he was rewarded by being appointed Senator, Grand Hunter, Grand Master of the Grand Orient, and given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. There is no doubt, however, that he began to waver at one period in the days of December, when the success of the *Coup d'Etat* seemed doubtful; and that it required some threats on the part of General Fleury to procure his further coöperation. He was untruthful at times, and this is sufficient to prove that, as a soldier, he was also timid in presence of danger. He died in 1865.

Note 61, p. 49. M. Sartin had been arrested without the authority of the Assembly; and the law provides that no member of the Assembly "shall be prosecuted, or arrested criminally, during the continuance of the session, without the previous authority" of that body.

Note 62, p. 49. The Mazas Prison is in the eastern part of Paris. It is semi-circular in form, with a large hall in the centre, around which are arranged 1,200 cells. It is used exclusively for the confinement of persons awaiting trial.

Note 63, p. 51. In France the repository of the ballot is usually a square box of wood; but the name *urne* is retained from the fact that formerly the urn was the ordinary receptacle of the ballot.

Note 64, p. 53. M. Le FLÔ had been made a brigadier-

general, and had been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, in 1848. In the same year he had executed a diplomatic mission to St. Petersburg. Being first imprisoned, then banished, after the 2d of December, he remained abroad until the amnesty of 1859.

D. S. J. PHILIPPE, Viscount de PANAT, had been an Auditor in the Council of State, under the First Napoleon. From 1810 to 1827 he fulfilled various foreign missions. In 1827, 1839, and 1848, he was elected a representative to the Assembly. After his liberation from the imprisonment of the 2d of December, he lived in retirement. He died in 1860.

Note 65, p. 55. The "White Dictatorship" (*Dictature blanche*) was a name given to the Legitimist attempts made from time to time to reinstate the royal régime. It probably owed its name to the fact of its having the "white cockade" as the badge of its party. But the dictatorship referred to never had a real existence.

Note 66, p. 56. The National Guard was a citizen soldiery, first organized in 1789 as a home-guard, at the inception of the Revolution. It was again authorized in 1827, by Charles X., and reorganized in 1830, at the time of his dethronement. In July, 1869, several of its battalions were disbanded, because of the strong republican element which had revealed itself in the ranks.

Note 67, p. 57. P. F. E. T. L. de THORIGNY was Advocate-General to Louis Philippe, and was removed from that office by the Provisional Government of 1848. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he became one of Louis Napoleon's Consulting Committee. In 1852, he was made a councilor of state, and in 1853, a senator.

Alfred DAVIEL had been an advocate-general to the Court of Charles X. In 1854, he was appointed President of the Council of State. He died in 1856.

Note 68, p. 66. Charlemagne EMILE DE MAUPAS was a lawyer by profession. He was a sub-prefect under the

Guizot Ministry of 1845. In 1848, he was removed by the Provisional Government, whereupon he became an ardent Bonapartist. He was rewarded for his complicity in the *Coup d'Etat* by being placed at the head of the Ministry of the General Police (an office created expressly for him), appointed a senator, and ambassador to Naples. In addition, he was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

The following scrap from his personal history affords a good illustration of his knavish character: —

In July, 1851, M. Maupas, then Prefect of the Department of the Upper Garonne, thought it best that thirty-two persons (three of whom were members of the Council General of the Department) should be arrested and imprisoned on a charge of conspiracy against the government. The law-officers of the department saw no grounds for the charge, and refused to arrest. M. Maupas (or *de* Maupas, as he persisted in calling himself) then deliberately proposed to secretly introduce forged papers tending to criminate the parties, and fire-arms, grenades, etc., into the houses of the accused, for the purpose of supplying the proofs which were requisite in order to sustain his charges. His proposition was rejected with scorn, and he was ordered to report to the Minister of the Interior, in Paris. M. Léon Faucher gave him the rebuff which he deserved. He then went, as it seems, and told his griefs to President Louis Napoleon, in whom he found a sympathizing friend. And why not? Was he not just the man whom the Prince wanted for his new Prefect of Police? At any rate, he was initiated into the schemes of the Prince-President, and in October he made him his Prefect of the Seine.

Note 69, p. 72. In France all legal documents, advertisements, political newspapers, etc., require to be printed on stamped paper. Newspapers pay one cent of stamp duty for each sheet, and no deduction is made for sheets

spoiled and rendered unsalable in printing. The French government derives an income of about $2,000,000 annually from newspapers, periodicals, etc.

Note 70, p. 72. Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Duke de MORNY, was born in 1811, and *brought up* by the Countess de Souza, but who his parents were is a disputed question. Perhaps it was partly from his remarkable resemblance to Louis Napoleon (they might almost have been taken to have been twins), that his *very* close family relationship to the latter has been claimed by many, and is still maintained with persistency.

He seems to have received a military education, and while in the barracks to have studied theology and metaphysics. At all events, he was able in 1838 to embark successfully in the manufacture of beet-sugar. In 1842 he was a "conservative progressionist" in the Assembly. In 1849, he was a strong monarchist in the same body. In 1852, he, with Fould, Magne, and Rouher, withdrew from the ministry, in consequence of the passage of the decree sequestrating the private property of the family of Orleans; but the last three returned to the cabinet, while de Morny became a representative to the Assembly. In 1854 and 1863 the Emperor appointed him president of that body. From 1856 to 1857 he was ambassador to Russia; in that country he is said to have married "a daughter of a Russian lord, one of the greatest families of the country." On the very day of the *Coup d'Etat* he was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and in 1862 the Emperor gratefully bestowed upon him the title of duke. He died, suddenly, in 1865. It is among the *on dits* of Paris that he died in consequence of personal violence received at the hands of General Canrobert, because of too intimate relations with the general's wife.

Note 71, p. 74. The Council of State is constituted as follows: There are forty-four ordinary councilors, ap-

pointed by the Emperor; seventeen who are members *ex officio*, such as the Princes of France above eighteen years of age (the cousin of the Emperor), the eleven ministers of the Emperor's cabinet, the Emperor's secretaries, etc., seven extraordinary councilors; forty masters of petitions, or reporters; eighty auditors; a secretary-general, and a president appointed by the Emperor (in case he does not preside himself), with a salary of 100,000 francs. The councilors get a salary of 25,000 francs each. The Council of State is divided into six sections, each presided over by a councilor appointed by the Emperor. It frames the bills presented by the government to the Legislative Body, and it regulates the public administration. Its sessions are held in the magnificent palace of the *Quai d' Orsay*.

The Cabinet or Ministry, is composed of the eleven ministers, secretaries to the Emperor. They are at the heads of the following offices respectively: Department of State (abolished in 1869); Department of Justice and Worship; Mansion of the Emperor, and the Fine Arts; Department of War; Department of Finances; Department of the Navy and the Colonies; Department of Foreign Affairs; Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works; Department of the Interior; and Chief of the Council of State. Their salary is 100,000 francs each. They are presided over by the Emperor, and their meetings are usually held in the palace in which he resides for the time being (see Note 12).

Note 72, p. 76. The "Monarchy of July" was that which resulted from the Revolution of July, 1830, when the dynasty of the elder branch of the Bourbon family descended from Louis XIV., and was ended by the dethronement of Charles X.; and the younger or Orleans branch succeeded, in the person of Louis Philippe, a descendant of Philippe, a younger brother of the aforesaid Louis XIV.

Note 73, p. 76. The Restoration is included between

the period of the accession of Louis XVIII., in 1814, and that of the fall of Charles X., in 1830.

Note 74, p. 83. M. CARRELET was a commissioned officer in the closing campaigns of Bonaparte. For his part in the *Coup d'Etat* he was appointed a senator, and given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

M. RENAULT was compensated for his part in the *Coup d'Etat* by being made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. In 1859 he was appointed a senator.

M. LEVASSEUR was a major-general under the Provisional Government of 1848. His complicity in the *Coup d'Etat* was rewarded by making him a Grand Officer in the Legion of Honor. In 1855 he was appointed a senator.

M. KORTE, who was also a major-general under Cavaignac, was given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and appointed a senator. He died in 1862.

M. TARTAS had been a member of the body-guard of Louis XVIII. in 1814. In 1848 he was a Royalist member of the Assembly. His part in the *Coup d'Etat* produced his promotion to the rank of major-general.

M. REIBELL, a colonel just before the *Coup d'Etat*, was promoted to major-general a few days after it.

Some of the other officers mentioned in this connection are named in Notes 55 and 60. No doubt all of them were well paid for their agency in the perpetration of the *Coup d'Etat;* and no doubt too they well understood in advance that their coöperation was to obtain for them promotions, civil appointments, decorations, etc.

Note 75, p. 85. The Allocution (*allocutio*) was originally a harangue of a Roman *emperor* to his soldiers. Perhaps the author had this in mind when he used the word as found in the text.

Note 76, p. 91. The *Gendarmerie* of Paris is a body of about four thousand four hundred officers and men, over six hundred of whom are mounted, and all armed and

drilled like the infantry of the army. They are not, however, a portion of the army, but are under the orders of the Prefect of Police; and like the police proper, their function is to maintain the quiet of the city, and public order.

