

**FULL ANNALS OF THE  
REVOLUTION IN  
FRANCE, 1830; PP. 1-252**

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Full Annals of the Revolution in France, 1830; pp. 1-252 by William Hone

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**WILLIAM HONE**

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**FULL ANNALS**  
OF THE  
**REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,**  
1830.

ILLEGAL ORDINANCES OF CHARLES X.  
MILITARY EXECUTION TO ENFORCE THEM.  
BATTLES AND VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLE OF PARIS.  
ABDICATION AND FLIGHT OF THE KING.  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.  
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS BY THE DEPUTIES.

**ENTHRONEMENT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS,**

UNDER THE TITLE OF

**LOUIS PHILIPPE I.,**

KING OF THE FRENCH.

ADDRESSES, PROTESTS, PROCLAMATIONS, DECREES, AND  
OTHER IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS:  
NARRATIVES, AND INTERESTING ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED  
PATRIOTISM AND BRAVERY:

MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, &c.

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**BY WILLIAM HONE.**

AUTHOR OF THE EVERY-DAY BOOK AND TABLE BOOK, EDITOR OF STRUTT'S SPORTS AND  
PASTIMES OF ENGLAND, &c. &c.

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SIXTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

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1830.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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The details in the ensuing columns are derived, First, from articles in the Journals, usually called news, from correspondence with their editors, and from private letters communicated to them; and, Secondly, from unpublished letters, and from personal interviews with residents in Paris. Of course the authorities for both were eye-witnesses of the events.

To discover the truth of the facts thus obtained was the first object; the next was to place each fact under the day to which it belongs. Both these objects have been accomplished, as far as they could be under the circumstances.

These statements, day by day, presuming nothing material has been omitted, are Full Annals of the French Revolution in 1830; from the issuing of the arbitrary ordinances of Charles X. to his abdication and flight, and the enthronement of the Duke of Orleans, under the name and title of Louis Philippe I., King of the French.

Several narratives of the battles of the brave people of Paris with the late king's army are introduced entire. One, by M. Leonard Gallois, has been purposely translated for these sheets. Another is an original Letter from an English Gentleman, who, unable to speak French, went to Paris for a week's pleasure, and saw half of the Revolution without knowing that it was a Revolution.

The principal documents of importance are inserted entire; particularly the ordinances of Charles X.—the protests against them—the Declaration of Rights presented by the Chamber of Deputies to the Duke of Orleans, as the articles of condition on which he was declared King of the French—the principal addresses, proclamations, and orders of the day, of the Provisional Government—ordinances of Louis Philippe I., &c. Care has been taken to give a clear and impartial report of the speeches and proceedings in the Chambers, on altering the Charter, and filling the vacant throne. The eloquent and memorable speech of M. Chateaubriand is verbatim. It has also been thought proper to insert the Declaration of Rights of the National Assembly of 1789, as being the grand manifesto of *French Principles*, and the basis of the French Constitution of 1830. Added to these, and illustrative of transactions in France, are—the *Marseillais Hymn*—a popular Song by Mr. Roscoe, on the breaking out of the Revolution in 1789—a poetical Address to France, by the late Mr. Edward Rushton, of Liverpool—and another poem or two.

It will scarcely be expected that any one but a person locally acquainted with Paris, and a witness of the sanguinary engagements, could describe the different conflicts or the capture of the palaces and public buildings with entire clearness. The materials have been abundant, but very confused; some of the statements were contradictory, and others upon examination proved untrue. So far as truth could be ascertained, it has been adhered to as a governing rule in compiling from such a multifarious mass—the chief endeavour has been to give the greatest number of authentic and interesting facts that could be collected.

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1830.

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There have been frequent anticipations of a sudden termination to the power of Charles X. One, so long ago as 1827, in *Rambling Notes on a Visit to Paris*, by Sir A. B. Faulkner, when Peyronnet was trying experiments for shackling the press, is remarkably prophetic. This gentleman then said:—

“The present project of M. Peyronnet, to restrain the liberty of the Press, has lent no small force to the jealousy of the present Government, and, considering the awful experience they had in former times, seems a most unaccountable temerity. If it were merely one or two acts of an arbitrary nature they were trying to carry, they might be overlooked, or at least have the benefit of some equivocal interpretation; but, when a number of convergent measures are attempted at the same time, the tendency of which is alike hostile to the spirit of the Charter and the wishes of the people, surely little farther proof is necessary to convince them of the *animus* that presides in the councils of the nation. But, after all, it is only themselves the people have to thank for the whole. They committed a sad oversight at the restoration. Before they allowed Louis XVIII. to put one of his gouty feet on the beach at Calais they should have presented him, as we did in a similar conjuncture, with a bill of rights, as the positive and peremptory condition of his being accepted for their Sovereign.

