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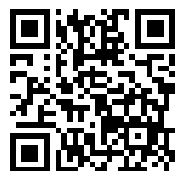
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1831



THE
G U E T - À P E N S
DIPLOMACY;
OR,
LORD PONSONBY AT BRUSSELS.

FROM THE FRENCH OF
THE ABBÉ VAN GEEL,
SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE OF AGRICULTURE OF SOUTHERN BRABANT,
AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL LEARNED SOCIETIES.

BY A PATRIOT,
DEVOTED TO HIS KING.



"When he speaketh fair, believe him not: for there are seven abominations
in his heart."—Prov. xxvi. 25.

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1831.

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P R E F A C E.

HAVING had the honour of an introduction to Baron de Krüdner, a Russian diplomatist, during his stay at Brussels, his Excellency, who soon became acquainted with my principles, and the sincerity of my intentions, thought it desirable that I should be in connexion with Lord Ponsonby, whom every one, at that time, supposed to be sincerely attached to the interests of the House of Nassau.

During several months I shared myself in this common error, and it is because I have been made the dupe of his Lordship, which many people are ready to testify, that having scarcely set foot on the true soil of liberty, I have deemed it necessary to publish the base intrigues which have been practised in Belgium, by the emissary, and at the same time brother-in-law, of Lord

Grey ; intrigues, by the aid of which, they have succeeded in causing Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg to be elected as King of Belgium, although it is perfectly true to state, that no one in Belgium wished for him.

The candid and true exposure of this abominable plot will, I trust, serve as a useful lesson to those people, whom at some future day, this same Machiavelismus might contemplate to ensnare in the same net.

THE AUTHOR.

THE HAGUE,
Oct. 1831.

THE
GUET-A PENS
DIPLOMACY.

PART I.

REAL STATE OF BELGIAN AFFAIRS.

It is in vain to search history for a precedent, that can be compared to the deplorable events, which for the last year have succeeded each other with such rapidity in Europe, without mentioning other parts of the globe, all more or less violently agitated.

In all ages we have seen popular insurrections, most of them foolish in their object, fatal in their results ; and it must be confessed, more especially directed against the authority of good princes. In all ages, and every where, dethronements have been decreed, abdications have been compelled, and every time force has established itself in the room of right.

But no where as yet have we seen the strong receive, with submission, the law from the feeble, and they who dispose of millions of battalions prostrate themselves trembling before a handful of adventurers, possessing no other weapon than their vaunting.

A century ago, an illustrious author (Voltaire) said, that if any one would undertake to compile a dictionary of human inconsistencies, he would subscribe for twenty volumes in folio. In our days, this number would appear insufficient, and diplomacy alone would claim the greater part exclusively for its own account.

The history of all ages abounds with instances of diplomatic deceptions and perfidies, and from that GUET-À PENS which decided the fate of Carthage, to the dark underhand dealings of Châtillon, it is just to state, that the annals of diplomacy are scarcely anything else than an immense repertory of snares and treason between potentate and potentate. Every where, and in all times, we have seen the strongest dictate the law to the weakest, and the latter balance the scale by ability or cunning: and every one on his side, direct his efforts, either to render success more beneficial, or to alleviate the consequences which accompany a defeat.

In our days, the deplorable conference of London has just opened to politics a career of aberrations, altogether new, which places diplomacy at the very opposite extreme of its real destination, by sanctioning principles diametrically opposed to those, which had served as the basis to those nego-

ciations of which history has transmitted to us the recollection. They, who had material power and just right on their side, spent a whole year in making concessions on every point, and, what is more, these were made to the prejudice even of those whom it was their province to defend : they, who had for them only the weakness which wrong confers, and the wrong which weakness confers, have spoken as masters, and have been humbly obeyed.

From this strange confusion of ideas, as well as of principles, has originated that general disorder, which successively, and in a few months, we have seen propagated in most parts of the European states, and even spread itself into Greece, into Asia, and on the vast continent of the new world.

The French revolution of 1830 had, from the moment of its origin, been placed by the cabinets in an exceptional situation : it being a necessary corollary of the revolution of 1789, Europe soon perceived that she could not but admit it, on pain of suffering all its consequences, as she had already suffered those of the former. Yet, it is but just to state, that if Europe had entertained a wish to combat it, she has, through awkwardness, let slip the opportunity, an opportunity perhaps unique, because it was almost certain of success. Far be it from us to uphold a new crusade against France, but Europe had full right, nay, more, it was her duty, to impose on France, in exchange for an acknowledgment, and which (whatever the gasconades of "*les hommes du mouvement*" may say,) she could not have refused, the solemn obligation of

circumscribing the results of her revolution within the limits of her own frontiers, and to unite both in will and deed, with the other powers, without excepting a single one, in maintaining the *statu quo* in Europe, and in consolidating the treaties.

Without that, and under any other system, the interest of all the potentates was opposed to the acknowledgment of the revolution of July ; and from the moment that this revolution threatened hostility to all, by affording protection to such people as were disposed to revolt, the only means left to them was to combat it, one and all.

The cabinet of the Palais Royal, we are inclined to believe, was, in the first instance, reluctantly compelled to commit this egregious error, at the time of the insurrection of the Belgian provinces, and whatever her efforts may be for the maintenance of peace, they are not likely to succeed, without involving herself in new and inextricable difficulties, much more serious than war itself.

It would be in vain to endeavour to discover this new philosopher's stone : one of the two following results is inevitable :—

Either the Belgian revolution will obtain a final sanction, and the new state will be acknowledged and admitted in the grand family of potentates, and in that case, all the kings of Europe may prepare to pack up, without even excepting Louis Philip himself, whom the revolutionary level will not spare any more than the other monarchs.

Or, the cabinet of the Palais Royal, in revert-

ing to the immutable principles of justice and reason, will join the other cabinets, for the purpose of replacing Belgium in the state into which anterior treaties had placed her; and in that case, the movement party, which already threatens the French government, and is striving to drag it to the verge of an abyss, will end by precipitating it into it, as it did, in 1830, the government of Charles X. The consequence will be war again for France, against a general coalition; for the repose and even the welfare of Europe require that the French nation do at last adopt a government of order and stability, and cease to be, with reference to all the other states, a constant burning volcano, ready to overflow with its desolating lava, alternately some country or other, keeping by this means all nations in a continual state of perplexity.

By adhering too closely to the directions of those sinistrous men, instigators of revolutions, and who, now-a-days, are styled the "*men of the movement*," because they dare not yet openly resume their ancient and true name of Jacobins, and put on the hideous "*bonnet-rouge*" of those profligates, who, in proclaiming the absurd dogma of the practical sovereignty of the people, have succeeded in systematizing permanent tumults, and in not establishing any thing else; it is by following the dictates of those men, that the French government have ultimately been reduced to the impotency of taking themselves an active part, as they ought to have done, in those great measures of public order, which are indispensable

for the purpose of replacing society in that state of equilibrium, so requisite to the common well-being of all the empires, which compose the great European family.

And, since France is so reduced, as to have no more than just enough of her colossal power to guarantee her own political situation, already half shattered, and threatened on all sides, let her cease her oppositions to the common efforts of all the powers; for a protracted opposition on her part, would draw upon her, sooner or later, a general coalition, infinitely better founded on this occasion, than were all the preceding coalitions, and of which, after all, she appears to have lost the recollection too soon.

It is nevertheless just to acknowledge, that France, in coveting Belgium, is doing at present no more than she has done for centuries past.

But what militates against all reason, what confutes all historical facts, is, the odious, and at the same time, senseless part, which England has been acting, since the insurrection of the Belgian provinces.

If the general interest of Europe requires, that an intermediate state should be established between France and Germany, in other words, between South and North,* this interest affects

* It has very recently been stated in the French Tribune, that the kingdom of the Netherlands had been *erected with views hostile to France*. This is an error: with as little reason Prussia might say, that that kingdom had been erected with an intention *hostile* towards her: the one would not be better founded than the other. The new kingdom was created in

principally the maritime powers, and consequently, England most of all.

To weaken Holland is to expose Hanover on the one side, while on the other it is to leave the Thames and the whole English shore in the Channel unprotected.

Napoleon, when engaged with the whole of Europe in the plains of Champagne, looked upon the preservation of Antwerp and Ostend as of much greater moment than all his other conquests, without even excepting Italy, and he preferred abdicating his throne rather than consent to desert them.

It was reserved for the present day, so fruitful in anomalies, to see the cabinet of St. James's renounce its own records, repudiate its long efforts and successes, abandon the fruit of so many wars, render sterile the sacrifice of eight hundred millions of money, and also that of the best blood of the three kingdoms.

When once the passions shall have cooled, when the triumph of truth shall have its ascendancy, the fatal ministry of Lord Grey will be ranked among the greatest calamities in history, which at any period have afflicted civilization.

Since the administration of Lord Grey, every thing has assumed a different aspect in the politics of England. One would say, that her interests are altered, as well as her geographical position,

order to establish a strong rampart, as a protection in the south against any invasion from the north, and as a protection in the north against any invasion from the south.

and that she has ceased to be the first maritime power in Europe. And such is the fondness which the leaders of the Jacobinical party entertain in favour of revolutionary doctrines, that every thing must be sacrificed to their triumph, every thing, the safety of empires, and even social order itself.

France has not seen, or would not see, that in favouring the Belgic revolt, she was involving herself in the most serious difficulties, by offering, on her own soil, an asylum to the dregs of the demagogue-party, which now agitate Europe, and thus gradually to all the revolutionists of the globe.

England has forgotten that Belgium once detached from the political system of which she has formed a part since 1815, became, in fact, and naturally an appendage to France, whatever might be her form of government, or the source from which she received her king.

In transferring from Claremont to a sham throne in Brussels, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, England has evidently calculated on conferring Belgium upon herself; a very serious error, which if she does not repair very soon, cannot fail of producing a general war. Let any unprejudiced mind reflect, and it will be easy to convince himself, that Belgium, constituted into an independent state, could no more be enabled to act on the defensive, than it could on the offensive, and the slightest knowledge of history, suffices to show the fallacy of that pretended guarantee, which the diplomatists of the conference have

thought fit to bestow upon her, by imposing on the new state a perpetual neutrality, which it is impossible to maintain.

Neutrality, already so difficult of preservation to the stronger powers, is a true chimera to the feeble and passive states. Forced satellites of the planets in whose orbits they revolve, they are, on the least collision, compelled to enter the system of either the one or the other of the belligerent parties. In persisting to act the part of an impracticable neutrality, a weak state, at last, presents itself as a field of battle, and endures all the calamities of war, without ultimately participating in any of its chances either of glory or of success.