Note 77, p. 92. The Prefecture of Police in Paris is the central office for the Department of the Seine, including several towns adjoining Paris. Besides the *gendarmerie* (mentioned in Note 76) and the police, the prefect has the direction of the firemen (who in Paris are armed as soldiers), the city guard, and the prisons of Paris. There are eighty commissaries of police under his command.

Note 78, p. 94. The fact that so large a proportion of those arrested and deported (as will be seen further on) were Republicans, and that many of the Royalists were given or tendered official positions soon after the period, makes it very manifest the *Coup* was directed not merely at the Assembly, but at the Republic itself, upon which it fell with so fatal effect. And it is inexplicable that so many of the French were deluded into the belief that the Emperor was animated by a desire to preserve the Republic intact. See Notes 97, 140, 150, 154.

Note 79, p. 94. J. D. BAZE was a lawyer by profession. In 1830 he was elected to an important command in the National Guard. As a politician he was a Legitimist. His opposition to the schemes of Louis Napoleon is well told by M. Ténot. Under the amnesty of 1859 he returned from his exile which had followed the *Coup d'Etat.* In the election of 1869 he received a large vote as an Opposition candidate to the Legislative Body.

F. J. Eugène CHOLAT received a military education. In the Revolution of 1848 he was chief-of-staff of the National Guards of Lyons. In the Assembly he was a strong Republican, and he signed the Article of Impeachment presented by Ledru Rollin against Louis Napoleon. For opposing the *Coup d'Etat* he was expelled from France,

and his name was stricken from the army list. He died in 1861.

Louis GREPPO was a superintendent of silk-works at Lyons, when elected to the Assembly in 1848. He signed the article impeaching President Louis Napoleon of the unauthorized siege of Rome. After the *Coup d'Etat* he sought refuge in England; latterly he has returned to France, and been re-arrested.

Charles LAGRANGE distinguished himself as a naval officer in 1823. In 1834 he was sentenced by the Court of Peers (before whom he ably pleaded his own cause) to imprisonment for life, for his leading part in the insurrection of Lyons. After a time he escaped from prison and went abroad, but he returned in 1848 and took a leading part in the revolution of that year. He is said to have fired the first pistol-shot, on the 23d of February, which opened the combat that resulted in the downfall of Louis Philippe. On the next day he, with M. Marchais, got possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and proclaimed the Republic. He personally received the document of abdication of Louis Philippe. He was elected colonel of the 9th Legion of Honor, and in the following June was overwhelmingly elected a representative to the Assembly. After the *Coup d'Etat* he lived successively in Belgium, England, and Holland, in which latter country he died in 1857.

Jules MIOT is a druggist of Paris. Being a strong republican member of the Assembly, he was deported to Africa after the *Coup d'Etat*. He returned under the amnesty of 1859. In 1869 he received many votes as a candidate to the Assembly.

Martin NADAUD was a working mason. In the Revolution of 1848 he was a leader among the Republicans, and in the Assembly was a Socialist. After the *Coup d'Etat* he remained for a time in exile, but has since returned to Paris.

Edward, Count ROGER (of the Nord), held several

diplomatic offices under Louis Philippe. In the Assembly of 1848 he joined the Republicans. After his imprisonment of the 2d of December, he retired to private life.

Note 80, p. 96. The President's house here referred to, is that of the presiding officer of the Assembly, whose magnificent mansion adjoins the western side of the palace of the Legislative Body.

Note 81, p. 99. The Quai d'Orsay is the quay on the south side of the Seine, in front of the palaces of the Legislative Body and the Council of State, and opposite to the Place de la Corcorde (where Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and some two thousand eight hundred other persons were guillotined during the Revolution), and to the Jardin des Tuileries. Three bridges cross the Seine along this quay. The Garden of the Tuileries extends from the Palace of the Tuileries (where the Emperor usually resides) westward to the Place de la Concorde, or Peace Square. The Elysian Fields (*Champs Elysées*) extend from the latter to a point a little west from the Avenue Marigny; the latter bounding the Elysian Palace on the west.

Note 82, p. 100. Marie Alphonse BEDEAU received a military education. In 1844 he had risen from a commissioned officer, to the rank of lieutenant-general, by reason of his many services in the African campaigns. In 1847 he was Governor of Algeria. In 1848 he was one of the five generals under command of General Cavaignac, at the head of the troops required to suppress the insurrection of June. The Provisional Government afterwards placed him at the head of the Ministry of War. Being elected to the Assembly, he was chosen vice-president of that body, and he was then a moderate Republican. After the *Coup d'Etat* he was imprisoned at Mazas, and at Ham, whence he was banished from France. He lived in Belgium until the amnesty of 1859, when he returned to his home in Vertou, where he died in 1863. In 1847 he had been made a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

Note 83, p. 102. Christophe Louis Léon Juchault de LAMORICIÈRE received a military education. From 1830 to 1847 he distinguished himself in eighteen campaigns in Africa, and had reached the grade of lieutenant-general and been made a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. He captured the Emir of Algeria, and delivered him into the hands of the Duke d'Aumale, then governor of that colony. In the mean time (1846) he had been elected a member of the Assembly, and when he finally took his seat there, he favored the then existing dynasty. At the eruption of the Revolution of 1848 he favored the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, and nearly lost his life while fighting in her behalf in the streets of Paris. He refused to accept office under the Provisional Government until General Cavaignac became the head, when, being next under him in command, he rendered great service in the days of June, and ultimately became Minister of War. Being elected a second time to the Assembly, he voted with the moderate Republicans, and was a persistent opponent of the policy of Louis Napoleon, and a strong supporter of the Constitution. After the *Coup d'Etat* he was taken from the prison of Ham, and conducted by police across the Rhine, to Cologne. He thereafter lived in Germany, Belgium, and England, refusing to return to France under the amnesty of 1859. In 1860 he was authorized by the French government to go to Rome, and take command of the Papal troops there, most of whom were foreigners. These were attacked by the Italian Generals Fanti and Cialdini, routed, and General Lamoricière was captured. He claimed that he had been made the victim of much deception. He died in 1865, at his château in Amiens.

Note 84, p. 106. The army of France is divided into six great divisions, or "commands," the first having its headquarters in Paris. A seventh command is in Algeria, with its headquarters at Algiers.

Note 85, p. 118. The "Casimir Périer Hall" was named in honor of the distinguished Minister of War of that name. One of the representatives arrested on this occasion bore the same name, and was a son of the minister. He was one of the opposition candidates to the Assembly in 1869.

Note 86, p. 118. The president of the Legislative Body wears a red scarf over the right shoulder, and extending below the waist on the left side.

Note 87, p. 118. President BRILLIER, of the Isère, was a radical republican member of the Assembly, and we suppose his presidency was that of the legislative Committee elected by the nine bureaux of the Assembly.

Note 88, p. 119. Count BOISSY D'ANGLAS was president of the National Convention in 1795, under the Directory, and by his firmness saved it when attacked by seditionists.

Note 89, p. 119. Edmond FAYOLLE was a lawyer by profession, and a democrat in politics. After his release from prison at Mont-Valérien, he returned to his profession.

P. O. DURRIEU was a radical opponent of Louis Philippe. Under the Republic of 1848 he was a radical Democrat. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has not mingled in politics.

Toupet DESVIGNES was a moderate Republican. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has lived in retirement.

P. T. RADOULT de la FOSSE (General Radoult) served in the army of the First Napoleon, and became a brigadier-general in 1842. In the Assembly he was a Royalist. He has lived in retirement since the *Coup d'Etat.*

Maria Joseph SUE, called EUGÈNE, was born in Paris in 1804, and baptized in the arms of the Empress Josephine and Prince Eugène Bonaparte. His father was at that time a surgeon in the army of Bonaparte, and M. Sue afterwards followed the same profession, until the death of his father in 1829. It was then, when he had become

possessed of his father's large fortune, that he turned his attention to literary matters, which gave him that wide celebrity his name has acquired. Many of his romances are well known in foreign lands.

In 1848 M. Sue announced himself to be a Republican and Socialist, and on becoming a member of the Assembly in 1850, he voted with the radical Democrats. After the *Coup d'Etat* he was imprisoned for a time, then banished France. He went to Aunecy, in Savoy, where he died in 1857. In 1839 he had been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Joseph BENOÎT, born of a peasant family, became a superintendent of silk-works. In politics he is a Democrat. In the Assembly of 1848 he voted for the Article impeaching Louis Napoleon. He was reëlected in 1850. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has lived in Switzerland.

Note 90, p. 124. There is a mayor (*Maire*) for each of the twenty *Arrondissements* of Paris. Each has a separate office or mayoralty; each is appointed by the prefect of the department, and is subject to removal by that officer, who is always an instrument of the Minister of the Interior, who in turn is a most efficient instrument of the Emperor.

Note 91, p. 129. Achille, Count BARAGUEY D'HILLIERS, is a son of the general of that name, who died with the displeasure of Bonaparte upon him, in 1813. In 1843 he had attained the rank of lieutenant-general, for services in the African campaign. In 1844 he was placed upon the reserve list, for a reverse at Constantine, Algeria. He commanded a division of the army of the Republic of 1848, but shortly afterward became a royalist member of the Assembly. After the election of Louis Napoleon he became one of his strongest partisans, and aided him materially in the *Coup d'Etat.* He has been rewarded therefor by being made a marshal of France, senator, and vice-president of the senate.