“From all I hear, I augur nothing but mischief, should M. Peyronnet's project for trammelling the press be suffered to pass. If public opinion has not vent through this channel, it must sooner or later find another, and one probably the Government may like as little. True it is that, before the revolution, the nation long and patiently endured the agonies of suppressed opinion; but let us bear in mind how long they had been strangers to any thing like freedom. The experiment of open, manful remonstrance, would have been a fearful venture, while a *lettre de cachet* hung over their heads, and they were ignorant or distrustful of their strength. The insane abettors of this Bill appear to have forgotten that they live in the nineteenth not the sixteenth century: *the benefit of all history is thrown away upon them.* It is thrown away upon them that

England has experimentally proved that the liberty of the press is the best bulwark of our religion and Constitution, by enlightening men to appreciate the value of both. It is lost upon them, too, that *there is no possible mode of getting at an acquaintance with the true interests of the governed, but through the free publication of opinion*; or, if they do know these things, they force us into the conclusion that the object is in reality not the suppression of the *licentiousness* of the press, as they would have it believed, but a step towards the restoration of absolute Government. A Frenchman asked me, to-day, why there should not be a check upon aristocratic licentiousness as well as popular licentiousness. ‘Human nature being the same in both, is there,’ said he, ‘any good reason why there should not be a mutual guarantee for the good behaviour of both? The history of your own country is a pregnant proof of the attachment which a free press begets for a free Constitution, which you know, spite of the most frightful commotions and rudest shocks, always righted again mainly, if not solely, through its instrumentality.’ So fully do I coincide with this view of the subject, that I am convinced, *if her navigators do not look sharp, the French vessel of State will soon be on her beam ends.* It is said, *au pis aller*, if the Minister cannot manage to carry his project by any other means, fair or foul, he has advised the King to create sixty new Peers: Better—or I am far astray in my French Politics—better Charles X. you had never left your *pension* in Holyrood House.

“The common opinion about the Press Restriction Bill is, that it must eventually pass into law. It will behave its authors and abettors to be aware. The steam of public opinion is at present under high pressure, and it is doubtful whether it will bear much increase.

“The King is never mentioned but in connection with an incubus of Jesuits, by whom, they say, he is perpetually and most unmercifully bestrode. There certainly appears to be no occasion that their bitterest enemy should desire the Royal Family any greater humiliation than they at present may be supposed to endure from the state of popular feeling. Never, perhaps, did Royalty repose on any thing more the reverse of a bed of roses. If

bearsay and appearances may be trusted, *they live literally as exiles among their own people, without one soul that I could discover to sympathise with this most unnatural sequestration.* In such circumstances, to render misery complete, I can conceive nothing wanting except that, while not receiving sympathy, we should be conscious of not deserving it."

What a picture!—Charles X. and the Polignac Administration, in 1830, realised the anticipations of a common-sense English gentleman in 1827.

Before detailing the events of the revolution in France, in 1830, it is necessary to state a few previous circumstances.

In March 1814 the allied armies invested Paris, and Louis XVIII. then prepared to leave England, in order to occupy the throne of France. The count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.) left Switzerland on the 19th of March, entered Vesoul on the 22nd, and, on setting his foot on the French territories, exclaimed, "At length I see my native country again—that country which my ancestors governed in mildness!—I will never quit it again!"

In that little speech he made a capital mistake; his ancestors had *not* governed France "in mildness." His persevering in that mistake, by endeavouring to govern like them, by ordinances, occasioned another mistake; he has quitted France again.

Charles X. broke the Charter. A few sentences will show the origin of that Charter.

On the 30th of March, 1814, Paris was surrounded by the cannon and armies of the allied sovereigns, who desired to enter the capital without difficulty; and prince Schwartzberg, as their representative, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, stating that the allied armies were before the city, with the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France;—that the allied sovereigns "sought in good faith a salutary authority in France," and looked to the city of Paris "to accelerate the peace of the world."

On the same day, the emperor of Russia, by a declaration on behalf of himself and the other allied sovereigns, "invited the senate to name immediately a provisional government able to provide for the wants of the administration," and prepare a "constitution suitable to the French people."

On the 31st of March, the senate decreed that the provisional government should consist of five members, and proceeded to nominate them, viz. M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, Vice Grand Elector; Count du Bonnouvelle, Senator; Count de Jaucour, Senator; Duke D'Auberg, Councillor of State; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the Constitutional Assembly.

In a second sitting the senate declared

that the Dynasty of Napoleon was at an end, that the French were absolved from their oath of allegiance to him, and that the senate and legislative bodies should form fundamental parts of the new constitution. In consequence of that declaration the emperor Alexander declared, "I leave the choice of the monarch and government entirely to the French people."

