

WHERE ARE WE IN FRANCE, IN JANUARY 1834.

PARIS, 1834.

WE ARE MARCHING RAPIDLY TOWARDS A RESTORATION.—Do not be startled—do not be incredulous—do not shake your head or raise your eyes, and imagine I am dealing in hyperboles. Do not imagine that I merely intend to say, that we are adopting the principles of the Restoration, or the policy of the Restoration—or the narrow-minded selfishness of the Restoration. No, no—I mean a great deal more than this—I do not speak of a *quasi* Legitimacy—or of a *quasi* Restoration to-day; but I speak of a *bona fide* restoration of the eldest branch of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France. Give me your attention—and listen to my facts.

In November 1829, I addressed my first letter to the *Morning Chronicle*. If I recollect right (and I have a tolerable memory,) I began my letter in these terms, "We are marching towards a Revolution!" The talented and eloquent Editor of the *Chronicle* admitted this letter—but accompanied it by his doubts. He was startled! The nervous proprietor would have given the world to have been able to find me out in my anonymous retreat (which ever since I have preserved,) in order to beg me to be less "decided" in my language and more measured in my predictions. Proprietors of papers are nervous from principle. But I wrote on—the Revolution came—and then O. P. Q. was a conjuror!! He was no such thing. His only merit was an acquaintance with human nature—an intimate knowledge of all that is passing in the heart of French society—and a resolution to tell plainly and broadly all he thought; all he saw, and all he apprehended. If the Revolution of 1830 had been conducted as it was commenced, we should have had, by this time, a French Republic. But the "Orleanists" laid hold on the Revolution—the "Doctrinaires" preyed on its vitals—the "Juste Milieu" sucked its life-blood; and now, in January 1834, we are marching, and that with extreme rapidity, towards a Restoration!

I shall not to-day occupy you with a "history of the Revolution of 1830." It has been written by Cabot—and written by Berard—but it will likewise be written by O. P. Q. Nor am I to-day about showing you how the conduct and measures of the Orleanists, Doctrinaires, and Juste Milieu, have tended to bring about the state of feeling which now exists. Those who have done me the honor to read, with any thing like attention, my correspondence with the *Chronicle* during the last four years, will know quite well, that I have told the people of Great Britain, and the people of France, that one of two consequences must result from the anti-national mode of the Government, and the accession of Casimir Perier, to office, either the old Monarchy would vanquish the Revolution and the Republic—or else the Republic would vanquish the old Monarchy and the Orleanists, Doctrinaires, and Juste Milieu. We have now arrived at the point when we can clearly foresee the end which is first, at least, before us, and when Henry the fifth has more partisans among the French people

(upon my word it is so) than the Throne of 1830!!!!

Before, however, I proceed to present you with some startling and some important truths—let me say one or two words as to the eventual destinies of France!! Let it be imagined by no one, be he Whig or Tory, be he Radical or Utilitarian, let it be imagined by none, that Henry the fifth is to be "the end of all Revolutions," and that France is to settle down under his "mild and benignant sway!!" and that the old French Monarchy is to be the result—final! and glorious!! of all the talents, eloquence, blood, treasures, sacrifices and sufferings, endured by this country for the last forty years. The end of the Catholic religion is to conduct its followers and faithful children to Paradise; but still this Paradise of the Romanist must be attained through Purgatory!! So the end of all these commotions in France, will be the triumph of a cheap and representative Government in the form of a NATIONAL REPUBLIC; but before we arrive at the goal we must pass through the jail, for we are all marching, and that with rapidity, TOWARDS A RESTORATION!!

Do you think my introduction long? It could not be much shorter. To explain clearly what we mean to demonstrate, is the best way of being fully understood. Those who are Carlists and Royalists will seize hold of my letter and read it with transport. I know this Poor fellows! let their joy be short. They will have their little day of life and gaiety, I admit—but France is essentially and irrevocably Republican. For a while these principles may be and will be kept in abeyance—but there they are, principles still—and one day, that which is now but a germ, or bud, will be a fruitful, luxuriant, and expansive tree.