Note 92, p. 130. The telegraphs of France are under the

control of the general government; the magnificent office of its administration of telegraphs is guarded by soldiers. In Paris, some of the electric wires are under ground, some run through the immense sewers, and generally they are in places not easily accessible to insurgents.

Note 93, p. 131. Vincennes is a city of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and is about a league east of Paris. The fortress in which these generals were imprisoned was at first a strong castle of Louis the Young, in 1137. But one of the original towers of stone remains, and that is the one through which those entering the fortress must pass. This entrance is barred by a portcullis, outside of which is a drawbridge across the moat of forty feet in depth and eighty feet in width, extending around the fortress. The donjon (this is the part in which the prisoners of state are confined) is a structure of remarkable strength, in spite of its antiquity. Its walls are seventeen feet thick, and it requires an ascent of two hundred and forty-two steps to reach its battlemented summit. In 1422 Henry V., then King of England and France, died in this donjon, which was his citadel. In 1431 Henry VI., also King of England and France, lived in it, and it has been taken and lost by the English several times. The dreadful crimes and tortures perpetrated and inflicted in this old prison-castle, make it almost equal in interest to the famous Tower of London.

At present the garrison here consists of about five thousand soldiers. One of the most important arsenals is here.

Note 94, p. 132. N. C. V. Oudinot, Duke of Rezzio, was a son of the marshal of that name who was made a duke by the First Napoleon. In 1814 he was a major of cavalry in the army of Bonaparte. Under Louis XVIII. he became a brigadier-general. He did not rally to the standard of Bonaparte during the Hundred Days. After the fall of Charles X. he remained inactive until 1835, when he entered the African campaigns, and in 1842 became a

lieutenant-general. In the same year he was elected to the Assembly, where he voted with the opposition. In 1848 he was reëlected thereto, when he voted with the Republicans. In 1849 he commanded the troops which besieged and captured Civita Vecchia and Rome. Returning to the Assembly he continued to oppose the policy of Louis Napoleon. After his release from the imprisonment which followed the *Coup d'Etat*, he lived in retirement, and died in 1863.

M. TAMISIER, his chief-of-staff of the 2d of December, had been an engineer in the army. Being banished France, after his imprisonment, he went to Switzerland and remained there until the amnesty of 1859.

Note 95, p. 133. The Chasseurs, or Hunters, are mostly mounted, and form a part of the light-cavalry service. They have an elegant uniform, consisting of a closely fitting jacket of green, embroidered with white, pantaloons of bright red, a bearskin cap, and Wellington boots. They are elegantly uniformed, equipped, and mounted, the result of which is that they possess more martial pride than real patriotism.

Note 96, p. 142. The barracks in question are for cavalry, and were constructed as quarters for the body-guard of the First Napoleon. Since the *Coup d'Etat*, some half dozen splendid and costly barracks of stone, and as ornamental in style as some palaces, have been built in Paris; and most of the new boulevards have been laid out with special reference to forming straight and broad thoroughfares from barrack to barrack, or from barrack to important central point or public building. Some even say that there are subterranean roadways between the barracks, and it may be that some of the immense sewers would serve as such.

Note 97, p. 144. At this part of our narrative, it seems well to pause, for the purpose of making a brief analysis of the operations completed, and of forming an estimate of their purpose and effect.

It appears that previous to making any arrests, a list of seventy-eight persons to be seized and imprisoned, had been prepared. Most of these were Republicans. Sixteen of the number were representatives in the Assembly; and of these (as nearly as we can ascertain) eleven were republican members. All were inviolable by the terms of the Constitution. By the same Constitution President Louis Napoleon (whose term of office would have expired in the following May) would have been compelled to wait for four years before being again eligible to the Presidency. This explains why he desired a revision of the organic law. He pretended to be anxious for the repeal of the law of the 31st of May, because it restricted universal suffrage; but it has been seen that that law was passed at the request of himself and his ministers. There is little doubt that it would have been repealed, but for the imperious and disrespectful manner in which its repeal was demanded. The Assembly would not repeal it on compulsion. This pleased the President; it was a part of his scheme, for it furnished him with a prétext (all he had) for dissolving the Assembly by force. But as will be seen by-and-by, his *Coup* fell most heavily upon those who had always been opposed to the obnoxious law, — the Republicans. So much the more evidence that the overthrow of the Republic (notwithstanding the disavowals subsequently made) was the real object of Louis Napoleon. The act of the First Napoleon on the 18th of Brumaire, which is sometimes called the *first Coup d'Etat*, had for its object the overthrow of the Republic and the erection of an Empire in its stead. So did the second *Coup d'Etat* mean autocracy instead of democracy.

Of the sixty-two citizens arrested in accordance with the list above mentioned, M. Ténot gives the names of forty-one who "were known for the energy of their republican convictions." The next step was the suppression of the five republican newspapers, and the leaving undisturbed the two journals which were favorable to the restoration of

the Empire. Then followed the expulsion by the bayonet of representatives, met in private dwellings because they could not meet in the Assembly's chamber. Then the arrest of nine representatives in the street near the Palace of the Assembly. Some of these were Republicans. Then, ten republican representatives were arrested at the house of M. Crémieux, one of their number. Then the two hundred and twenty representatives at the mayoralty of Ward No. 10. These were mostly Legitimists and Orleanists (whose arrest had not been previously contemplated), with some Republicans who had escaped from other places attacked by the troops and the police. These two hundred and twenty representatives were joined at the barracks by others whose number is not known. Among them were twelve who had been cabinet ministers, and nine of them had been of Louis Napoleon's appointment. There were such men as Berryer, O. Barrot, Benoist d'Azy, the Duke of Broglie, the Duke of Montebello, Chambolle, Dufaure, de Hauranne, de Lasteyrie, General Lauriston, General Radault-Lafosse, General Oudinot, de Rémusat, Admiral Cecile, and the admired writer, de Tocqueville.

Attempts were made to arrest other representatives, mostly Republicans, assembled in private houses.

It must be said, in favor of the representatives at the mayoralty of Ward No. 10, that though nearly all were Royalists, and might with considerable reason have declared the presidency vacant, and that the Count de Chambord (on the part of the Legitimists), or the Count of Paris (on the part of the Orleanists), had of right succeeded to the head of the government — yet no revolutionary measure was attempted. Whilst Louis Napoleon was overturning the government, in violation of law and order, *they* took no illegal steps, even in order to save it. Had they acted otherwise they might at least have rendered the success of the *Coup d'Etat* much more difficult and doubtful. They might long before have impeached and convicted the Presi-

dent; they might have "made some generals" by inaugurating a war in Africa for that purpose; they might have made "appeals to the people," etc.

However, they were not so harshly treated as the Republicans were. While there were two hundred and fifty-five representatives arrested (if we have correctly brought the figures together), there were but eighty-eight subsequently exiled or banished, and of these seventy-seven were Republicans. After this we can judge whether the President was sincere, when he said in his appeal to the people, "My duty is . . . . to maintain the Republic."

Note 98, p. 146. This was but a few rods distant from the place where the representatives were in session. In this vicinity the streets are narrow and crooked, and had the students been able to enter the Rue du Vieux-Columbier, they would have been near enough to have rendered their forces auxiliary to the crowd of citizens then surrounding the representatives in rapidly increasing numbers.

Note 99, p. 146. The office of the *Presse* still remains where it was at that time, and it is a non-political journal. We suppose it was so in 1851, and that would account for its not having been occupied by the troops.

Note 100, p. 148. In France the head of the naval department is a "Minister of the Navy and the Colonies," who has the administration of all maritime matters, the colonies, and the military ports. It is difficult to see why he should have exercised *military* powers in Paris during the days of the *Coup d'Etat*, unless the President invested him with "a little brief authority" in order to pander to the vanity which he (like most of the President's subordinates) most likely possessed to an inordinate degree.

Note 101, p. 149. The author seems to have fallen into an error, or probably was misinformed, in regard to the "oath of fealty" which the judges of the High Court are said to have made "to the Prince-President." The truth is that the judges had been appointed for life, and the oath

originally taken by them was never renewed until after the reëstablishment of the Empire, in 1852. They continued to be judges by virtue of their original qualification for the office.

Notwithstanding the evidence of the minutes of the court, as quoted by M. Ténot, we have the authority of a gentleman connected therewith (whose name we are requested not to mention), for the correctness of the following version: —

"In the morning the members of the court had assembled at the house of their president, and had decided that they would repair to the *Palais de Justice* for the purpose of organizing the court, and of designating a person to act as prosecuting attorney. They accordingly met in the council-room of that building, and the recorder was already writing the judicial order quoted by M. Ténot, by which the court was organized, when the Prefect of Police sent a commissary to authoritatively order the High Court to dissolve. It was *upon its refusal to do so*, that some minutes later, three commissaries of police, accompanied by peace-officers and a detachment of soldiers (a part of this detachment having at its head a lieutenant and a commissary of police), entered the hall of deliberations and caused it to be vacated, at the very moment when the last signature had been affixed to the record of deliberations, intrusted to the care of the recorder.