And (not to go beyond the history of our own days) what became of Bavaria in 1805, when her circumscribed and narrow territory, between Austria and France, was, despite of herself, compelled to lend her fertile plains, to serve as a theatre of war to the first successes of the campaign, which Napoleon so gloriously terminated six weeks after at Austerlitz? What became, in 1813, of the neutrality, which Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony were anxious to preserve after the defeat at Leipzig? What became of the neutrality of the Swiss cantons, when the Prince of Schwartzemberg crossed the Rhine on the 1st of January, 1814, at the head of three hundred thousand allies? And in the present case, would any one seriously maintain, that an open country, like the two Flanders and Brabant, especially when all its fortresses, which are situated between

France, Prussia, and England, shall have been raised, could offer any opposition to a sort of hand-bill, called a "*protocol*," and by the power of a similar talisman, prevent two armies, of a hundred thousand each, from rushing upon each other, if, for that purpose, they were obliged to traverse a few miles of territory belonging to a state, which a diplomatic whim had with all possible gravity declared to be neutral? And where is then the protocol powerful enough, to extend neutrality so far as to influence the passions, whether they are supposed to be just or unjust, wise or foolish?

Is it to be believed that the Belgians, in case of a war between England or Prussia, for instance, against France, would hesitate one single moment in their revolutionary political condition, such as they have derived from the barricades, to favour one of these powers to the prejudice of the other?

In short, if it be true to say, that the neutrality of a weak state is a ridiculous guarantee, it is quite easy to perceive that the sovereignty of the people of Belgium, even though allotted to an English prince, is insufficient to restrain that country, insulated from all others, from the constant and direct influence of France in time of peace, and from her immediate action in case of war. All the treaties of the world will avail nothing against the natural order of things; and it is that which will ever tend to make insulated Belgium gravitate towards France, to whom she alone will constantly be the satellite, as soon as she shall have ceased to form part of a state which,

on account of its position, has, if not interests directly contrary, at least distinct from those of the great powers that surround her.

United to Holland, Belgium would in a given time have completely amalgamated with her, because she would have recovered, by that amalgamation, her ancient origin, and established a mutual nationality.

Detached, left to herself, Belgium, that great fragment of the European system, is no more than a political abortion : separated from England by the ocean, by her language, by her religion, and by the interests of industry, she will ever feel an antipathy towards her, and it will be utterly impossible for her to become English, and to be any thing else than French, while the events which are taking place in that country since Prince Leopold has governed it, furnish the most undeniable proofs of the fact.

Lord Grey has, therefore, committed an act truly base and iniquitous, entirely at the expense of England ; he has, above all, disregarded the interests of his country, by betraying the confidence of the most ancient, the most faithful ally of the British nation, and violated the sanctity of treaties, in favour of the rebellion of the Belgian people.

The restoration of the authority of the Nassaus over the Belgians becomes, therefore, one of the most imperious necessities of the social order in Europe. A long war, undertaken on the score of Belgium, would leave the question just where it was found ; and in trying any other expedient

whatever, the question remains the same, because from its nature it is insolvable; that country, under the influence or power of England, will tarnish the glory of France, and will ultimately spur on the latter to a war. Subjected to France, England will be roused to arms, and the whole of Europe will follow in her train. Belgium, transformed into an independent state, will never be any thing else than a nullity, or rather a political monstrosity, a real social impossibility, reduced to the necessity of seeking support from other of her neighbours, to whose laws she must submit, and on that account be exposed perpetually to the jealousy and rivalry of her opposite neighbours, and thereby compelled incessantly to keep within that vicious circle, beyond which she cannot depart, unless some grand convulsion of nature should suddenly assign to her a new latitude.

One single hypothesis, however, presents itself. Let the Belgians conquer Holland, Hanover, the Rhenish Provinces, or French Flanders; in other words, let them become a great people, a conquering people, and then will the barrier which the political equilibrium requires, be re-established, and Europe thereby satisfied. But neither the Belgians nor the Neapolitans feel any great inclination to take the road which leads to glory. Their vaunting, while the armistice lasted, terminated, at the first rencontre, into the most ignominious rout of which modern times have preserved the recollection, since the defeat of Mack and his eighty thousand Neapolitans in the plains of Umbria.

Since, then, the Belgians cannot become an independent nation, unless they become a warlike and conquering people, the supposition of which is of itself sufficiently ridiculous ; and, since their independence on its present footing, as it has sprung from the barricades, or rather from the protocols, is incompatible with the repose of Europe ; that, which does remain admissible, is the dismemberment and division of the Belgic provinces, an alternative, however, not quite so easy as one would think, without creating collision ; or, finally, the return to that admirable order of things, which in restoring to the Belgians a nationality, which had been their happiness during fifteen years, and which they had ceased to possess during two centuries and a half, would alone comply with all the conditions of order and peace, which the state of Europe imperiously demands.*

Thus England and France, who hitherto alone have opposed the return of the authority of the

* We allude here to the restoration of the authority of the Nassaus, but not to the same political organization ; for it is evident, that the Belgians, at least for a quarter of a century to come, and until the complete renewal of the present generation, cannot, without abusing it again, enjoy the liberty of a periodical press, the publicity of legislative sittings, in a word, the blessings of constitutional order and representative forms, such as they had been granted them by a fundamental law, which they have indignantly disavowed, and violently abused. What is more, Belgium cannot be tranquil, unless, for a number of years, a foreign army of occupation be established in it, either Prussian troops, or those of the confederation, or auxiliaries, which the King of the Netherlands should have in his pay.

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Nassaus in Belgium, have rendered themselves guilty of the crime of violating the most sacred ties of society ; for in the beautiful centre of Europe, they have placed a fire-brand of discord and endless war ; and what is worse, they have consummated the ruin of the Belgian people, by an act contrary to their well-understood, respective interests. France, in affording to the French Jacobins an asylum, where they will not fail of applying the lever, which is to serve them, provided they are not interfered with, to subvert all the thrones, without even excepting those which have sprung from the barricades : England, by placing Belgium under the inevitable influence of France, while the latter is only waiting for an opportunity to make an open conquest of her.

After having proved that Lord Grey has compromised the true interests of England, while at the same time he has made a daring attack on British honour, it will be necessary to unveil the insidious manœuvres, the secret and perfidious underhand dealings, by which the cabinet of St. James's concerted the deplorable event of the 4th of June, 1831, which accomplished the ruin of the Belgians. Most assuredly, and no one can be mistaken, that is the only and sole result, which the two cabinets intended to arrive at. But let Lord Grey, and the ill-fated men who compose his party, at least desist from adding irony and insult to cruelty : let them cease to qualify themselves as apostles, *par excellence*, of the happiness of the people, as the defenders of their rights, and let them at least have the candour or courage to

tear away their mask, and confess at last that egotism is their guide, and that their sole and only motive is interest.

That simpleton, Prince Leopold, who had the baseness to accept a throne from those who had no right to dispose of it, and to which he himself had not the shadow of a title, to the prejudice of the Prince of Orange, whom not long ago he shook cordially by the hand, protesting all the while, *that never would he reign over the Belgians, unless their legitimate king should abdicate his rights*; that phantom king, the object of universal ridicule in the two hemispheres, blind or deceived man, who (one would charitably hope, without his own knowledge) has been capable of becoming the odious minister of an insidious diplomacy, and the executioner of the definite and irreparable ruin of a whole people; let that Prince, we say, hasten to lay down a sceptre, which in his hand is no more than a miserable child's rattle, and a crown of thorns, which exposes him alternately to the ridicule and the execration, both equally merited, of his contemporaries and of posterity.

PART II.

MACHINATIONS OF LORD PONSONBY.

It is necessary briefly to state from the beginning, the different phases, through which the deplorable Belgium revolution went, in the space of a few months.

The first insurrection, as every one is now perfectly convinced, was without any character whatever. Plunder, devastation, and destruction by fire, shouts of vague and often contradictory vociferations; in fact, every one roaring out his own particular HURRAH! Only two days after, the leaders began to come forward, for the purpose of ordering the sovereign people to command and extort redress of grievances.*

* The summary of these *grievances* is indeed one of the most curious:—great cries had been raised against the tax on the grinding of wheat, which besides, the government of the King had abolished, and since the revolution, this tax has been almost every where re-established, by the new authorities:—they cried out against the use of the Dutch language, and since the revolution they are complaining not less bitterly, but with more reason, that the French language is imposed on the Flemings;—the King was accused of employing in preference Dutchmen, his own countrymen, and Belgium has placed foreigners every where at the head of her armies, and at the first branches of administration in the country:—they wanted unrestricted liberty of the press, and since the revolution they plunder, ravage, and assassinate the printers and writers, who dare to differ in opinion with those who have arrogated the power:—they cried out against the plurality of places, and now every one in Belgium engrosses all he can; one public officer alone is known to be in the pos-

A regency, entirely composed of unqualified men, instead of repressing with energy and celerity this first criminal manifestation, thought fit to encourage it by proclamations; from that moment, what was intended to happen, did happen: their demands increased, soon after *separation* was spoken of, but in the first instance their wish was expressed in the shape of a *purely administrative separation*;* thence to a political

session of six incomes, to the amount of twenty-four thousand guilders:—Heavy taxation formed another subject of their *grievances*, and taxation of every description has increased with the misery of the people;—a cry was raised against the monopoly of public instruction, and in a few months it has now entirely fallen into the hands of the clergy:—The ridiculous petitioning, evidently seditious, and contrary to the formal text, and to the spirit of the fundamental law, presenting thousands of signatures from cobblers, stable-boys, milkmaids, and bar-women, were tolerated under the government of the King, with an unexampled forbearance. Now, threats of burning and assassination have imposed silence on the flower of the nation, when they wished to petition for the Prince of Orange, and for obtaining from the congress the revocation of its decree of the exclusion of the Nassau family. It is chiefly owing to an article drawn up to that effect, that the printing-house of the “*Vrai Patriote*” was given up to plunder:—in one word, the *grievances*, chimerical as they were under the government of the King, have assumed but too much reality, since the *glorious* revolution. One would fancy they have sprung, armed all over, from under the barricades, which were raised under pretext of obtaining their redress, when, in fact, not one of these grievances were well founded.

* In the breast of every honest man, an irresistible feeling of indignation will be raised, in following in its progress the perfidious march of the leaders of the revolt.

An administrative separation was called for, and they made it appear that this would satisfy them.

separation ; to complete independence, the transition was short, and the declivity rapid. Unless prompt, severe, and coercive measures were put in practice, it was no longer possible to make a stand, nor did they make a stand. Men, who had derived their authority from the mire of the barricades, convoked a pretended *congress*, and in its sittings of Nov. 24th, 1830, that illegal and illegitimate assembly decreed the expulsion of the Nassaus.