On the 3d of April the senate entered on its register that "a constitutional monarchy is, in virtue of the constitution, a social compact;" and that, as Napoleon had violated his legal powers, he had forfeited the throne and the hereditary right established in his family. One of their principal allegations against Napoleon was "that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, had been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his Police; and that at the same time he had always made use of the Press to fill France with misrepresentations, false maxims, and doctrines favorable to despotism."

On the 5th of April the conservative senate decreed the form of a constitution, by which constitution Louis XVIII. was called to the throne of France, and which constitution contains this remarkable article:—"23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty."

On the 14th of April the senate decreed as follows:—"The senate offers the provisional government of France to his royal highness Monseigneur Count D'Artois, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, until Louis Stanislaus Xavier of France, called to the throne of the French, has accepted the Constitutional Charter." The Count D'Artois replied, "Gentlemen, I have taken cognizance of the Constitutional Charter, which recalls to the throne of France my august brother. I have not received from him the power to accept the Constitution, but I know his sentiments and principles, and I do not fear being disavowed when I assure you in his name he will admit the basis of it."

The French determined not to send over the Constitution to be presented to Louis XVIII. for his acceptance in this country, lest from his being resident at the court of one of the allied sovereigns it might be supposed he had accepted it under influence. This, they expressly declared, "they considered as due to his honor, as well as to their own independence—because they tendered him the crown upon conditions."

Louis XVIII. landed at Calais. By not obtaining his acceptance of their Constitution before they permitted him to set his foot on the soil of France, the French committed a great blunder.



When Louis XVIII. reached St. Ouen, he published a declaration on the 2d of May, setting forth that he had attentively read the "plan of the Constitution proposed by the Senate," but that a great many articles bore the appearance of precipitation.

In this declaration, and in the King's position, there was enough to alarm the vigilant. Under the protection of foreign bayonets, he reserved to himself the power of rejecting whatever he disliked.

Louis XVIII. found himself constituted king of France, in the palace of the Tuilleries, and was in no hurry to settle the affair of the Constitution; but the people clamored against the delay, and at length he issued a manifesto, which contains the following sentence—that "Resolved to adopt a liberal Constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together, on the 10th of June, the Senate and the Legislative body—we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken with a commission chosen out of these two bodies, and to give for the basis of that constitution the following guarantees."

On the 10th of June the Senate and the Legislative body met, and the people were swindled. By the Constitution they proposed to Louis XVIII. he had ascended the throne; as soon as he found himself upon it, he threw away the ladder—he rejected the principle of compact.

By the Constitution, Louis XVIII. would have acknowledged that the people had rights, and that in the exercise of those rights they had called him to the throne. This doctrine he had acquiesced in till he was safe in his seat. He then disclaimed their sovereignty by setting up his own. The only right he acknowledged was *Right Divine*, and, instead of ratifying the Constitution, he issued a patent—what he called a Charter, beginning—"Louis, by the *Grace of God*, King, &c.—Whereas *Divine Providence* in calling us, &c.—A Constitutional Charter was solicited—and we have, in the free exercise of our royal authority, agreed and consented to make concessions, and grant to our subjects, &c." In short, *Divine Right* was all in all, and over all. It pleased the King, "in the free exercise of his royal authority," to badge the people as his hereditary property—he gave them a Charter.

The people gradually became reconciled, for they could not help themselves; and Louis XVIII. maintained his position on the throne with considerable firmness. On any ministerial attempt at encroachment they referred to the articles of the Charter, which, though originating in a despotic principle, was, in its operation, a benefit.

Louis XVIII., on his death-bed, used to his successor Charles X. these memorable words, "Govern legally"—meaning, according to the Charter.

On Charles X. good advice was lost. In the hands of a host of priests and Jesuits he thought himself religious—he was only superstitious. In his conduct towards the people he seemed without a moral sense. The rights of kings, and the "mild" rule of his ancestors, were ever before him. His hallucination was without intervals. Nothing was to be yielded to the people; for nothing belonged to them—not even their patent rights under the Charter. To strengthen himself in the Chamber of Peers, he increased it by creations. To weaken the people, he invaded the elective franchise, and shackled the press.

In August, 1829, Charles X. dismissed M. Martignac's administration, because it would not go all lengths against the people, and appointed another, of ultra-royalists, under his natural son, Prince Polignac. A cabal of priests and court minions prevailed. The Charter was invaded: the journals resisted, and the ablest writers in behalf of constitutional rights were prosecuted. The press was to be subjected, and the people enslaved.