"The members of the High Court expected also to be taken to Mazas Prison, for some friends were in the Galerie Saint-Louis awaiting their exit in order to warn their families. But there was nothing of the kind. That part of the detachment which had not penetrated the hall formed in lines, and the seven magistrates had to pass between them in order to go out from the gallery. No arrest took place, and this explains why the members of the High Court were able to meet again in the evening, at the house of their president, and the next day at the Palace of Justice, in order to countersign the acceptance of M. Renouard, whom they had appointed prosecuting attorney.

"The rapid march of events, and especially the Plebiscitum of approval, voted by the people on the 20th and 21st of December, did not permit the High Court to carry to any conclusion whatever, its order of organization."

We add the following concerning the previous history of the members.

M. Hardoin (not *Hardouin*, as M. Ténot writes it) had been a member of the Court of Errors since 1842. M. Pataille had been a liberal member of the Assembly in 1827. Under Louis Philippe he had been Attorney-General and President of the Royal Court, and since 1841 a member of the Court of Errors. He died in 1857. M. Delapalme had been a member since 1847. M. Moreau was appointed in 1849; and M. Gauchy in the same year. M. Bernard, the Recorder or *Greffier*, was a liberal member of the Assembly in 1848. He died in 1858. M. Renouard, the Attorney or *Procureur*, had been a Peer of France under Louis Philippe. Since 1848 he has been a councilor, but has devoted most of his time to the writing of legal and educational works.

Note 102, p. 149. Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia from 1807 to 1813, was the youngest of the five brothers of the Bonaparte family: Napoleon having been the second, and Louis, father of the President, the fourth in age. In 1803 Jerome married Miss Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, Maryland. His brother Napoleon declared this marriage null and void, ostensibly because Jerome was under age, but really because he had not married into a royal family, for many regal marriages are contracted when the parties are under age, and some even when they are mere children. In 1805 a son, Jerome Napoleon, was born of this marriage, at London, the mother not having been permitted to land in France. In 1807 Jerome married his second wife (the first one still living), the Princess Frederika, daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, that electorate having been made a kingdom by Napoleon the year previous. Of this marriage Jerome, Count of Montfort, was born in 1814, and died at Florence in 1817; Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul (see Note 48) in 1822; and Mathilde Lætitia Wilhelmine, Countess of Montfort, in 1820. The

latter married the Russian Prince Anatole Demidoff in 1841; but no children have been born of this marriage, and the parties have separated by mutual consent. Her half brother, the aforesaid Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte (whom the imperial family persist in calling plain "Mr. Patterson") married Miss Susanna May, of Baltimore. He died at Baltimore, in July, 1870. A son of this marriage, Jerome, is a commissioned officer of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, and we suppose he is in Algeria.

In 1852, Jerome Bonaparte was appointed Governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, or military and naval asylum. He died in 1860 in consequence, as it is said, of a debauch, and his remains were placed under the great dome of the Invalides.

Note 103, p. 150. The Pont Royal is a bridge across the Seine; its northern end is at the southwest corner of the Palace of the Tuileries, and its southern is near the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, where the representatives were imprisoned.

Note 104, p. 150. Victor SCHOELCHER has been prominent almost from his boyhood, as a writer and worker in the republican cause. As an advocate for the abolition of slavery, he has visited the islands of the West Indies (twice), Mexico, the United States, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, Western Africa, and other countries; and has written and published various works, setting forth the evils of the institution as observed by himself, and demanding the freedom of the slaves. In 1848, he became Minister of the Navy under the Provisional Government, and he issued a proclamation, or decree, declaring the principle of emancipation. He also caused the appointment of a commission to prepare the law of that year, abolishing slavery. He is said to have caused the abolition of flogging in the navy. He was afterwards elected to the Assembly by the grateful inhabitants of the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. There he always voted with the Democrats. He fought

against the *Coup d'Etat*, in the barricades, as stated by the author; and when further resistance was useless, he went to England, where he still lives.

Emanuel ARAGO is of a literary family, and until about twenty-five years of age, was occupied in writing various works of poetry and prose, which were published with success. He afterwards fitted for the bar, and was very successful there. In 1839, he defended Barbès and Martin Bernard, the republican leaders of the limited insurrection of that year. In 1848, he took a leading part in the Provisional Government, especially at Lyons, where he was commissary-general. In 1849, he was sent to Berlin as minister, where he interceded in behalf of the Poles. Returning to Paris after the election of Louis Napoleon, he opposed the expedition to Rome, and in general voted with the radical Democrats. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he retired to private life. In 1869, he was elected a representative by the Democrats.

Jacques BRIVES has always been republican in politics. In the reign of Louis Philippe, he was of the school of Ledru Rollin. In 1848, he was a commissary-general of the Republic. He was an opponent of Louis Napoleon, and demanded his impeachment after the Roman expedition. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he went to Brussels, where he still lives.

H. M. V. CHARAMAULE is a lawyer by profession. In 1834, he was an Opposition member of the Assembly. In 1848, he was an active Republican, and a commissary of the Provisional Government. In the Assembly, he was an ardent democrat. Since the *Coup d'Etat*, he has lived in retirement.

Pierre JOIGNEAUX is distinguished as a politician, a journalist, and an agriculturalist. Some republican articles written by him, caused his arrest and imprisonment by the government of Louis Philippe. In 1848, he was a strong and active republican member of the Assembly, and a

persistent opponent of the policy of Louis Napoleon. Had an election for the Presidency been permitted in 1852, he would have been a prominent candidate therefor. After the *Coup d'Etat*, he lived for a time in Belgium, and published several valuable works there. Since his return to France, he has been occupied with literary matters.

Victor CHAUFFOUR was a professor of law previous to the Revolution of 1848. Elected to the Assembly, from Strasbourg, he became one of the strong opponents of Louis Napoleon, and demanded his impeachment after the siege of Rome. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has lived in retirement, and published several works.

Note 105, p. 152. The *Quai de Jemmapes* is near the northeast corner of Paris, and along the Canal Saint-Martin. The Rue de Popincourt, to which the meeting afterwards adjourned, was further eastward, and near the outskirt of the city.

Note 106, p. 153. The Latin Quarter (*Quartier Latin*), is in the southeastern part of the city, and embraces the district containing the colleges, medical and other professional schools. It is nearly the oldest portion of Paris, and many of the streets are narrow and crooked, besides being "up hill and down dale." It is a favorite quarter for the erection of barricades.

Note 107, p. 154. Mont Valérian is about five miles southwest of Paris. On its summit once stood a Benedictine chapel, whence its name is derived. Now the same place is occupied by a strong fortress, built in 1841, at a cost of about a million dollars.

Note 108, p. 154. Bugeaud was made Duke of Isly, for having won the battle of that name in Africa. Marshal Lannes had been made Duke of Montebello, in honor of the battle of that name in Italy, won by the French in 1800. He lost his life in the army of Bonaparte, at the battle of Essling, in Austria.

Note 109, p. 156. L. F. ETIENNE, Marquis de TURGOT,

is of a family made noble by Louis XVI. He received a military education. In 1832, he became a Peer of France. In 1848, being a Royalist, he remained in comparative obscurity; but after the election of Louis Napoleon, he became an active Bonapartist, and quite concurred with him in the *Coup d'Etat.* In 1852, he was appointed a senator. In 1853, he was sent as Minister to Spain, where he fought in a duel with Pierre Soulé, the United States Minister to that government, and was seriously wounded. In 1858, he was made a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

J. E. T. DUCOS was a ship-owner of Bordeaux, the town of his birth. Elected to the Assembly in 1834, he remained there until 1848. In 1849, he became an ally of Louis Napoleon, and aided in the removal of General Changarnier. As Minister of the Navy, he caused the transportation of prison *bagnios* to Cayenne, for the locking up of the convicts there. In 1853, he was appointed a senator. He died in 1855.

Hippolyte N. H. FORTOUL was a literary character, and had been a dean and rector of the Faculty of Letters, of the town of Aix. In 1848, he became a Bonapartist member of the Assembly. In 1853, he was appointed senator; in 1855, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. He died in 1856.

Pierre MAGNE is a lawyer by profession. He held several important offices under the Guizot Ministry of Louis Philippe. In 1848, he was a Royalist. On the day before the *Coup d'Etat,* he was appointed Minister of Public Works; in 1852, a senator and councilor of state; in 1854, Minister of Finances, which he still is, and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

N. J. LEFEBVRE-DURUFLÉ (whose last name is borrowed from his wife) was a manufacturer of cloths. In 1849, he was a Royalist in the Assembly; he subsequently became an ally of Louis Napoleon. In 1852, he was appointed a senator, and Officer of the Legion of Honor, and after-

wards a Commander, then a Grand Officer.' (See Notes 36, 55, and 70, for the other names.)

Thus all of Louis Napoleon's new ministers were monarchists; and yet he was trying to "maintain the Republic."

Note 110, p. 158. Auguste A. M. BILLAULT, a lawyer by profession, entered the Assembly in 1837. In 1840, he was in the Thiers Ministry of Louis Philippe; and subsequently in the Assembly, he was an opponent of the Guizot Ministry. In 1850, he voted in the Assembly with the Democrats, but being reëlected in 1852, he allied himself with the government, and was appointed president of the reconstructed chamber. In 1854, he succeeded M. de Persigny as Minister of the Interior, and was also appointed senator. In 1857, he was given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor; in 1863, he was called to the Ministry of State. He died the same year, with the reputation of having been one of the great orators of France. (See Notes 34 and 40 for the other names.)