WE ARE MARCHING RAPIDLY TOWARDS A RESTORATION! How do I prove this? Let us see: The readers of the *Spectator* are, I am told, an enlightened and classical portion of the community. I am glad of this, because they will at once understand my sketch, and fill up for themselves my rough outline. My facts are too numerous to admit of my dilating on them—and they are too irresistible to be met by a mere off-hand denial.

The eldest branch of the House of Bourbon is praised by the Ministers of Louis Philip—not merely in private (for all private circles, Guizot and Broglie, Humann and their partisans, speak of the eldest branch with devotion and awe, love and veneration)—but in public also—in the Chamber of Deputies—at the Tribune—in the Chamber of Peers—in written and prepared speeches before-hand—not delivered in the heat of the moment, but studiously arranged in the study or the boudoir, for the ears of the French Deputies! The Restoration is eulogized by Count Roy to a listening and applauding Peerage! as the most economical and well-regulated portion of French history. The Restoration is cited by M. Guizot as the period when Frenchmen enjoyed the greatest amount of true! and rational liberty!! I cite his words when I say this, and these words will not be easily forgotten. The Restoration is quoted by the Minister of Finance of Louis Philip as the basis or founda-

tion of all financial measures and financial regulations—and when any plan of the Doctrinaires is enforced by them in the Chambers as particularly worthy of attention and respect, it is said "this was done in the reign of Louis the Eighteenth"—and that is considered as a sure and certain passport.

This conduct of the Ministers of the Royalty of 1830, is necessarily followed by the deputies themselves. The pensions granted by the Restoration are preserved.—The orders and distinctions established by the Restoration are lauded and retained.—The old favourites of the Restoration are provided for. The ministers of the Restoration are appointed to any office they may "condescend" to accept. The ambassadors of the Restoration are now the Ambassadors of Louis Philip. The men of July are treated with disdain, insolence, and scoffing. The Berryers and Lamartines of the Chamber are listened to with profound silence and deep respect—while the Pages, Briquervills, the Lafittes, aye—aye—and the Lafayettees of the nation too, can barely obtain the right of speaking to uprarious bankers and enraged Doctrinaires. When, only a few days since, Berryer the Rivalist, declared that with the liberty of the Press, a Government in France was impossible, the Centres applauded, smiled approbation, chuckled with joy—and some even cried "Bravo" in the impetuosity of their delight. But when Lafayette arose a few days ago, to demand for the Polish wanderers an asylum, pity, and generosity—the majority laughed outright—and M. d'Argout, the ex-friend of Charles the tenth, made himself and his comrades right merry at the expense of those who had left the shores of the Vistula, rather than submit to the iron bondage of the Czar of the Arctic regions. And even yesterday—no farther back than yesterday—from fear, or from shame or from apprehension, proposed to the Chamber of Deputies to grant four pensions to the widows of Jourdan and Decaen, Daumesnil and Gerard—What did the Chamber do? Why, the pensions to the two former were granted—but those to the two latter were not. Soult, indeed supported them all—but this he did as a soldier, and not as a Minister. He took good care to make the distinction. But why were the pensions to the widows of Daumesnil and Gerard refused? I will tell you—Daumesnil as the Governor of the Château of Vincennes, had opposed the Restoration—had refused to give up the keys of the citadel to the Allied forces—had threatened to blow up the whole fortress, and with it the Faubourg of St. Antoine at Paris, rather than yield—and had remained during the Restoration separated from a family he hated, and from a dynasty he could not tolerate. This was enough to secure the rejection of the pension, and it was refused. The case of Gerard was yet more striking. I saw him on the WEDNESDAY, the second day in the great—yes, the truly great and truly memorable week of 1830—arrive in the Rue de la Paix on horseback—head the mob—put to route the soldiers of the line—attack them in the Place Vendôme, and compel them to yield their arms and even to join the people. I saw this—and multitudes saw it. This was a critical moment. Th-