In March, 1830, the Chambers met, and the first act of the Deputies was an address, praying the King to dismiss his ministers. This, on account of its prayer, was called an "insolent" address. The King answered it haughtily, and dissolved the Chambers. Notwithstanding nefarious intrigues by the ministers to influence and control the elections, the majority of Deputies against the Ministers was evidently greater than before. The Charter had limited the period within which the sessions was to commence, and the Chambers were convoked for the 3d of August.

Polignac, a rash and infirm-minded man, and Peyronnet, a man as depraved in private as he is unprincipled in public life, were the leaders of the administration devoted to the king's designs. Every reflecting person in France knew it was impossible that the government of Charles X. could go on, unless he would "govern legally." He resolved to govern as he would.

About the middle of July, it was whispered that the court had determined to strike a blow, by licensing only what Journals it pleased, and putting the Press under a rigid censorship—by opening the Chamber of Deputies—with a selection only from the newly elected Deputies,—and by disfranchising a majority of the very small number of persons qualified, under the Charter, to be electors: this it was said would be effected by a stroke of the pen. The rumor died away under the assurances

of Polignac and Peyronnet, that no such measures were contemplated.

At this time Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was in Paris, and had intimation of what Charles X. and his ministers intended, from unquestionable authority. He went to Prince Polignac, and by strong representations and earnest entreaties endeavoured to dissuade him from his headstrong purposes. Polignac was inflexible. Mr. Fitzgerald then addressed himself to two or three private friends and political coadjutors of the minister; they concurred in Mr. Fitzgerald's views and hastened

in alarm to Polignac, but found him confident of success and deaf to argument. In the dead of night, within a few hours of the meeting at St. Cloud, which decided the fate of France, one of the ministers, unable to rest from anxiety and incertitude as to the event, arose from his bed, and disturbed Polignac, for the purpose of persuading him to abandon the meditated design:—the minister was determined to persist, and, from a feeling of honor, his baffled visitor shared the danger of the desperate deed.

### SUNDAY, JULY 25th, 1830.

Prince Polignac and his colleagues drew up and signed a Report on behalf of "legitimate power," addressed to the King. This formed the ground-work of three memorable ordinances which were signed to-day at St. Cloud by Charles X. and countersigned by his ministers.

The first ordinance abolished the freedom of the Press; the second dissolved the Chamber of newly-elected Deputies, before they formed a Chamber; the third abrogated the most important rights of the elective franchise. Copies of these memorable documents are subjoined.

#### REPORT OF THE MINISTERS TO THE KING.

"Sire,

"Your Ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honors them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

"The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends, but at a disadvantage, with the factious. Pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of the population. Alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

"An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence, labors to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. Skillful in turning to advantage all discontents, and exciting all hatreds, it fomented among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow every where the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the summits of society, begin to penetrate the depths of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved also that these masses would never move without danger, even to those who endeavoured to rouse them from repose.

"A multitude of facts, collected in the course of the electoral operations, confirm these data, and would offer us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the misfortune.

"Every where also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are in reality only the expression and the testimony of it.

"It must be acknowledged that these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty of the press. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be degrading what is evident, to refuse seeing in the journals the principal focus of a corruption the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

"Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened, and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the ill-understood

example of a neighbouring people, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so: the proof is decisive, and the question is now judged in the public mind.

"At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition.

"What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too sudden and too frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the administration the ameliorations of which they are susceptible. All the ministries since 1814, though formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same licence of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party, nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

"This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours, by constant, persevering, daily-repeated efforts, to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people, to create against it every where embarrassment and resistance.

"Its art consists not in substituting for a too easy submission of mind a prudent liberty of examination, but in reducing to a problem the most positive truths; not in exciting upon political questions frank and useful controversy, but in placing them in a false light, and solving them by sophisms.

"The press has thus excited confusion in the most upright minds,—has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it paves the way for anarchy in the state. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition,—that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely fictitious, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of readers, except mutilated and disfigured in the most odious

manner. A thick cloud raised by the journals conceals the truth, and in some manner intercepts the light between the Government and the people. The kings your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects: this is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your Majesty should enjoy.

"A licentiousness which has passed all bounds has, in fact, not respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the express will of the King or the words pronounced from the throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted; the others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries, or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the Royal power—the proclamation—was discredited by the public even before it was known by the electors.

"This is not all. The press tends to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty, and to invade the powers of the state. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the journals pursue with their insults and their outrages the members whose votes appeared to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of debate in that Chamber has sunk under the reiterated blows of the press.

"The conduct of the opposition journals in the most recent circumstances cannot be characterised in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an address derogatory to the prerogatives of the Throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is: and yet your Majesty repulsed the address as offensive; you had publicly planned the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this: on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

"But, of all the excesses of the press, the most serious perhaps remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendor on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the