Note 111, p. 168. In the winter of 1868–1869, some of the Republicans in Paris proposed to erect a monument, by subscription, to the memory of M. Baudin; for the martyr rests without a stone to indicate the place of his sepulture. Some of the newspapers having advocated the movement, and opened their columns to the publication of the names of the donors, their editors were arrested and fined, on the ground, we believe, of having published articles of a seditious character.

M. George Baudin, a brother of the martyr, was a candidate of some of the Republicans, for the Assembly, in the elections of 1869. He failed to be elected, but an equally radical Republican was elected in his stead.

Note 112, p. 173. The translators have made considerable effort to obtain the proclamation of M. Hugo, of which M. Ténot quotes but a part. But neither M. Ténot, nor his Parisian publishers, are in possession of it; nor

have they been able to ascertain where it might be found, in order that it might be published in full in this translation.

It may not be improper to say (as it was told to the translators without any injunction of secresy), that M. Ténot had intended to publish more of the document in question than appears in this work; but that certain passages which seemed to his publishers to be likely to subject them to prosecution if published, were stricken out from the manuscripts by them, for the purpose of avoiding said risk of prosecution.

Note 113, p. 175. Marc CAUSSIDIÈRE, the builder of the barricades of Lyons, in 1834, and of Paris in 1848, and a republican member of the Assembly of the latter year, died in Paris, in 1861, a few days after his return from his long exile in London.

Joseph (or Giuseppe) MAZZINI, the Genoese Republican and revolutionist, although more than sixty years of age, is yet vigorous enough to be feared by most of the monarchies of Europe.

Note 114, p. 175. François FERDINAND PHILIPPE LOUIS Marie D'ORLÉANS, Prince of Joinville, was born in 1818, and is the third son of King Louis Philippe and Marie Amélie. He was educated for the navy, becoming a lieutenant therein in 1836. In the capture of Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1838, his skill and bravery caused his promotion to a captaincy, and his decoration with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. In 1845, he bombarded Tangier, and captured Mogador in Algeria, and was promoted a vice-admiral therefor. When his father abdicated the throne, in 1848, he was still in the naval service, at Algiers, where his younger brother, the Duke of Aumale, was in military command, and acting as Governor of Algeria. The two brothers resigned their respective offices, and embarked for England, and there joined their father at Claremont. The Prince has two children: the oldest, a daughter, born

in 1844; the youngest, a son, with the title Duke of Penthièvre, born in 1845. The latter entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1861.

As to the Count of Paris, son of the late Ferdinand Duke of Orleans, and nephew of the Prince of Joinville, see Note 31.

Note 115, p. 179. The *Panthéon* is on the highest ground in the *Quartier Latin* (Note 106), and was originally a church, dedicated to the name of St. Genevieve, the patroness saint of Paris. It was commenced by Louis XV., in 1764, and modeled after the plan of St. Peter's, at Rome. Its cost of construction and repairs have amounted to about six millions of dollars. In the Revolution of 1789, the monuments of some of the illustrious deceased, whose remains were here, were desecrated, and in 1848 the insurgents occupied it as head-quarters.

Note 116, p. 180. Emile de GIRARDIN was born in Switzerland in 1802. He is one of the oldest and most influential journalists and political writers of France. He had edited nearly a dozen newspapers and periodicals previously to 1839, and had been four times elected to the Assembly, and as often rejected because he was not born in France. He was admitted thereto in 1842, and became an Opposition member. In 1848, he entered the Palace of the Tuileries, and personally demanded, received, and proclaimed, the abdication of Louis Philippe. He published the newspaper called the *Evénement*, with Victor Hugo, whom it was claimed he had won over to republicanism. After the *Coup d'Etat*, M. de Girardin remained in exile until 1856, when he returned to Paris, and married the Countess of Tieffenbach. He is now the editor of the *Liberté*, and the champion of M. Olivier, the Emperor's present chief adviser.

Note 117, p. 180. The Faubourg du Temple was originally the *suburb* in which the old temple of the Templars (now demolished) was situate. In 1851, it was one of the

most densely peopled parts of Paris, and it is now near the centre of the city. The *Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin* is not along an *embankment*, as its name might indicate, but is a closely built and populous street, running nearly north from the centre of the *Boulevard des Italiens*, the most fashionable street of Paris.

Note 118, p. 185. The Bank of France was chartered in 1803; it has the *exclusive* privilege of issuing notes payable to the bearer at sight, until the year 1897. It also discounts bills of exchange, and advances money on governmental bills of account, etc. Like the Bank of England, it is directed by a "Governor and Company." It issues the only paper money of France, in denominations the smallest of which is 50 francs in value. It does a business of about $600,000,000 annually.

Note 119, p. 183. Concerning the mooted question as to whether deposits were taken from the Bank of France, for distribution to the soldiers, or for some purpose not yet revealed, the translators are able to state: The fact that a large quantity of money was removed from the Bank of France, on the day in question, was related to the translators by a party who *assisted in its removal.* The narrator was mounting guard at the time (if we remember rightly he was one of the Municipal Guard), when a common covered cart arrived, said to have been "by order of the President," with an escort of soldiers. Into this cart the narrator *saw* the bags and kegs deposited, and the cart driven away.

Of course, the translators would not divulge the name of their informer (now a respectable citizen of Paris), as that would probably subject him to trouble from the imperial authorities. It may be added, however, that he holds a position of trust under the French government, upon which he is dependent for his support.

Note 120, p. 188. The *Porte Saint-Denis* (St. Denis' Gate), is really a triumphal arch, built in 1672 (in honor of

the victories of Louis XIV.), on the site of the old city gate called St. Denis. The *Porte Saint-Martin* is a similar edifice, erected at about the same time. These great and costly arches of stone are about a third of a mile apart, and, like the old tower gates whence they were named, each stands astride a roadway, at its place of intersection with the boulevard.

Note 121, p. 191. The Montmartre, or Mars' Hill, is an elevation rising some 300 feet above the level of the Seine. It is about three miles west from the centre of Paris. The Batignolles is the name of a district (formerly a separate town), lying between Montmartre and the centre.

Note 122, p. 195. The *Place Vendôme*, or Duke of Vendome's Square, is but a few rods northwest of the Garden of the Tuileries. It is here that the famous column in bronze, surmounted by the statue of Napoleon, stands. The Madeleine, or Church of Mary Magdalene, is a splendid edifice, modeled much after the Athenian Parthenon. It was originally designed for a "Temple of Glory." It stands a few rods northwest of the *Place de la Concorde.*

Note 123, p. 195. The Luxembourg takes its name from the duke who once owned this palace. It was afterward purchased by Marie de' Medici, the wife of Henry IV. It has been enlarged since it became the property of the government, and a portion of it is now used for the sessions of the Senate.

Note 124, p. 195. The *Cité* (city), is the name given to that part of Paris which is on the largest of the two islands in the Seine. On this island, whose high embankment wall makes it resemble a fortress, are located the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame; the Hôtel Dieu, or old hospital; the great barracks of the *Garde de Paris;* the Commercial Court; the Court of Errors; the municipal and police courts, in the *Palais de Justice;* the prisons of the Conciergerie, where Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, Robespierre, and the Girondins, were confined; the Prefecture

of Police, etc. Ten bridges connect this island with the opposite shores.

Note 125, p. 197. Faustin Soulouque, the black French Emperor of Hayti, had acquired his official authority by a sort of *coup d'état*, in 1848, when President of the Haytien Republic. He put to death the leading Republicans, and inaugurated terrorism. After this, like Louis Napoleon, he was almost unanimously *elected emperor!* However, his reign terminated ignominiously in 1859, a counter-revolution overthrowing the Empire, and reëstablishing the Republic, of which Geffrard became the President.

Note 126, p. 202. The Palais Royal is the palace originally built by the Cardinal de Richelieu, but which ultimately came into the possession of Louis XIV., and was confiscated, in the first revolution, as the property of the Duke of Orleans. It is now the residence (in winter) of Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor. It is a few rods northwesterly from the Palace of the Louvre, and the eastern part of the Palace of the Tuileries.

Note 127, p. 203. The Count of Chambord (see Note 31) first publicly announced his aspirations for the throne of his uncle, Charles X., at London, in 1843. The Revolution of 1848 found him at Frohsdorf, near Vienna, with his mother. From that place, he visited Cologne, Ems, and Wiesbaden, near the French frontier, and received his partisans, of whom M. Berryer was the leader. At the latter place, a fusion between the two branches of the Bourbon family was attempted. It does not appear that he has ever sought to make good his title to the throne by an appeal to violence and armed force.

Note 128, p. 204. The *Quai aux Fleurs*, is a quay on the northern side of the *Cité* (Note 124), and it takes its name from the fact that a *flower*-market is held there on certain days of each week.

Note 129, p. 204. The Châtelet, was the name of a former court of justice and prison, standing in the square

of the same name. It was about midway between the Palace of the Louvre, and the Hôtel de Ville, or city hall. The latter is nearly opposite to the Cathedral Nôtre Dame, with the river Seine between.

Note 130, p. 209. The order of General de Saint-Arnaud authorized the shooting of women, for it comprised "every individual;" and by implication, the captors were to be the summary executioners.