It was then, that difficulties of a new kind arose for Belgium. It has become the fashion now-a-days, to commence by upsetting every thing ; by destroying all, without considering what can be

The King, on his part, breathing nothing but good faith, which is his own peculiar good quality, immediately convoked, at the Hague, an extraordinary legislative session, with the view of submitting this important question to their consideration ; and he opened it, personally, on Monday the 30th Sept. 1830. His speech was full of dignity and candour.

Instead of waiting for the deliberations of the States-General on this important matter, the chiefs of the rebellion continued in Brussels to organize and enlarge the basis of the revolt, in concert with the wretches who were seated in the second chamber, and in order that nothing might be wanting to their base treason, were by no means sparing in protestations of attachment and fidelity to the person of the monarch, and to the maintenance of his dynasty.

The extraordinary sitting was hardly closed, when all these faithful deputies returned into Belgium, to usurp the first places under the government of the rebels, and to consolidate the rebellion. Europe has known, for a year, the value of the oaths of the de Stassarts, de Celles, Brouckeres, Meulenares, Vilains XIV, Robianos, Barthelemys, d'Aerschots, Surlet de Chokiers, and many more perjurers of their kind.

put in the place of what is to be annihilated. That is exactly what happened to the Belgians. The expulsion of the Nassaus was no sooner pronounced, than every one found himself insulated, carrying on his shoulders a pretended nationality, without even being able to divine, what would become of the nation itself, how Europe would contemplate this new state, what the country would be able to effect for its own existence: Belgium, from that moment, beheld itself, as suspended in the air, at the mercy of winds and tempests.

De Potter, aided by the small number of his satellites, sprung from the scum of the demagogue party, strove to establish a republican government, of which *Demophilus* * coveted the presidency. That compound of intrigues, that man of base alloy, that pedantic compiler, yet destitute of genuine information; egotistical, ambitious, cruel, but without energy, and devoid of courage; possessing none of those qualities, (either good or bad,) which are so indispensable for a chief of rebellion, de Potter visited the ale-houses, the highways, and the public places, shaking hands, right and left, with the populace, and offering, very parsimoniously, here and there, a pinch of snuff—but nothing beyond this. The factious popularity which, at great expense, the union journals, for which he wrote himself, had raised for him, vanished therefore in a few weeks, even as an edifice of snow would disappear at the first rays of

* It is to be recollected, that this is the name which he had assumed.

the sun : and this very same de Potter, who, in violation of his banishment, had been received in triumph at Brussels, on the 28th of September, 1830, was very near being hanged on a lamp-post at the end of March, 1831, by the same men who had taken the horses from his carriage, and perhaps by the same tri-coloured cords which had served to drag him.*

If the republican form had found few partisans, and those only among the most disgraced, the multiplicity of expedients or combinations augmented from day to day. The good, honest, reasonable men, the genuine friends of *possible* liberty, that is to say, of that liberty, which depends on order, on the maintenance of the laws, and on the faith of oaths, those men aspired only to the re-establishment of the old order of things, or at least to the elevation of the Prince of Orange as Vice-Roy,

* It was for the most part butchers' boys who took upon themselves the ovation of September, as they did afterwards the terrible palinody of the month of March, and who, after having, as it were, smothered de Potter, under the weight of brotherly hugs and embracings, with their hideous faces, besmeared with blood, mud, and alembic,* had six months afterwards trained against him and his adherents, enormous bull dogs, ready to tear them to pieces. Professor Le Broussart, who was at the public house "La Bergere," where the club of de Potter held its sittings, and who undertook to harangue the people, was scoffed at, vilified, hooted, beaten, and became the butt of the outrages of the multitude. They pulled his hat over his ears : in that woeful state not being able to see before him, he endeavoured to effect his escape, by groping along in the dark ; and he was exposed to a long serenade of groanings, invectives, and imprecations ; and in that scene, which lasted a long while, his life was placed in imminent danger. Somebody had pity upon him, and dragged him out of it, at his own risk and peril.

* A kind of strong beer.

under the same sceptre, and with a purely administrative separation.

Unfortunately, not a single man of talent and energy appeared, who was bold enough to take upon himself the guidance of that party; boldness was displayed by the revolutionists only, because having nothing to lose in fortune, and still less in estimation, they shrunk not at the thought of any crime, and spread terror among the inert and peaceable classes of citizens, who were supine enough to sigh in silence, and tremble.

Some of these men, less perverse than others, after having co-operated to effect the revolution, tried, at a later date, to undo it, as soon as they perceived that they would not reap from it what they had expected, or because there was little chance for them to remain in possession of those places upon which they had seated themselves. But as the true friends of the Nassaus were too thoroughly acquainted with these individuals to grant them the smallest confidence, these counter-revolutionary attempts remained unsupported, unchecked, consequently without effect.

On their side the partizans of nationality and independence set off in every direction in search of a king. All the bloodhounds of the Belgic revolution were let loose in different directions of Europe; every one, individually, began to sniff about all the anti-chambers, and scratch at the door of every cabinet. There is not a conceivable extravagance which did not meet its immediate advocates and supporters.* Some proposed an

* It is generally known that Tielemaus, no doubt, for the purpose of perpetuating anarchy in Belgium, had proposed, by

indigenous king, others preferred an exotic one: Prince Eugene's son, the son of the King of Bavaria, a Neapolitan prince, a French prince, the Duke of Reichstadt, Prince Salm Salm, Count Merode, General Fabvier, the too celebrated Lafayette, the Archbishop of Malines, the Pope, and twenty others besides, all were candidates in turns; and, in truth, it is astonishing, that no one ever thought of the Dey of Algiers, the only one, perhaps, who, could he have reigned over the Belgians with his nuncupative forms as imported from Africa, would have had the power of subduing the anarchy, which exclusively reigned in Belgium, and of putting down all parties with a rod of iron, the effectual remedy for so many evils; for there is no other capable of re-establishing order among turbulent masses, from the moment they have torn asunder all social ties, and destroyed the power of the laws.

All these ephemeral candidateships were in reality no more than feints. The only serious concurrence was between the pretensions of England and those of France: the party of the latter was divided into two combinations; the one desired pure and simple union: the other, attached to nationality, without caring whether that nationality was practicable, desired a king from the Orleans' family.

The secret plots of France were of old standing

way of trial, to alternate for a certain number of years, the republican form and the monarchical government. Good Heavens! and it is to mad-brained men of this description that Belgium has been surrendered for fourteen months!!!

in Belgium, where every party had taken care to provide agents, and foster the seeds of dissension, each with the view of exclusive benefit.

One of the oldest instruments of France was that Marquis of Lawoestine, who, under the exterior of a *quasi-refugé*, had for many years resided in Brussels, and who, by intruding himself everywhere, had at last awakened proper suspicions in the minds of the honest men of all parties.

This is the same personage who re-appeared at Brussels in January, in a diplomatic character, as suspicious at least as had formerly been his person, when it was disguised in the cloak of ostracism, and who, from every appearance, may most likely have been no other than one of those ambassadors of police, the existence of whom M. Mauguin has revealed to Europe, during the stormy debates of the 21st and 22nd of September last, in the Chamber of Deputies.*

The illusions of every description having vanished in proportion as events unfolded themselves, it is reasonable to believe that the candidship, and even the election of the Duke of Nemours to the throne of Belgium, was nothing less than a deception, concerted long beforehand by Lord Grey's deceitful diplomacy, with a view of fastening upon the country the Saxe-Coburg combination, which Lord Ponsonby would be

* It is likewise that same Marquis de Lawoestine, who commanded a brigade of cavalry in the French army, when in the month of August last, France, in virtue of her principle of *non-intervention*, took upon herself to *interfere* in a purely domestic matter, which she had not the slightest right to do.

authorized to offer to it as its only sheet-anchor, as the only means of rescuing those who stood in awe of the restoration, and of escaping anarchy, so much dreaded by those who did not live upon plunder; for there is no doubt anarchy would in the first instance have occasioned an invasion into Belgium, and ultimately, from every appearance, the dismemberment of its provinces.

On his arrival at Brussels, Lord Ponsonby placed himself at the head of the principal parties, and showed himself the friend, the protector of all. The object of these tactics was to gain the confidence of the leaders of these very parties, and very soon did he perceive, with what facility he might make them as many dupes as accomplices, according to his own views, and for the success of the disgraceful intrigue which Lord Grey, his brother-in-law, had deputed him to carry on.

It is easily seen how much this old diplomatist of revolutions, initiated so many years in the arts of his dark trade, must have been amused in seeing such a cloud of jackdaws, who, just from school, having made themselves diplomatists, had, nevertheless, sufficient pretensions to think of leading his Lordship by the nose.

We must recollect, that the candidateship of Prince Leopold had been, among many others, hinted at obliquely, and for the purpose of feeling his way, and shortly after the expulsion of the Nassaus pronounced by the Congress; but at that time nothing was ripe for the success of the

intrigue, and immediately they pretended to abandon it with apparent good grace.

Lord Ponsonby, surrounded, as it has just been shown, by the chiefs of all parties, took care to flatter them all individually, to admit them to his pretended *confidences*, of which, as may be supposed, these poor novices showed themselves not less flattered than proud.

Every time when the cunning diplomatist was questioned on the several combinations, which he considered the most favourable to the interests of Belgium, and, above all, when they muttered the name of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, his Lordship evaded an explanation, or when too closely pressed, it was the Prince of Orange he placed on the foreground with a sort of determination, the perfidy of which it has been difficult to fathom, until it was too late to guard against it. The Congress, which on its part had likewise its infatuation, and wanted, *per fas et nefas*, to maintain the expulsion, was wandering in the dark from one candidate to another, in the foolish hope of succeeding in an election, which would, at the same time, satisfy the exigencies of the parties, and the conditions imposed by the conference.

Strange mystification, of which it would be useless to search for another instance in history! After having taken the precaution of protesting and repeating every moment, till it made one sick, that what he said, had nothing official in it, that it was no more than the pure and simple expres-

sion of his individual opinions ; and after having a thousand times over and over repeated, that Congress was perfectly at liberty in its own choice, Lord Ponsonby insinuated confidently at every new candidateship, that, according to his opinion, it would become an insurmountable obstacle to the acknowledgment of Belgium by the cabinets of Europe.

It is thus that this individual, who in some measure might be styled the hack of the Conference, contrived to obtain his object by sheer exclusion ; and this negative form of proceedings did not fail of creating dupes : there still were some people to be found whose blindness occasioned the most extraordinary illusion, and they fancied they perceived in such language a sort of respect on the part of the European potentates for the choice, whatever it might be, of the majority in Congress. In truth, some of the ministers, and the members of the old opposition, were but little satisfied with the noble Lord's proceedings ; while those who had usurped all the places, and principally the leaders of those conventicles of delirium and blood, yclept *patriotic clubs*, redoubled their fury for the purpose of instigating the populace more and more to maintain the expulsion of the Nassaus.

But all this only tended to increase the difficulties of every one. These difficulties were shared by the conference itself, which, like Don Quixote, had committed the folly of taking windmills for giants, and the insolent pratings of a parcel of refractory school-boys for the thundering voice of

a mighty Briareus, with his hundred threatening arms. The conference is the cause of all the evil : by its meanness, by its pitiful concessions, by its interminable delays, it has succeeded in displacing power, and disavowing at the same time right and justice.

In that august Areopagus of tremblers, some were afraid of France, and, France on her part, was afraid of irritating her jacobins of the interior ; she was afraid of admitting a restoration with her neighbours, above all she had a deadly fear of war, having at that time no means to support one ; and, that she might instil the same fright into others, which had seized her, she adopted (what, after all, did not cost her any thing) the plan, of holding forth such proud and threatening language as appeared to her a means of ensuring success : indeed she did succeed, because she had to deal with a wavering and cowardly diplomacy, which through endless babbling lost the most precious time for acting.

The movement party who bore sway at that time in France, mounted on their stilts, and, roused with the recollections of past glory, began to proclaim, as it were through a trumpet, the principle of *non-intervention*. If, as a plain answer, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had simultaneously advanced each two hundred thousand men (and in October, 1830, they all could have done it with ease, as Lord Grey's ministry was then not in existence) Poland would not have stirred, Switzerland and Italy would have remained tranquil, Belgium might have been subjugated in the twinkling of an

eye, and France would, as she ought to have done, have confined herself to her own affairs, every one would have been a gainer by it, and Louis-Philip himself the greatest.

Now, let us revert to Lord Ponsonby; that artful negociator took care to establish a distinction, which in his opinion was decisive, between the royalty of the Prince of Orange, *without the consent of the king his father*, and the pure and simple restoration of the authority of the latter, from which, as he pretended, all the evils of a civil war would spring. In the opinion of his Lordship, the cabinet of the Palais-Royal would never have suffered the *scandal of a perfect restoration*, at the very threshold of France; but his Lordship seemed to insinuate, that he would not be opposed to the formation of a new state, the crown of which would have been conferred on the Prince of Orange.

Through the inextricable amphibology of the British diplomatist, and the circumventions of his Pythonissian language, they who are in the habit of reflecting, conceived very well, that the Prince of Orange was not what Lord Grey and his brother-in-law wanted. Besides to offer the Prince to the Belgians as a sort of *pis-aller*, was not the proper way of making him really acceptable to those who wanted something else. It was therefore only by increasing the difficulties of every one, that Lord Ponsonby could attain his object, and for that purpose he was again obliged to have recourse to dilatory means.

The French party was at that period the only one, that had any influence in Belgium: all that

remained to be settled was to bring to an understanding those who wished for a King from the house of Orleans, and those who were inclined towards a plain and simple union with France : the amalgamation of these two parties was not difficult : if it had taken place previous to the Perier ministry, the re-union would have followed, and this would not a little have embarrassed the French government, which was far from finding itself in a state of sustaining a necessarily inevitable war, if Belgium in either of the hypotheses had ultimately fallen under the dominion of France : at the same time Lord Ponsonby failed not to repeat constantly aloud, that England, rather than submit to it, would sacrifice her last guinea.

The expedient of the Prince of Orange, such as it was represented by the British negociator, that is to say, deprived of the consent of his father, and in opposition to all the interests of Holland, could in no manner satisfy the real wants of the Belgians, neither could it conciliate all their interests. Therefore Lord Ponsonby, who was perfectly aware of it, insisted on its adoption, making use, alternately, of the mildest and of the most threatening language, repeating incessantly to the Belgians, that if they did not behave properly, the armies of the five powers would take care to set them to rights, and, by the bye, that is what they ought to have done long before, no matter with or without the consent of France. The Austrians have had the good sense to do without it at Bologna ; by that vigorous act they

have saved Italy from the most bloody catastrophies.

However, the Congress, in which one hundred and forty members were seated, who had invaded and usurped the best offices of the State, would by no means revoke that fatal and absurd exclusion of the Nassau family, pronounced, as we have said before, in their sitting of the 24th of November, 1830.

Baron Krüdner, a Russian diplomatist, being in England, had been sent to Brussels by the London Conference, with the view of collecting correct information, by which they might ultimately be guided in a positive manner, as to the subject of the Belgic insurrection.

Hardly had Baron Krüdner arrived at Brussels, than he found himself assailed with unanimous solicitations in favour of the restoration of the king's government, excepting the administrative and judicial administration, which only a few individuals appeared to desire in preference.

Such unanimous wishes, expressed by the most distinguished classes of agriculture, commerce, and industry of the Belgian people, induced Baron Krüdner to advise the chiefs of the Orangist party to address their petitions to the Conference in London, which appeared to be an efficacious way of paralyzing the efforts which were incessantly brought into action by the leaders of the club, of that true resort of brigands, whence, without intermission, was vomited forth language worthy only of its origin, execrable imprecations against the king and the royal

family, and where calumnies not less atrocious than disgusting respecting them, were hatched.

Baron Krüdner was perfectly sincere. The signatures to these petitions, and their immediate dispatch to London, became the more urgent, as Prince Talleyrand, with a view of preventing a restoration in Belgium, affirmed, most solemnly, to the plenipotentiaries of the Conference, that the Nassau dynasty had no longer any adherents in Belgium, and it was highly important to prove, without loss of time, and in a peremptory manner, that the contrary was the fact.

It was not without incurring great danger that petitions were signed in favour, either of the King or of the Prince of Orange, for it only wanted a false friend, or an imprudent man, to expose whoever had his signature affixed to it, for his being marked out to the fury of the mob, who were in the pay of the clubs; and it is well known that assassination, burning, devastation, and plunder, infallibly awaited those who had incurred their terrible vengeance.

Nevertheless, a great number of petitions were filled with signatures; some were brought to London by the petitioners themselves. Unfortunately, others containing at least FIFTEEN HUNDRED of the most respectable signatures, were entrusted to Lord Ponsonby, that he might transmit them to the Conference. One may judge of the surprise and indignation of the petitioners, when they ascertained the fact that the Conference never had received any of these petitions.

Such a perfidy is, by itself, sufficient to characterize Lord Ponsonby, and to deliver up, for the future, his name to the indignation of Europe, especially to that of the Belgian people, and not less to the highly-merited contempt of the British nation, that such unworthy conduct should form a precedent for any man of honour.

Let Lord Ponsonby reply if he dare : let him give an account of the use he has made of the petitions which have been entrusted to him.

The adherents of the House of Orange had agreed to excite some partial counter-revolutionary movements, with the double view of gradually trying their strength, while they were harassing the masses, and to give by these means, openly, publicly, and undeniably, the lie to the falsehoods, for which Prince Talleyrand was striving to obtain credit in the minds of the plenipotentiaries united with him in conference in London.

Whenever some project for a movement was formed, it was communicated to Lord Ponsonby, and it may be said, that he gave it, at least, his tacit assent. But no sooner were the plots conceived than they were defeated. Nevertheless, no one had as yet suspected whence the denouncement came.

Lord Ponsonby, to whom the heads of all parties had access, those devoted to France, as well as the republicans, and the leaders of the clubs, and who cheated and cajoled them all at the same time, never failed giving warning, when the friends of the Nassaus were preparing some Orangist movement.

In order to render his want of faith, and his mystifications the more galling, the British diplomatist took care to insinuate that Baron D'Hoogverst, and the Regent himself, should second the efforts of the Orangists, and it is now but too generally ascertained, that far from it, the one and the other have constantly sanctioned the plunderings, of which, it is notorious, they were previously informed, if even they had not themselves formally commanded them.*

But the discovery of the plot of General Nypels, which a great number of officers of the old army were ready to join, rendered it more

* Every one has seen in Brussels with inexpressible disgust, that *Simon*, as he was called, keeper of the most infamous brothels in the "Rue d'Argent," acquire a notorious and an openly and publicly avowed importance, and direct in the city a counter police, by order of the Regent, Surlet de Chokier: now, this Simon had had many conferences with that very same Regent in the morning of the day when the club ordered the house of Mr. Mathien, treasurer of the bank, to be plundered.

It is no longer a secret to any one in Belgium, that all the plunder and sacking, without even excepting that of the 25th of August, the day of the explosion, were directed by the editors of the Unionist Journals, or by other chiefs of the revolt, whom the populace blindly obeyed. Sometimes the orders were communicated by means of a whistle, particularly at the time when the presses of the journal "Le vrai Patriote" were destroyed, by the command of Ducpétiaux, Leval, and Faignaux. Were we not afraid of committing an act of indiscretion, which might have fatal consequences, we would name an inhabitant of Brussels, who, having succeeded in discovering the signal of the chiefs, and having given it after their retreat, saw them return in full speed towards the places they had just left, after their order to plunder and sack every thing from top to bottom had been most punctually executed.

evident. All was as yet suspicion, which alternately rested on his Lordship and on his secretary, Mr. White, who possessed his entire confidence.

Indeed, some days previous to the one fixed upon for the execution of the projects of the Orangist movements, which have just been mentioned, the so called patriotic associations received considerable reinforcements, and were even multiplied, recruiting themselves from all the notorious scoundrels, national as well as foreign, by whose presence the Belgian soil was defiled. At the same time the Regent sent General Le Hardi de Beaulieu to Antwerp, with an order to arrest General Van der Smissen, who, as well as General Nypels, had been accused of the intention of marching on the appointed day on Brussels, to overthrow the government, which had sprung from the rebellion.

In consequence numerous arrests took place, simultaneously at various places. Terror seized people's minds; every one beheld a traitor in him, whom the evening before he considered his friend. Congress became a prey to the most terrible anxiety. The people shared its agitation, and, unable to support any longer the state of suspense of a provisional government, went so far as to threaten that same Congress with a violent dissolution. That state of perplexity had given birth to fermentation, and at last it was openly announced in coffee-houses and public places, that the restoration of the ancient order of things, or at least the elevation to the throne of the

Prince of Orange, were alone capable of putting an end to the evils of the country.