Note 131, p. 209. The practice of throwing the corpses of victims into the Seine dates from a period much anterior to the present century. When Charles IX., in 1572, perpetrated the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew, some twelve hundred of the bodies of the murdered Calvinists were cast into the Seine, in the vicinity of this same bridge. They drifted upon an island some two miles below, and lay unburied — "not being worthy of a Christian burial" — until the effluvia therefrom became intolerable.

Note 132, p. 212. The *interior* boulevards extend around the heart of the city, on the site of the ancient bulwark, or fortified wall. Some of the *exterior* boulevards extend around the city, but in general they do not mark the former position of a fortified wall, but rather of a boundary-wall.

Note 133, p. 221. In 1547, Guy de Chabot, Lord of Jarnac, fought in a duel with La Châtaigneriac, and vanquished him by unexpectedly striking him behind the knee. Hence, a foul blow is sometimes called a "*Coup de Jarnac*," which would not be a bad name for the Napoleonic *Coup d'Etat.*

Note 134, p. 222. The *Patrie* and the *Constitutionnel*, are still published daily in Paris. Both are in the interest of the government.

Note 135, p. 222. The Café de Paris, and the other establishments mentioned, are among the largest, most frequented, and most respectable saloons for which Paris is celebrated. Anything in the nature of a riot, or violent demonstration, would be very unlikely to occur therein.

Note 136, p. 223. M. Dusautoy is not only "a man of order," but he is an extensive contractor for clothing for the French army, and furnisher to the Emperor personally.

Note 137, p. 228. We have taken the trouble to copy the extracts from Captain Jesse's letter, from the London *Times* itself, thus avoiding the risk of inaccuracy, which would be liable to result from a double translation. We have also included in brackets [ ], the passages which M. Ténot did not deem it prudent to publish in Paris.

Note 138, p. 240. In this struggle, the handful of devoted and patriotic Republicans fought, if we consider the circumstances, "like brave men, long and well." But what could they accomplish against the army of trained soldiers who had been bribed, or compelled to fight them with the means and appliances of war? In other days, the Republicans had united *in advance*, and opened the attack in accordance with some sort of matured plan. But now, the very man who had the army and navy in his hands, and who had been constantly declaring that it was *he* who was to "maintain the Republic," burst upon the heads of the unwarned, unguarded, and unarmed Republicans, in the night, as suddenly and furiously as the tempest that smites and overwhelms a ship that was becalmed at sea! We could not refrain from making this brief remark, which is rather the statement of a fact than a comment upon the nature thereof.

Note 139, p. 241. The voting on that occasion was upon the proposition to make Napoleon Bonaparte an Emperor.

Note 140, p. 241. Several circumstances had concurred in producing that effect upon the minds of the soldiers, which is indicated in the result of their balloting. In his "Proclamation to the Army," the President had taunted the soldiers with having been "treated as vanquished, in 1830 and 1848," because their suffrages had not been con-

sulted, although (as the President said) they "were the *élite* of the nation." Then, he made it appear that he was their special friend, by investing them with the ballot (just what the Republicans had long desired to do), and by "making generals" from among the younger officers. Flattery and promises had their prevailing influence. The dogma of "passive obedience" was diligently impressed upon their rather plastic consciences; and this, too, in connection with their ratification of the misdeeds of their commander-in-chief, the President.

But the question, after all, was whether they should ratify *their own* conduct, as well as that of their President; for they were to decide by ballot whether the *Coup d'Etat* was justifiable, and to vote *no* would be voting for their own condemnation, since it was mainly through *themselves* that the work of unlawfulness and violence had been accomplished.

Finally, the military *éclat* of the *name* Napoleon was sufficient to eclipse that of any other person; and in the army, it seemed to be believed (and the belief is not yet obsolete there), that Louis Napoleon is entitled to the most unlimited deference and fealty, because he is the nephew of his distinguished uncle, and claims to be his counterpart as well as successor.

Note 141, p. 242. Deportation to Guiana first commenced in 1795. At that time, the National Convention had sentenced some of its own members to deportation. In September, 1795, the Directory deported two of its members, three generals, and the editors of thirty-five newspapers, to Sinamary, in Guiana. *Banishment* in certain cases, dates as far back as the year 1670.

Note 142, p. 242. The fortified wall around Paris is about forty feet high, of solid masonry, and rises from a moat about twenty feet in depth. The detached forts are seventeen in number, and are within cannon-range of the wall. These fortifications — which thus far have served

only as prisons for the French people — were built in the reign of Louis Philippe, at a cost of about $50,000,000.

Note 143, p. 242. M. CRÉTON was an Orleanist member of the Assembly, and as such had persistently combated the Democrats. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has been neutral in political matters.

DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE was associated with MM. Guizot and de Rémusat, as editor of the *Globe*, from 1824 to 1827. In 1837, he published a work upon the "Principles of the Representative Government," in which he laid down the maxim that "*Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas*" (the King reigns, and does not govern). As a member of the Assembly, he was a Royalist. Since his return from the exile following his imprisonment, he has been occupied upon his "History of Parliamentary Government in France."

Charles François Marie, Count de RÉMUSAT, is a son of the duke of that name, who was a chamberlain of Bonaparte. He has been successful as a writer of legal works. Under the reign of Louis Philippe he was one of the "principal soldiers of M. Thiers," and ultimately was, with the latter, among the ministers of that king. In the Assembly, from 1848 to 1851, he was a leading orator of the Royalists. Since the *Coup d'Etat* he has continued his literary labors.

(For the other names, see Notes 25, 34, 42, 64, 79, 82, 83.)

Note 144, p. 243. Felix MATHÉ was educated to the bar. In 1834 he fled to Belgium, in order to avoid arrest for complicity in the revolt of that year. As a member of the Assembly he voted for the impeachment of Louis Napoleon, for causing the siege of Rome without legislative authority. In 1848 he was at the head of the departmental administration of the provisional government. After the *Coup d'Etat* he abstained from politics. He died in 1857. (See Note 79 for other names.)

Note 145, p. 243. Madame Amantine Lucile Aurore DUDEVANT, commonly known under the pseudonym GEORGE SAND, was born in Paris in 1804. She is the daughter of Maurice Dupin, an officer of the First Napoleon, who died in 1808, through a fall from his horse. When eighteen years of age, she married a M. Dudevant, a son of the baron of that name. She separated from her husband in 1831, and turned her attention to literature, translations, painting, drawing, ornamental work, etc. At that time she often attended at theatre, dressed in male attire. About the same year (1831), she published her first work, in company with Jules Sand. At this time her publishers gave her the pseudonym "George Sand," which she has since retained. In 1835, she made the acquaintance of Michel (of Bourges, member of the Assembly), and acquired from him, and from Pierre Leroux, her strong republican and socialistic convictions. In the Revolution of 1848, she wrote much for republican journals, and even established a weekly newspaper called "The People's Cause," besides writing two political pamphlets. She also translated, from the Italian, Mazzini's book, "The Republic and Royalty in Italy." Since that epoch, she has devoted her talents to romance and the drama.

We should not omit to state, that her girlhood was spent partly in the Château of Nohant, and partly in the convent of the English Augustines in Paris.

Note 146, p. 243. Xavier DURRIEU is quite celebrated amongst the political and philosophical writers of France. Since his banishment he has lived part of the time in England, and part in Spain.

Pierre LACHAMBEAUDIE, quite an elegant writer, since his exile has lived in Brussels, where he has supported himself through the publication of his literary works.

Note 147, p. 243. Antony THOURET was born in 1807, and was educated for the bar. In 1830 he wrote

articles for the "Republican Society of the Friends of the People." These cost him more than thirty prosecutions, and upward of one hundred thousand francs in fines, besides five years of imprisonment. As a member of the Assembly of 1848, he exercised a powerful and controlling influence. Although a radical Democrat, he was conciliatory and calm. Since the *Coup d'Etat*, we believe he has remained, at first in compulsory, afterward in voluntary exile.

Note 148, p. 244. Among these sixty republican representatives, will be noticed the names of many who are, or have been an honor to their country. Some have not been conspicuous, and yet were equally as good citizens and legislators. We give a brief remark concerning some of them.

PERDIGUIER was a writer; LATRADE was a civil engineer, and has since been employed as such in Spain; RENAUD, a strong advocate of universal suffrage, went to Spain, and declined to avail himself of the amnesty of 1859; SAVOYE, a lawyer and scholar, was a graduate of the University of Heidelberg, and a fine writer; since his expulsion, he has lived in England and Belgium. BAUNE, a civil engineer, had a brother exiled at the same time; BERTHOLON, formerly editor of the newspaper called the "Censor," was one of the representatives who made the "Appeal to the People." M. de FLOTTE was an officer of the navy, and an able political writer; after the *Coup d'Etat* he distinguished himself with Garibaldi, in his expedition against Sicily. M. LABOULAYE is everywhere known as one of the first political and legal writers. Alphonse ESQUIROS, one of the ablest political and philosophical writers, was elected a member of the Legislative Body in 1869, a Republican. PEAN was a lawyer and journalist; BAC, a brilliant advocate, is since dead; BANCEL, an orator, became a professor in the University of Brussels; in 1869, he was elected a radical republican

member of the Legislative Body, M. Olivier, the present chief adviser of the Emperor, having been defeated as the candidate opposed to him. M. Bancel will be one of the most eloquent and influential members of the Assembly. BELIN, a lawyer, repudiated an offer to return to France shortly afterward. BOURZAT was called the "Poor-man's Lawyer." BRIVES, was a commissary-general under the Republic, and editor of a paper called the *Universal Vote.* DUPONT was a lawyer and editor of several newspapers. Gaston DUSSOUBS was a brother of Denis, who was killed whilst defending the barricade. GUITER was a journalist, councilor-general of a department, and commissary under the Republic. LEFRANC was a lawyer and editor of talent; LEROUX, a fine writer, and translator of German; MAIGNE, was a brother of the Parisian journalist and professor imprisoned shortly before. MATHIEU (of the Drôme), an earnest worker in the republican cause, afterward lived and wrote in Switzerland; he is now dead. SOMMIER was a prominent literary character. As to Cholat, Benôit, Lagrange, Nadaud, Hugo, Baune, Schoelcher, Joigneau, Raspail, and Colonel Charras, see the Notes referring to them respectively.

These republican representatives, added to those already exiled or deported, make the whole number amount to seventy-seven. The eleven others exiled were Orleanists, making eighty-eight of both parties.

Note 149, p. 245. The espionage here referred to is that known in the French code as the "*Surveillance de la Haute Police.*" It is "a relegation into a place determined upon by the government; and in case of disobedience to the administrative requirements, it may be changed into transportation for from five to six years." It amounts to an imprisonment within certain territorial limits, with a requirement to "report" at stated times, to the officer having the "surveillance" of the party upon whom it has been imposed. It is a creature of the existing régime, having been decreed December 8, 1851.

There are also *mouchards*, or spies, dressed like ordinary citizens, who are employed by the police to observe the conduct and overhear the conversation of suspected parties. *Mouchards* can be procured, at certain offices established for that purpose, by the payment of a few francs per day to the supplying office.

Note 150, p. 245. The army was not only the recipient of "decorations and promotions," but other rewards were given: such as *nobility* for the officers, and the *military medal* for the soldiers. The *decorations* referred to were those of the Legion of Honor, and the *promotions* were military. Hence, we may classify the honors and bounties conferred upon military (and civil) favorites as follows:—

1st. NOBILITY. The Constituent Assembly in 1791, abolished all titles of nobility, and provided for the punishment of any who should assume such a title. The idea of dispensing with hereditary titles was probably borrowed from the provision relative thereto in the Constitution of the United States. But in 1806, Bonaparte, then Emperor, wished to bestow various honors of this kind upon his officers, and a decree was passed creating a nobility, and punishing all who should assume rank therein without previous imperial permission. Hence, there are many nobles whose titles were conferred by Bonaparte, either upon themselves or upon their father or grandfather. But the present Emperor is not slower than the first was, in turning to good account this prime instrument of favoritism. It appears from the "Imperial Almanac" for 1869, that there are three princes, six dukes, eleven marquises, twenty-one counts, eight viscounts, and twenty-two barons, attached to the "Household of their Majesties, the Emperor and the Empress, and His Highness the Prince Imperial." These *attachés* (with others not nobles) are invested with the functions of superintendents, prefects, governors, and quartermasters of the palaces, grand, first, and ordinary chamberlains to their Majesties' chamber

service, physicians and surgeons, masters of the imperial stables, hunters, masters of ceremonies, aids of ceremonies, aides-de-camp, adjutants, etc. Most of these are, or have been, officers of the army. There are also many ladies holding corresponding rank, included in the retinue of the Empress. Besides, there are many nobles in the Senate, Council of State, and other positions of honor, and yet others living simply *as* nobles. The number of these we have not taken the trouble to ascertain.

2d. MILITARY PROMOTIONS. Of these it is not necessary to say much. In France, this power (and that of original appointment) is with the Emperor alone, from the lowest commissioned to the highest general officer. The power is most potent, in order to produce the concurrence of the officers with the executive. There are at present nine Marshals of France (the highest rank in the army), each receiving *as such*, an annual salary of six thousand dollars; seven of them, commanding *corps d'armée*, receive twenty thousand dollars each. The major-generals and brigadier-generals are in proportionate numbers, for the immense army of France. Many military officers are also paid salaries for non-military positions which they hold. The French army and navy cost about $170,000,000 annually. (See Note 37.)

3d. THE ORDER OF THE LEGION OF HONOR. This is another of the creatures of the First Napoleon. In 1802, he being then First Consul, he founded the order of the *Légion d'Honneur*, for the purpose, mainly, of making use of it in conferring distinction upon whom he pleased, among the officers of his army. At that time, the "decoration" consisted of the effigy of Bonaparte, placed in the centre of a star of five points. Under the Restoration, this effigy was replaced by that of Henry IV. The Republic of 1848 restored the *Cross* of Bonaparte.

The order is divided into five classes, of which the lowest is the *Chevalier*. Then follow the *Officer*, *Commander*,

Grand Officer, and *Grand Cross*, consecutively. Each grade has its particular badge or decoration; the chevalier having a silver star (or *cross*, as it is called) suspended by a red ribbon; the officer a golden star, with red ribbon and rosette; the commander a golden star with a *broader* red ribbon, worn about the neck, the ribbon of the chevalier and officer being attached to the left breast; the grand officer, a diamond cross, without a ribbon; the grand cross, a broad ribbon crossing the breast from right to left, to the left end of which a large and elaborately wrought golden cross, or star, is attached.

In place of these decorations, the fellows of the order wear, when in their ordinary dress, a knot of red ribbon in the left lappel of the coat, for the chevalier; and a rosette of the same to indicate either of the other grades. In the streets of Paris, one will meet every day, many men with these badges of their fellowship of the order. There were in 1868, according to the official report for that year, 66 grand crosses; 295 grand officers; 1,500 commanders; 6,000 officers; and 54,000 chevaliers. The Emperor is the "Grand Master" of this Grand Legion, and none are admitted therein without his authority. He has under him, for the administration of its affairs, a grand chancellor, a secretary-general, and a council of ten members. Of those admitted from the army and navy, the chevaliers receive 250 francs per year for life; the officers, 500; the commanders, 1,000; the grand officers, 2,000; and the grand crosses 3,000 francs. It probably costs the government about $3,000,000 annually to keep the fellows of this order in pay. Then each fellow is entitled to military salutes in life, and military honors upon his decease.

An oath of fealty is required from each French fellow of the order.

4th. The MILITARY MEDAL is bestowed upon officers and soldiers of the army by the Emperor, upon the suggestion of the Minister of War. In the case of soldiers, this

carries with it a pension of 100 francs for life. Other special medals, such as the Crimean, Italian, etc., are awarded for each campaign. Even the shootings of Republicans in the streets of Paris, during the days of December, 1851, were called a "campaign" for the purpose of receiving medals, as the author says.

Note 151, p. 245. As we have already said, the Emperor and Empress are Roman Catholics. For the service of their chapel there are an archbishop (salary $10,000 yearly as such, and $6,000 as senator for life), a bishop, and seven abbots. The clergy are paid by the government, and there are more than a thousand of the Catholic clergy in Paris alone. The schools are mostly directed by the *brothers* and *sisters* of the convents. Since 1852, the "Budget of Worship" has cost the government about $160,000.000. The occupation of Rome, in order to maintain the Pope secure, has cost $9,500,000. In short, there seems to be hardly a limit to which the Emperor would not go, in order to "favor the clergy," who in turn aid very materially in strengthening the sway and influence of their imperial protector. (See Note 10.)

While on the subject of the clergy, it is worth while to examine briefly the operation of the pontifical establishment at Rome, the special *protégé* of the French Emperor.

In 1846, Mastai Ferretti, of Sinigaglia, an Adriatic seaport, was installed in the Vatican as successor to the papal throne, with the title Pius IX. On the 14th of March 1848, he published an ordinance or statutory decree, declaring his government changed from a papacy to a constitutional monarchy of two chambers. The first of the sixty-nine articles of the ordinance declared that the Sacred College would constitute a senate *above* these chambers, and would be inseparable from the pontificate. On the 9th of February following, the Roman Constituent Assembly, by a vote of one hundred and forty-three against five, declared Pius IX. bereft of his functions as a

temporal sovereign, and shortly afterward it promulgated the Constitution of the Republic. In that organic law, it was declared that "the head of the Catholic Church will receive from the Republic all the guarantees necessary to the independent exercise of the *spiritual* power." So the Pope was not only tolerated, but protected by the Republic in his legitimate sphere. From that time, the separation of the Church from the State would have been permanent but for the intervention of the French government. But Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, desired it to be otherwise; and by the 12th of April, 1850, had reinstated the Pope in the Vatican.

On the 12th of September, 1849, a convention between the Pope and the French government had arranged for the formation of a new papal government. The latter was to consist of a Council of State of nine members, appointed by the Pope; a cabinet of five ministers, appointed by the Pope's Prime Minister or Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli. The latter was to be president of the aforesaid Council of State. Subsequently, the whole territory outside of Rome was divided into four legations, administered by legates of the Pope; the legations into provinces, governed by papal delegates; the provinces into governments, administered by papal councilors; and the governments into communes, administered *in part* by ecclesiastical deputies, elected by the people, but *primarily* by a magistracy of elders, appointed by the Pope.