The jacobins, and the partisans of the re-union with France, considering all the danger of their position, had, for the purpose of inspiring terror, recourse to their usual resources. Proscription-lists were made out every where, and the leaders of the clubs, those brigand chiefs covered with iniquities, ordained that in the principal towns of the different provinces, the houses and manufactories of the richest inhabitants, distinguished as Orangists, should coolly be given up to plunder.* Lord Ponsonby being in the secret, took, it must be confessed, the precaution to send warning to some of his friends. All who had not as yet abjured every feeling of morality, justice, humanity, and honour, were struck with amazement. No one had courage to utter a word. Friends met in the streets without speaking, without hardly daring to look at each other, and that "*liberty in all and for all*," with which the revolutionists had endowed their unfortunate country, was only to be compared to the liberty, which the slaves in the East enjoy, or the unfortunate negroes at the sight of the merciless whip, with which an execrable planter delights to tear their flesh.

Some high-minded men, however, were bold enough not to suffer their courage to sink, and no sacrifice was too great for them in endeavouring

* It is that which the journals, devoted to the clubs, impudently called "*the necessity of a demonstration of the national will, in order to temper anew the public mind.*"

to raise that of many others, by printing during night-time, in garrets and cellars, placards which were slipped under the doors, posted up at the corners of the streets, which, in a word, they strove to multiply and propagate by all imaginable means. Some Orangist journals had the courage to re-appear, although their printing-offices were threatened with destruction, and the editors with death. But the means were disproportioned, the respectable party could not resolve to make use of weapons so familiar in the hands of brigands, the torch and the poignard. Force, therefore, remained with the horde of villains, who, after having effected the revolution, had remained absolute masters of it. The clergy then suffered all to go on without showing themselves, laughing in their sleeves with a Tartuffian smile, certain that at some day they would reap the benefit of all these crimes, without participating in the odious imputation of having tacitly fomented them.

Lord Ponsonby, embracing the opportunity of these scenes of anarchy, had insensibly withdrawn himself from the political horizon. These are, after all, the constant tactics of the principal leaders in all similar intrigues, of which the people become the dupes.

But the Prince of Orange had left London, where he had spent some months.

Suddenly Lord Ponsonby laid hold of that circumstance, of which he was informed by an *extraordinary courier*, for the purpose of re-appearing unexpectedly on the theatre of intrigues. Here every thing begins to develope itself.

"The Prince of Orange," he says, "has just
 "committed an act of imprudence, which will for-
 "ever ruin him, and henceforth deprive him of every
 "chance of reigning in Belgium. His unforeseen
 "return to the Hague, where he has thrown him-
 "self into the arms of his father, who has kindly
 "received him, evidently proves, that father and
 "son perfectly agree, and that they have never
 "been upon bad terms, as the Belgians had fancied.
 "Therefore the partisans of the House of Nassau
 "must for ever give up all hope, for, if King Wil-
 "liam should take it into his head to denounce the
 "armistice, and to re-assume hostilities, there is
 "not a shadow of a doubt but the armies of the five
 "powers would oppose it, the same if the Belgians
 "on their part, were to cross their limits, those
 "same powers would compel them to return. I
 "see how this incident renders the situation of the
 "too unfortunate Belgians the more complicate,
 "and how much it may increase their difficulties;
 "but from this moment it is an evil without re-
 "medy, and you can only impute it to the Prince
 "of Orange."*

The silence of stupefaction was the only answer
 which Lord Ponsonby at first obtained; it was
 likewise the only possible one, for it was as yet
 but bare suspicion which had been raised on his

* This passage in inverted commas, is the faithful summary of
 the identical words, spoken by Lord Ponsonby, to the author
 himself, and to other persons besides, with whom he visited his
 lordship on terms of intimacy, and who, in case of need, will
 come forward to swear to it. Let Lord Ponsonby, if he be bold
 enough, venture to deny it.

account, so much repugnance was felt by every one, to suppose that a man, invested with his mission and character, would be capable of plotting a machination, nay, we will say the word, a *guet à pens*, of such a nature.

The Prince of Orange perceived too late how far he had been the dupe, while in London, of the perfidy of Lord Grey, that Lafayette of England, just as his adherents were in Belgium, of the base machinations of Lord Ponsonby.

When consternation does not change into despair, it leaves man in an admirable disposition for becoming a prey to all the illusions with which one may attempt to amuse him. Lord Ponsonby knew this; that man knew every thing, absolutely every thing, that a crafty man ought to know for the purpose of deceiving with success.

What is to be done, was asked by every one, and what will become of us? No people whatever can exist long, if at every step, the gulf of anarchy is opened, while the sword of Damocles remains suspended over its head. An end must be put to it, a choice must be made. But merely because every one was bringing forward his own particular utopia, all fell back in the common uncertainty, which, as it was prolonged, became from day to day the more insupportable. Discouragement had attained its summit among all classes of citizens.

The mob themselves began, on their part, to perceive, that they could not always, and that even they could not for any length of time, continue to live by plunder, and that when the actual pos-

sessors should be ruined, and all the workshops and manufactories given up to destruction, those whose destruction had thus been completed, could not have recourse to the honourable resource of labour, nor even to the criminal refuge of pillage.

Lord Ponsonby was watching with impatience that decisive moment, prepared by himself and his tools, when the Belgians would find themselves reduced to that extremity; it was there he awaited them, to strike the *coup de grace*.

It was then, indeed, in the midst of the general consternation, that all on a sudden he darted forth the name of Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, in the same way as incendiary projectiles are thrown into those besieged places, which have already given up all hope of salvation, even the very last resource, that of illusions. It is the plank held out to those who are unfortunately shipwrecked, it is the drastic remedy, which, in having recourse to it, often precedes the agony, or announces the approach of death; it is the dreadful amputation which is offered, as the only resource to the patient, whose last hour is at hand, and whose only perspective is the grave.

Every one beheld Belgium delivered up to the horrors of a civil war, transformed into a field of battle, bent under the yoke of Europe in arms, and as a last analysis, divided, as was the case heretofore, for far less motives, with the kingdom of Poland, and the Belgian name for ever struck from the list of nations.

In addition to all his artifices, the deceitful

Ponsonby took care to envelope this new candidness in so many dubitable formulas, that the refusal of Prince Leopold, appeared, as it were, infallible; and that species of diplomatic coquetry, if one may be allowed the expression, was for the double purpose of quieting the fiercest antagonists of so unexpected a combination, and at the same time rendering its success, as it were, desirable in the eyes of those who, at the end of a new check, fancied they saw the reign of terror established, scaffolds erected in the market-places, sedition in the streets, and anarchy among all the classes of the nation.*

Lord Ponsonby, who most admirably considered the horrors of such a situation—a situation which, it must be acknowledged, he had himself created with a detestable ability, did not fail to promise to the most credulous and timid, all his co-operation, to induce the Prince of Saxe-Coburg to accept the crown, if it were proffered to him by the majority of congress.

Then came the most pompous panegyric of the virtues of the prince, as a public and private character, followed by the enumeration of the endless sacrifices of all kinds he would be forced to make, in order to determine, whether he would reign over such a turbulent people as the Belgians, and over

* De Potter, who, after losing all power, was endeavouring to reconcile an old dispute he had with the author of this pamphlet, has repeated to him more than once, in a tone of the most atrocious indifference, that *twenty or thirty heads ought to have fallen*, and that then a republic would have been established.

a country given up, for such a length of time, to the most complete state of disorganization.

How great must have been the surprise of Englishmen residing in Brussels, when all at once they were informed, that a prince, who in England had always been considered as an insignificant being, as a cypher, and nothing more, only known by the most sordid avarice, and by his frivolous fancies for perfumeries and other futilities of the toilet, found himself, as it were, instantaneously, and as by miracle, gifted with the magnanimous soul of Trajan, with the indomitable courage of the god Mars, and with the infinite wisdom of Solomon.

Alas! all eyes were, as if by magic, simultaneously opened, but it was too late! The ruin of the Belgians, the destruction of their industry, the progress of which had awakened the anxiety of Birmingham, of Manchester, and of the other manufacturing districts of England, that since long meditated ruin, was now irrevocably resolved upon by Lord Grey, by that minister who is represented as so eminently *liberal*, but whose liberalism has had the effect of throwing into distress and despair a whole people, heretofore the happiest of all the nations in Europe.

The mask once taken off, and Lord Ponsonby, now the object of universal execration, began, setting all modesty aside, to proclaim aloud this new candidate for the throne of Belgium.

His Lordship, seconded in his machinations by his two satellites, White and Abercromby, made

no longer any mystery of the will of the British cabinet.

Splendid feasts, reciprocally given and received, very soon established between himself, the Regent, and the Belgian ministers, an intimacy which was not the least among the numerous insults disgustingly offered, since the revolution of Brussels, to the honest classes.

The son of a poor second-hand bookseller, over head and ears in debt, a trader without credit, a bookseller without books, a lawyer without briefs, unknown to all the world, Lebeau of Liege, sprung from under the barricades, became, in one leap, the legislator of revolt, and the minister of pillage.

This Lebeau, by means of his base protestations, and by his vile truckling, much more worthy of a valet than of a minister, had succeeded in conciliating the good-will or rather of enduring the insulting protection of Lord Ponsonby, who, evidently had conferred a share of his right upon this obscure personage, in order to make him the passive agent of his intrigues, the ready tool of his underhand dealings. In exchange for so much abjection, so much shame, Lebeau suddenly became the object of the diplomatist's endless praise. To hear him, there was no minister, no other statesman equal in understanding, in aptitude, in civic virtues, to the second-hand bookseller of Liege.

All the springs of corruption, of deception, and of whatever constitutes intrigue, in all its inau-

merable sinuosities, in its gloomy windings, had simultaneously been brought into play, for the purpose of obtaining for Leopold a factious majority in congress.

Leopold was therefore elected King of the Belgians by a majority of one hundred and fifty-two, out of one hundred and ninety-six votes, in the sitting of June 4th, 1831. Lord Ponsonby set off the same evening for London, where he wished to enjoy the satisfaction of personally announcing the result of his odious machinations.

The election of Leopold was received by the immense majority of the Belgian people with the coldest indifference, and obtained no other applause than that of the mob in rags, always ready to sell their roaring acclamations to whoever will give them the means of getting drunk; and of that other species of mob, much more despicable and dangerous, who after having ruined Belgium, with the view of forestalling all the best places and the largest salaries, flattered themselves to retain the monopoly, by adding to the infamies of the evening the infamies of the morning.*

* De Potter, at the time he was a member of the provisional government, was one day in conversation with an officer of rank, who was detained a prisoner in Belgium, and had the rare effrontery to tell him, in set terms,—“ *If King William had given me a place, which would have satisfied my AMBITION, the rebellion would never have taken place.*”

It follows, therefore, even from the confession of the scoundrels who have effected it, that this infamous rebellion has had no other real cause than the disappointed ambition of some dozen conceited nullities.

The greater number looked upon the choice of the congress as a new mystification, the more so, as England, having refused her consent to the acceptance of the throne offered before to the Duke of Nemours, it was expected that France, reciprocating, would not have suffered that this same crown should be placed on the head of a prince necessarily in the interests of England.