Thus, the head is the Pope; the Prime Minister is Cardinal Antonelli; the President of the Council of State is likewise Cardinal Antonelli; the Minister of Finances and the Minister of War are prelates; the Apostolic Chamber (which controls the disbursements and funds of the government) is presided by the cardinal *camerlingo*, or vice-pope; and the legates and delegates are both cardinals and prelates.

This is the government established at Rome in 1850, by Louis Napoleon, in place of a Republic, and still maintained by the army of France. It was for this that he besieged Rome without the authority of the French National Assembly; proclaiming at the same time with much flourishing of trumpets: "I sum up thus, the reëstablishment of the temporal power of the Pope: General amnesty, secularization of the administration, the Napoleonic Code, and liberal government." It is not to be wondered at that many members of the Assembly were in favor of impeaching the President, after this military and political exploit, very much in the nature of a filibustering expedition. But at that time the Republicans were in a minority in the Assembly, hence the failure to impeach and convict the anti-republican President of the Republic.

The efforts of Louis Napoleon to maintain his pleasant relations with the Pope, remind us of the speech of the First Napoleon to the Egyptian Turks, wherein he assured them that he intended to become a Mussulman.

Note 152, p. 246. In point of fact, the Sabbath never was so generally given up to violent recreation and noisy demonstration in Paris, as it has been under the present *régime*. M. de Morny's recommendation, that the Sabbath be observed as a day of "repose," did not mean much, if we take into consideration the fact that horse-racing, under the auspices and patronage of the Emperor, is commonly indulged in on Sundays, in the public race-grounds about Paris.

Note 153, p. 246. The *Siècle* (the Age) was the journal of which M. Ténot is now the principal editor. It is now the organ of the liberal Republicans of Paris. The editors of this journal (which has never been violent in its attacks upon the existing government) have sometimes been imprisoned and fined for editorial articles, inimical to the acts or the policy of the Empire. As late as June 26, 1869, two editors of the *Siècle* were fined

five hundred francs each, and imprisoned for one month and two months respectively, in punishment for certain political articles published therein.

It is well to remind the reader that in France, the author of a political article inserted in a newspaper, is required by law to affix his name thereto. In this way, the government may always know who dare to criticize its action, and be enabled to maintain an espionage over them. Sometimes a *perquisition*, or unexpected examination of the private papers of an individual, is made by the police, in order to find and seize articles written but *not* yet published. The police, at times, go so far as to follow up a nocturnal rummaging of the private premises, by seizure of the victim in his own household, and his induction to prison to await trial, on a charge of writing seditious articles.

On the other hand, the newspapers are *compelled* to publish, in a conspicuous part of the sheet, any denial or explanation proceeding from the high officers of the government. For instance, if the Judge of Instruction (who has the right to arrest and imprison without accusation, trial, or bail) were to be charged by some newspaper with having refused to allow a prisoner to see his friends, or to write to them, the judge aforesaid might send a *communiqué* to the editor of the newspaper, denying or explaining the charge; and however long the *communiqué* might be, the journal would be bound to publish it gratuitously. At the same time, the person who had made the complaint and been compelled to add his name thereto, might himself be made to suffer imprisonment for having "published false news," or for "exciting hatred and contempt against the government;" or indeed, without *any* specific charge, his *arrest* might be made.

French newspapers are prohibited, under penalty, from publishing accounts of judicial trials of political cases, or of prosecutions for violating the press-laws of France.

Note 154, p. 249. At the epoch in which the author

closes his account, the treason and violence of Louis Napoleon had been ratified, and he (as he himself expressed it) had been "absolved" from the legal consequences thereof. This had been done by the votes of those who were dumbfounded and perplexed, or intimidated; those who had been bribed by office, money, or favor (see Notes 140, 150, 151); and those who supposed they were voting for the truest friend to the Republic, or at least one who would prove to be the counterpart of the first Napoleon. One fact must be borne in mind: in those days the people little understood the real nature and atrocity of the *Coup d'Etat* of December, and comparatively few of them have become aware of these until within the last two or three years. Meanwhile, the victims still living and not in exile, have almost forgotten their wrongs, or have, for various reasons, been unable to sufficiently impress the enormity thereof upon the common understanding.

On the 25th of December, 1852, Louis Napoleon was as completely invested with the imperial crown of France as his uncle, the First Napoleon, had been in 1804. The 2d of December had resulted, like the 18th of Brumaire, in the French Empire. In round numbers, seven millions of electors had voted for the Empire; three-fourths of a million against it; and two millions had refrained, or been unable to vote.

Whither has popular sentiment been tending since that election in 1852? Does the yoke of empire rest easily upon the necks of the French people? Let us examine the votes of Paris, which is called the "heart of France."

VOTES OF PARIS.

For the Government.		*For the Opposition.*	
1852	132,000	1852 . . .	86,000
1857	110,000	1857 . . .	101,000
1863	83,000	1863 . . .	149,000
1869	55,000	1869 . . .	210,000

An election is held but once in six years. In 1852, the majority for the Government was 46,000. In 1869, the majority for the Opposition was 150,000. In 1852, the Republicans and Oppositionists were but about one third of the voters of Paris; in 1869, they were nearly four fifths of them. This has been the result in the capital, where Louis Napoleon is best known; where he has lavished most of his "improvements;" and where one fourth of the electors are said to be employés of the government.

Like results have been obtained in the large cities, such as Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Dijon, Nimes, Saint-Etienne, Montpellier, Havre, Lille, Strasbourg, Rouen, etc. It is conceded that in the *cities* of France, people have unusual facilities for education, while in the rural sections gross ignorance prevails. Thus, it appears from official reports of the magistrates to the Minister of Public Instruction, in 1866, that in some districts the proportion of persons who were unable to sign their names to the registry of marriages, births, and deaths, was 67 in 100 for the men, and 98 in 100 for the women! The illiterate and priest-ridden classes of the benighted districts, vote for the existing government and counteract the votes of the enlightened cities. For this reason, the voting districts of cities are sometimes extended into the country, so as to include the suburban and rural population; thus causing a municipal candidate of the Opposition to be defeated by the ballots of the ignorant peasantry, who are sure to be in favor of the "official" candidate.

But notwithstanding the political maneuvres on the part of the government; notwithstanding the overwhelming majority cast in 1852, in favor of the decree making Louis Napoleon emperor; he who thus became the head of a great empire, under anomalous, but, as he supposed, auspicious circumstances, has lost much ground in each of the three general elections (1857, 1863, and 1869) held since that epoch. In 1869, there were less than four and

a half million votes favorable to the government, whilst there were more than three and a half millions in opposition thereto. In a vote of 8,098,565 in the aggregate, the government received a majority of but 755,517 votes. If we deduct the million (the computed number) of military, civil, and other employés of the government, from the majority, it follows that the independent voters favorable to the Empire are in a minority, and this minority represents the ignorant and superstitious classes.

If we look at the composition of the Assembly (Corps Législatif) since 1852, we find surprising (though not corresponding) losses in the number of the imperial, or "official" members of that body. In 1857 (the first election for deputies under the Empire), the opposition counted but five members out of two hundred and ninety, or one fifty-eighth of the whole; in 1863, they had twenty-two members, or one thirteenth of the whole; in 1869 (about) seventy-seven members, or probably one third of the whole, and among them are the first orators and statesmen of France.

The reason of this defection from the "strong government," is to be found in the growing conviction of the wickedness and deception in which it had its origin, and in the mismanagement and injustice which have resulted thereunder. It would be easy to demonstrate at length that abundant causes exist for the increasing hostility to the Empire, and to the French Emperor personally, — but not having contemplated an exhibition of those causes, we content ourselves with subjoining a summary of the expenses, in round numbers, as estimated by competent authorities, of certain of the prominent enterprises of the present government of France: —

The overthrow of the Republic of Rome, and its occupation by a part of the French army, has cost, to July, 1869	$9,200,000

The War of the Crimea, instigated by Napoleon II., cost France	269,600,000
The War of Italy, in 1859 (left for Prussia to finish, in 1866), cost France	75,600,000
The invasion of Mexico, and attempt to change that Republic to an Empire, cost France	$170,000,000
(Mexico owed France $12,000,000, less than two thirds as much as she owed England.)	
The military and naval warfare against China, Cochin China, and Japan, have cost	58,400,000
Syrian campaigns	4,000,000
Total cost of Foreign Wars	$586,200,000

To this immense bill of expenses, many heavy items may be added, which we need not suggest to the reader. Thus, the "Budget of Worship" alone has cost the French government $160,000,000, since 1852; and the army and navy cost from $160,000,000 to $180,000,000 annually.

INDEX.

N. B. The figures refer to the page, except when preceded by the word "Note."

ERRATA.

On page 92, for "Note 17," read Note 52.

On page 233, omit the reference to "Note 137 a."

On page 283, omit the reference to *Alexandre* Dumas, and read in lieu thereof, "*Jean-Baptiste* Dumas, the then Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, was, and is, a distinguished writer and lecturer on chemistry. He had been elected a representative to the Assembly, in May, 1849."

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