In this state of things, the men in power were aware how far it was important to impose upon the chiefs of all parties ; therefore, they who ventured to murmur a little too loud, were sent to jail ;* for there is nothing like the ineffable “ *liberty in all and for all,*” which the leaders of this mummery, for some time called *sovereign people*, are pleased, with a torch in one hand, and a dagger in the other, to grant to the nations who they wish to *regenerate*. The prisons were choked, despite of constitutional guarantees ; and they who had the misfortune of not appreciating all the good of such an administration, were plundered, robbed, burnt, and assassinated in the most *liberal* manner possible.†

* Among the persons arrested under this circumstance, were the Marquis Gosse de Beauvoir, a Frenchman, who had resided in Belgium some years, and Captain Prost, whom the Marquis de la Fayette, and another demoniac, sufficiently known in Auvergne, by his extravagances in 1814, (the Baron de Damas, a partizan chief,) had deputed to offer to the revolted Belgians, an army of from three to twenty thousand men.

† The same scoundrels who had raised such a cry against Van Maanen, at the time when two or three blackguards, such as Bellet, Jador, and Fontan were banished from the kingdom lately presented to the pretended Belgian Congress a project of

It was Lord Ponsonby himself, who wished personally to announce to these poor Belgians, for whom he felt such a *tender affection*, the acceptance of Prince Leopold, who, from every appearance, with a view of prolonging the uncertainty, had even thought fit to show great hesitation, before he determined on pronouncing that gracious acceptance of a usurped crown—usurped, if we consider the rights of a legitimate monarch, and those of a people, who had no more intention to place it on the august head of his highness, than they had dreamt of electing for king the Hetman of the Cossacks, or the Daïro of Japan; which the Prince by this time must have perceived, in spite of all illusions—in spite of his courtiers.

This is not all. The Conference in London, who

~~now~~
~~was~~ worthy of the first days of the revolutionary tribunal: the following are its principal resolutions:—

“ Art. 1 decrees an imprisonment of from six months to two years, to whoever shall be found holding an intercourse with the enemy, which may tend to the detriment of Belgium (*“ ayant pour but de nuire à la Belgique.”*)

“ Art. 3 places under the special superintendence of the police, all foreigners who have no domicile, and a parish (*commune*) is either to be assigned to them, where they will be compelled to reside, or they may be expelled from the territory. Should he escape, Art. 4 decrees that such foreigner may be arrested and conducted to the frontiers, and incarcerated if he return into Belgium. Art. 5 decrees that previous imprisonment may always take place.”

People of good faith will no doubt recollect the horrible uproar, excited by the union in 1828 and 1829, when by all possible means they wanted Art. 4 of the fundamental law to set forth that, which it does not, and which it could not reasonably contain.

at that period had already, with infinite labour, been delivered of some dozens of protocols, and now justly become an object of indignation and ridicule to all Europe, all at once thought fit to substitute, in lieu of the principles, which these very protocols had laid down in the face of the world, those celebrated eighteen articles, which were no sooner known, than rejected as a matter of course, by the King of the Netherlands at the Hague, while at the same time they were received by a spontaneous cry of reprobation in Belgium.

If among so many others, one more unexceptionable proof were wanting, that pillage and assassination had been commanded by the depositaries of power, it would suffice just only to observe, that not a single excess of this kind was renewed under such a circumstance, although it is nevertheless true to state, that at no other period since the revolution, exasperation had been wrought up to that degree in Belgium, and above all in the city of Brussels.*

* No sooner were the propositions of the Conference known at Brussels, than the members of the patriotic association caused the corner of every street to be placarded with one of the most virulent protestations against Lord Ponsonby, to whom was exclusively imputed all that was odious in the contents of the eighteen articles; the people immediately became furious against his Lordship, and cries of *death* against him were repeatedly heard. The author, on this occasion, thought it his duty to warn his Lordship to be upon his guard, in order to evince his sincere gratitude, and to make a return for the information which a short time before Lord Ponsonby had kindly communicated, and which was the evening previous to the day on which the prison of the "*Petites Carmes*" was to be forced open, for the purpose

This time the gang of cowards, who dared to style themselves the *civic guard*, was sufficient to maintain good order, and to protect property and persons, which is an incontestable proof, they might have done the same under so many other circumstances, if then, as at present, they had only firmly willed it.

The only explosion was confined to a shower of stones, which the people, during the night, threw at the windows of Lord Ponsonby's residence; one of these stones fell at the foot of the bed of Lady Ponsonby, who, suddenly awoke, frightened, and calling out for help, deserted the nuptial couch,

“ ————— dans le simple appareil
D'une beauté qu'on vient d'arracher au sommeil.”

Lord Ponsonby, no doubt aware to what degree, on account of his unworthy proceedings, he of murdering the prisoner Elskens, better known under the name of Colonel Borremans.

Lord Ponsonby, while he was returning thanks to the author entered into a most violent passion against the association, and suffered, among others, the following expressions, which we report *verbatim*, to escape him:—

“ I have sacrificed myself to ensure the happiness of the Belgians, of that *peuple de canaille*: if they want to murder me, if they want to quench their thirst with my blood, let them come: I am ready to meet them.”

After all, it is plain that Lord Ponsonby himself was fully aware of all the ignominy of the part he was acting in the present circumstance, for on his last return from London, he took the precaution of getting out of his carriage outside of the gate of the city, finding his way into Brussels on foot, and went straight on to the Minister Lebeau. Lady Ponsonby entered the city in the post-chaise by herself.

deserved a similar manifestation of the hatred and contempt of the people, whom he had so meanly deceived; took proper care not to call for any satisfaction, and used every effort, silently, during the night, to repair the damage done to his windows, that no vestige of it might remain in the morning.

However, Lord Ponsonby, convinced that scoundrels and traitors would not be wanting for the ultimate success of his black plot, hastened to quit Brussels, where, perhaps, he was more in fear of his personal safety, since the influential members of the clubs, and of the so styled *patriotic* associations, continued, like every one else, to be furious against him.

It is to be recollected, how strong and animated the debates were in congress, but Ponsonby had counted his flock well; the *eighteen proposals* imperatively imposed by the Conference, as *sine qua non* conditions, were humbly accepted by a majority of 126 out of 196 voters.

Thus the iniquitous work of this fallacious diplomacy was consummated, at least as far as was in the power of those wicked men, who had hatched the plot, and of the scoundrels who possessed neither shame nor remorse, for prostituting their conscience, and for lending to such an outrage the shameful and venal support of their sanction.

SUMMARY.

WE have seen, that among the great powers of Europe, France and England, alone, have dared to render themselves accomplices in the Belgian rebellion; the former in lending it every support, alternately secret and open, because she herself stood in need of effectually completing her own revolution; the latter by forwarding to Belgium a King of her own fabric, in the same way as she would have dispatched a bale of merchandize. England, it is well known, strives to possess the exclusive monopoly of every sort of exportation, and especially when it tends to the detriment of the continent.

We will now examine what England and France may each have gained, by uniting their colossal power, with the view of consummating a spoliation odious in a moral, absurd in a political point of view.

Can it be glory?—Good heavens!—Glory!—not even the shadow of a shadow!—Glory there was for England, and certainly a resplendent glory, in conquering at Aboukir, and at Trafalgar, as well as at Ciudad Rodrigo, and at Salamanca, at Vittoria, and at Toulouse, and lastly at WATERLOO.

For France there was glory at the Pyramids, there was glory at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Sommo Sierra, at Wagram, and lately,

there may likewise have been glory for her at Algiers, and Mount Atlas.

But the expedition of Marshal Gerard into Belgium can only serve as a counterpart of that of the Trocadero: and history, at the same time inflexible and just, will even place it beneath it; for politics have often wiped the sponge over iniquity, never over folly.

France has a population of upwards of thirty-two millions: Holland hardly two. Resplendent glory indeed! fine heroism! that of fighting SIXTEEN TO ONE! particularly when we recollect, that it is the same people, whom we have all seen carrying on their standards, ONE TO THREE, to perpetuate, to the astonishment of ages, the victories they had obtained at Montenotte, at Lonado, at Chébréisse, at Diernstein, and at Montmirail.

In subverting the column of Rosbach, the army of Napoleon had, by a transcendent victory in the plains of Jena, annihilated the monument of one of the greatest defeats of France.

On this occasion, the hussars of Orleans have most respectfully presented a guard of honour to the lion of Waterloo. Cheerfully, it must be confessed, did they place themselves under that monument of Napoleon's overthrow, while they were returning from a campaign, unattended with glory, but undertaken to consolidate a rebellion, kindled by incendiarism, and escorted by pillage and murder.

In a word one would say, that, dazzled by the sun of her glory, France, by the glimmer of a par-

helion, has cast herself into the gulf of Belgian affairs, only for the purpose of drawing into that gulf, in the space of a few days, every thing most abject and contradictory.

Let not Europe be deceived: let her cease at last to be the dupe of those bombastic words which the party Journalists have been sounding in her ears.

Neither England nor France, neither the *Whigs* of the one, nor the *Liberals* of the other, both equally perverse and empirical, care in the least how much or how little liberty the Belgian people enjoy. If indeed they had had that moral interest so much at heart, which has served them as a pretext, both these powers would have been anxious to re-establish in Belgium the authority of a King, who had given the Belgians the greatest share of liberty and happiness, which any modern people ever enjoyed.

What England, what France wished for, and what they have but too soon obtained, was the destruction, the complete ruin of all industry, of all commerce in the kingdom of the Netherlands: it is likewise for that reason, that these two powers, equally overwhelmed with debt, intended to have charged Holland with that part of the debt, which in common justice belongs to Belgium, that they might see these two countries precede them each, in the gulf of bankruptcy, which is opened to both:—to England with her eight hundred millions sterling of debt; to France, who, with her *cheap* budget, has hitherto been only capable of imposing on the nation, and which does not by any

means appear to have attained its height, a charge of 140 millions every month in time of peace.

Indeed this mutual anxiety for ruining Belgium, and at the same time stripping Holland, must have become for England, as well as for France, the supreme interest, the law of laws, for no sacrifice has been too dear for either to obtain that object.

First let us see as to England, who appears, although very improperly, to have acted the first part in this dark drama.

It is true, she has supplied Belgium with a King, and perhaps (which after all is not quite so certain) she has ridded herself of a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year, with which this august nullity oppressed her, and who in the hope of venting his *spleen*, has just taken a trip to the borders of the Senne and the Doyle, for the purpose of enjoying for a short time the pleasure of being styled "SIRE."

England besides is assured, that at least for a quarter of a century the manufactories of Belgium will be deserted: that Holland will have incurred the heaviest expenses, that she will have lost her colonies, almost by the same forms, and in virtue of the same right, by which a man loses his purse, when he is compelled to deposit it in the hands of those gentlemen, who demand it on the highways, with a pistol in their hand: but those at least, more open-hearted, do not send any ambassadors to those whom they intend to rifle.

In short, England has, like the woman in Juvenal, not been able to give any other reply to the

just right and remonstrances of her noble ally, than the

"Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas."

She has been capable of threatening the Dutch squadron with her powerful and numerous fleets, and does not wish to recollect, that there was a time, when a Dutch squadron in full sail, despite of no less numerous and powerful fleets, came and burned the Chatham dock-yards, in broad day-light:—but enough. England has given Belgium to France, and all the cavil of her ministerial journals cannot destroy what is, for it is A FACT.

From the moment that Belgium becomes insulate, she becomes a vassal of France, and cannot become any thing else:—England, who habitually speculates in every thing, may in case of need send her labourers out of employ, to work at the demolition of the fortresses, which at a most enormous expense she had fifteen years ago caused to be erected under our own eyes: that shameful act of renunciation of her own rights, will at least afford some consolation to the French armies, for the disgrace which they endured, by placing their sentries, cap in hand, at the foot of the monument of their defeat:—England may construct rail-roads through the Belgian territory; but all this will not repair the enormous fault, which her Whigs have just committed, by giving Belgium to her rival: the consequences to her could at most be attenuated by placing an English garrison at Antwerp and Ostend, but then it would be war, tha

war, which it was said was to be avoided, cost what it will. In the mean time, it must be confessed, that we should have before our eyes a fine character for a King, which that Prince of Saxe-Coburg would have to support, placed as he would be, between two extremes, like the ass of Buridon, between the peckings of the Gallic cock, and the clawings of the leopard ; while through the whole of his new kingdom, he would, as the only consolation for such a submission, hear nothing but the anathemas of the priests, the howlings of the demagogues, and the curses of a whole people reduced to misery, ever since a handful of scoundrels have torn them by surprise from the paternal authority of a good King.

Since the revolution of July, the politics of the French Cabinet have alternately been ruled by two culminating systems. The first, being that of revolution and propagandism, and an unavoidable corollary of the destructive extravagances of the programme of the Hotel de Ville:—the second, that of social order, perhaps sprung from the Perier ministry, and engendered, like himself, by an imperious necessity, but which after all has proved to possess little morality in its application, and to be incomplete in its progressive developement.

The system of propagandism, either through fear, or through prudence, at first concealed itself behind the principle of *non intervention*. It is as clear as day-light, that that was only a perfidious mask, under which its abettors had the presumption of treating men like apes, and those who constituted the cabinets like idiots ; for in substance

they said to all :—“ When it shall please the rabble of Brussels, of Astracan, of Palermo, and of Dublin, to rebel, the programme of the Hotel de Ville, armed all over, will immediately assist in putting down, in favour of that revolted mob, any interference of the legal power, which would tend to bring them back to their duty.”

Let us reflect, let us examine it in all its bearings, let us weigh it in all its consequences. France has been fortunate in frightening all Europe during the first months, for if Europe then had possessed in her veins, one-half of the blood which, two months ago, and at the end of a year of unheard-of patience, King William and his illustrious sons have shewn, the powers would have had a fair prospect of chastizing, in Paris itself, not the French nation, neither the new King whom they have elected, and who one and all are the victims of demagogue ingratitude and fury, but those wicked men, greedy of destruction, thirsting for blood, who only aspire at the subversion of the world, with the view of enriching themselves by raking up its ruins.

And indeed we are compelled to ask, what has become of the STATESMEN in Europe, for if Europe had only possessed one single Statesman, among those who govern its destinies, that one would have known, and would have found no difficulty in confiding to his neighbours a secret, which for some centuries, the history of all the nations upon earth, has after all revealed to us.

That man, who, we repeat it to the shame of Europe, has not been found, might have told the

Cabinets, that every revolution, good or bad, just or unjust, wise or foolish, as it may be, and by the very fact of its being a REVOLUTION, commences by dislocating the material power of the empire, where it takes place,* in such a manner, that, if in that transitory condition, a nation of the first rank should become suddenly engaged in a war, it would not at all be improbable, even without great efforts, that the colossus would be subjugated by a power of the second rank.

On the other hand, since revolutions always add more or less to the permanent and positive strength of a people, which is that other transient power which results from enthusiasm, it follows that if time be left to that people to strengthen or settle itself, its physical strength will be increased by all the moral strength which it derives from the ebullitions of the multitude.

The armies of the King of Bavaria might perhaps alone have returned to Montmartre in the month of August, 1830 : allow France time to

* Neither the example of Spain against Napoleon, nor that of Poland lately can be opposed to this ; Spain would unquestionably have fallen without the assistance of England : Poland, who has been compelled to yield, had found a centre of action ready formed in Warsaw itself, which was the seat of government, and above all, in the army, which instantly and like one body shared in the revolt. With the exception of the expulsion of a few Russians, the revolt in Poland had not to undergo the ordeal, as it was the case in France and in Belgium, of a total disorganization of the civil and military administrations. It is consequently a general rule, that wherever this disorganization takes place, and until people have time to recover, and to be re-organised, the most powerful state remains paralyzed, without real power and without defence.

organise herself, to exercise her national guards, and you will find, whether she will be able to retrace her steps, to the Adige, to the Danube, and to the Oder. Nature indeed, sparing of prodigies, does not create two men like Napoleon in one and the same century, but, when France shall have at her command, five hundred thousand soldiers on her frontiers, and as a reserve a million of armed men, she will not then need that transcendent genius, to make Europe once more tremble.

Louis XIV., Condé, Turenne, Villars, the Maréchal de Saxe, and others, would, compared to Napoleon, only have been considered ordinary men, and France in their time, contained barely two thirds of her present population : can then Europe have forgotten already, how far Frenchmen have been carried, when led on merely by such men ?

Far be from us, and we repeat it with heart and soul a thousand times, far be from us the direct or indirect intention, to desire a new coalition against France, any more than against the royalty of Louis Philip.

But, eternal war, on the part of governments and all civilized nations, against the destructive principles of the horrid *propagande*. Eternal shame on those furious men who would become its abettors.

The new condition imposed on the Belgians, is a creation of the *propagande* : without it, Leopold, of Saxe-Cobourg, would never have quitted England ; without it, that decree, as impious as mad, which has proscribed the Nassaus, would not

have sullied the annals of a people, until then happy and free, but now divided, ruined, bent under the tyranny of factions.

Ye men of sonorous philanthropical language ; ye political syrens, who, in an alluring and hypocritical tone, preach the *propagande*, and promise happiness to the people, already happy without you, in order only to give them shame and misery, why, I ask you, why do you make revolutions ? It is, you will say, to regenerate the human race. But humanity stands there to answer—IT IS FALSE ! Where, then, is the happiness, which you have procured for so many people, who lived in tranquillity and prosperity only a year ago ?

God forbid we should think of comparing Poles to Belgians ;* but after all, see for how much good this valiant Poland is indebted to you, who, without your infamous provocations, never would have harboured the idea of rebellion.†

Listen to the merited imprecations which your victims in Italy hold out to you.

* A distinguished Pole, who was in Prussia, shortly before the fall of Warsaw, told every one in the most animated terms, that nothing could excite more the indignation of the Poles than to hear themselves constantly compared to Belgians.

† If to so many others, a superfluous proof were to be added, that Poland had been the victim of the execrable *propagande* of the revolutionary societies at Paris, it may be found in the conduct of the Poles, when, in 1829, Russia was engaged in a difficult war across the Balcans. If Poland had cherished any project of revolt, she undoubtedly could not have had a more propitious moment than that for giving it effect. The executioners, the only and true butchers of the brave Poles, must be looked for in the Parisian clubs, there only, and no where else.

Look at Belgium since she has so ignominiously aped your barricades, and compare her present distress with the prosperity she enjoyed before.

It is for yourselves, and only for yourselves, ye men, whom hell has vomited forth, it is for the purpose of glutting yourselves with riches, for the sake of weltering in beastliness, of decking yourselves with unmerited honours, of engrossing places, the duties of which you never learnt to fulfil, of usurping that power, which to all, who are not of your opinion, you represent as oppressive, and which, after all, your own nullity exposes, and your vices and crimes dishonour ; it is for the purpose of all that, that ye excite revolutions ; with you, then, it has become no more than a trade !! Good God ! why in that case ye are no more than a gang of miscreants : your crimes surpass a thousand times the crimes of pirates, who scour the seas, those of banditti, who rob travellers on the highways.

It will not be difficult to prove that France of July, can have no possible motive for dreading the restoration of the Netherlands : besides, what a contradiction would it be on her part, to continue for any length of time, the ignoble and disloyal system, which, until now, she has followed in all relations with King William.

To assume the contrary would be to maintain that the people of Paris, made their July revolution without any fixed object, without real motives, and only through an excess of activity, through a spirit of turbulence, and for the pur-

pose of creating a diversion in the monotony of an order of things, which, to Parisian fickleness, had become insupportable, for the only reason of its having lasted already fifteen years.

Such a supposition would be too injurious to a grand nation: it would justify the barefaced impudence of that modern writer, who, in speaking of his own country, was bold enough to say, that France might serve as a lunatic asylum to the whole universe.

For the last fifteen months, the French have not ceased to repeat, in the face of the whole world, that they have expelled the elder branch of the Bourbons, because, in open violation of their oaths, they had incessantly laboured to destroy the securities of the charter, to renew the feudal system, and above all, to make the nation crouch under the influence of the jesuitical power, which they hold in abhorrence.

In fact, France, had she continued in the way she did, would have become a second Spain. The bulletin of the laws, contained, as it were, every day, royal ordonnances, authorizing the re-establishment of innumerable convents of every description: the Capucins, the Trapists, and principally the Jesuits, overspread the kingdom, and sowed every where disaffection and inquietude, while they were multiplying their immense establishments for public education, evidently under the auspices of protection, openly avowed, by the Princes, Princesses, and by the King himself.

In the former century, the imbecile pupil of the illustrious Condillac, being shut up in a clois-

ter, spent his time in ringing the bells ; this, for a Duke of Parma, was indeed too much. Europe contemplated it with feelings of pity.

But, a king of France, a monarch of one of the most powerful nations in the world, reduced in the midst of his court, to the necessity of dividing his time, between the mummeries of jesuitism, and the bustle of the chase, and of uttering no other sounds than the TALLY-HO of the huntsman, or the HALLELUJAH of the Cœnobite, and all this just fresh from a revolution, which had changed the face of the whole world ; and on that throne, which Napoleon, for fifteen years, had filled with the splendour of his glory. It was not possible that such absurdities could be tolerated in France. For a long time Europe saw, that a revolution with her was inevitable ; therefore, on the day when it burst forth, it excited no surprise, but among those who were the cause of it, on account of the faults they had incessantly committed, during a whole reign of anachronisms.

Our object, at present, is not to be either the apologists or the censors of the revolution of July. Leaving it for what it is in the opinion of its antagonists, as well as of its defenders, it will be sufficient for us to state the undeniable fact, that it is impossible to justify all that has taken place in France, during fifteen months, without anathematizing the rebellion of the Belgians. For, whoever is not inclined to repel evidence, will be forced to acknowledge, that the Government of the King of the Netherlands had constantly

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followed a line of conduct, quite the reverse of that which the Bourbons had adopted, since their first restoration to the throne of France.

Louis XVIII. granted, with very bad grace, a charter to the French people, because, without that, the restoration would have been impossible, impossible even with the concurrence of all the bayonets in Europe; and in 1814, the allied powers had an opportunity of convincing themselves of it, when they entered Paris.

That charter was violated the fifth day after it was signed, and what is more, it was violated for the benefit of the "*ultra-montane*" party: * that was the very thing which excited the greatest murmurs, which awoke the greatest suspicions among every class of the nation. It appeared as if there was something threatening in it, to the free exercise of religion, and it was not long before the nation was convinced, that they had not been mistaken. The suspension of the sales of national property, and the re-establishing the tithes, and the feudal rights, which were extolled in all the journals of the party, the ignoble law of the minister of the interior, Abbé de Montesquieu, against the press, the humiliations with which the old soldiers of Napoleon were loaded, who, at his voice, had conquered Egypt, and vanquished Europe, in a word, during the space of ten months, every possible injustice was, as far as it lay in the power of man, inflicted with peculiar perseverance; the 20th of March produced

* By an ordonnance, worthy of the times of the Crusades, respecting Sundays and holy-days.

only a suspensive effect : and on their return, it was only by giving immense scope to all species of villanies and outrages, that they succeeded in burying in oblivion the monstrous errors of the first restoration, which were, however, acknowledged by Louis XVIII. even previous to his return to Paris : the army was dissolved and prescribed, the day after the convention of Paris, and to which the King had, however, given his approbation : its chiefs were given up to the executioners, or crammed, by hundreds, into prison : the Protestants, in the south of France,* were slaughtered in open day, and their assassins encouraged, caressed, and rewarded by the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family, who were traversing the departments, where the families of the ruined, wandering, and fugitive victims were reduced to the necessity of begging for bread, and of seeking an asylum abroad, while the murderers were defying the law, insulting justice, exhibiting themselves in open day, using insolent language, and passing along side of the judges and of the gend'armes, who were ordered to shut their eyes, or, perhaps, respectfully to take off their hats.

These facts, and thousands more, are quite notorious, and within the memory of every one. Some generous voices, both in England and in France, held them up to the indignation of the

* Refer to a work, published at that time by M. Lauze Dupéret, of Nîmes, likewise to the *Bibliothèque Historique*, and the *Minerve Française*, two publications, which appeared in 1819 and 1820, in France, and which contain numerous documents valuable to history.

whole world : they are facts, facts engraved upon the indelible pages of history, and however large the mantle of Escobard may be, never will it be able to cover them.

Instead of granting a charter like Louis XVIII. had done, with reluctance, in 1814, King William might have declared himself ABSOLUTE, without the slightest difficulty, because no one thought of demanding constitutional guarantees. Far from it; it is important to recollect, that William insisted upon his power being limited by a fundamental law; and it is, besides, necessary not to lose sight of the fact, that the nobility, nay, even the clergy, rejected that law with great obstinacy, as being TOO LIBERAL. And yet it is the French nation, that intelligent and open-hearted nation, who have allowed themselves to become the dupes of those Belgian jugglers, of those men, who, under pretence of embracing liberty, thought of smothering it more efficaciously, while, at the same time, that liberty had no supporters more firm and more sincere, than the King and the whole dynasty of the Nassaus.

At the period when proscriptions were in vogue in France, Belgium, under the sceptre of William, offered an hospitable asylum to those who were then cast off by whole Europe; to the same men who have made the revolution of the barricades, and to those who, in 1830, have had the infamy of calling William an odious tyrant, who ought to be placed "*au ban des nations*,"* and who,

* Expressions which, word for word, were used in the month of August last, by a journal, which is generally supposed to be the confidential organ of one of the ministers of Louis Philip.

only ten years previous, were of opinion, that in the history of illustrious men, no prince could be found to whom he could deservedly be compared, but Marc-Aurelius.

The constitution, with the guarantees which it bestows, was, in the kingdom of the Netherlands, a free and spontaneous gift of the monarch. Not a drop of blood has been spilt, no condemnation, either to the galleys or to transportation, has been pronounced in the kingdom, not even by outlawry: the Prince of Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, only was put in the pillory, in effigy, in virtue of a sentence of a superior court of justice at Brussels. In Holland only one individual was condemned to imprisonment, and was not publicly exposed: it is that same Wallez, who, after having been a scribbler for magazines, and a bankrupt, qualities which now-a-days appear to be indispensable, for the purpose of obtaining advancement in Belgium, has since become secretary to Leopold's embassy in London, as an accessory to that imp, Van de Weyer, that other diplomatic caricature, and likewise sprung from the barricades.

An entire year of the most furious provocations was requisite on the part of a great number of Unionist journals, before the tribunals, who really appeared to be in a state of lethargy, determined on showing signs of life, and the maximum of their severity was limited to a sentence of banishment, for eight, six, and five years, against Tieleman, Barthels, de Nève, and de Potter, and on the latter it was even for a second offence.

Such has been that tyrant-king, that monarch whom most of the Parisian and London journals have calumniated in the most odious manner during a whole year, and to whom posterity, more just, will raise altars; it is that same sovereign whom England and America had selected as arbiter, and whom they now have had the infamy of placing on a level with Don Miguel.

It is for him alone, for that merciful King, that the treaties have basely been violated. France has invoked those same treaties in favour of Poland; she has acknowledged that she was OBLIGED to respect them towards the Pope, on pain of having to deal with Austria; but with regard to the King of the Netherlands, they have been disowned with a scandalous audacity. Sacred and inviolable as they were on the borders of the Vistula and the Tiber, they have been considered as void on the banks of the Maese and the Scheldt: they have gloried in barefaced wickedness, in making an open display of bad faith: they have most basely revenged themselves at the expense of the weakest, for the mortifications they have been compelled to swallow elsewhere, and because they were *bon gré mal gré*, (to use a common phrase,) obliged to hold a candle to the devil at Vienna, and bow and scrape at St. Petersburg and Berlin, they have been unjust, arrogant, plunderers at the Hague. The movement party, let us call people by their true name, the jacobin party, required a victim, that victim it was necessary should be a king, a good king in preference, because he was, as Barrere properly expresses it,

“ so mischievous as to make one in love with royalty,” and since they had only the limbs of Pygmies left, they sent fifty thousand men into Belgium, to meet the army of Holland, for they would have been greatly at a loss to have sent them elsewhere, and because it was, cost what it would, necessary to show still some predominancy, a will and power ; whereas it would have been so honourable to have had, and to have shown, honesty and respect for the faith of the same treaties, which they have had the impudence of ~~disavowing~~ and invoking by turns, as it suited a double-faced policy, as senseless as immoral.

And after all, to what has it been owing that this perfidy and arrogance have not received the most memorable of lessons ? In the state of confusion in which the French army, which entered Belgium in August last, found itself ; all who have seen it, the old soldiers particularly, agree in saying, that if the King of the Netherlands had thought it expedient to attack it, the Dutch would have borne them down before them.

The campaign of the Prince of Orange has not been appreciated, as it ought to have been, because it has only been considered in a point of view purely military.

Now the Prince, who had shed his blood at Waterloo, the same who, in twenty battles, had exposed himself in Spain with the temerity of a simple grenadier, had been put to the test. The choice of the old warriors in Europe, friends, as well as foes, bowed with respect at the name of the Prince of Orange. Long since they had re-

ceived him with pride amongst the bravest in the family of the brave ; the fine days of Hasselt and Louvain were no more for him than a continuation of the peninsular war, and of the day at Quatre Bras.

It is in a political point of view, that the *campaign of the ten days* is, in reality, grand ; it deserves to obtain unbounded consequences, it must, it will obtain them.

Europe had lost for a year her ancient virility. In the German Gazettes innumerable armies were reviewed, while at the same time an ~~immaculate~~ ^{immaculate} diplomacy was studying, in that shameful conventicle of London, which they are pleased to style a Conference, the means of placing, through its ignoble protocols, all the potentates of Europe at the mercy of a gang of jacobins, and of giving full scope to vaunting, arrogance, defamation, and outrage. The hundred mouths of Fame were all in the pay of falsehood.

The journals of the *propagande* were day and night occupied in spreading the blackest calumnies against Holland ; and Holland, whose language is but partially known, was, as if it were in a state unable to answer them ; but while her enemies were clamouring, she was acting ; this is better, and she has been able to give proof of it.

For the first time since Holland has been a constituted nation, she was without allies. Such a scandal was highly dishonourable to the foresight of the European governments, while, at the same time, it enhanced more and more, and to

the highest degree, the greatness of a small but prudent, patriotic, and compact people; of a people, who better than any other modern nation, felt the truth of the ancient axiom, that UNION MAKES STRENGTH.

At the head of such a people was placed that venerable William, that so much calumniated king, and who, as the depository of the virtues of Taciturn and Maurice, felt that in order to give effect to those virtues, it was necessary to know the rank they were separately to be placed in; prudence in front, in order to strengthen the effects of firmness and valour, should it become their turn of being brought into action; and their turn did come, after patience had exhausted all that could be termed stoical, and loyalty all that was sublime.

Europe prostrate! Europe afraid of phantoms, was like those heroes of a play, who want to cut every one in two, and who tremble at the shaking of a leaf, at a fly when it moves its wings.

Harsh and inadmissible conditions had been proposed—yet, William had accepted them, that he might not encounter the reproach of having kindled a general conflagration:—a fatal delay had been prescribed, afterwards prolonged, renewed, remodelled in its terms, altered in its conditions.

Since the quarrels about “whys and wherefores,” and since the disputes of Constantinople, while the enemies were scaling the walls, the world has not witnessed any thing more ridicu-

lous than the Conference of London, and its interminable protocols, to which, notwithstanding, William had acceded.

Suddenly, the eighteen articles made their appearance. The Nassaus draw their sword, their enemies flee before them ; and, if the expedition of the Prince of Orange could have taken place before the arrival of Leopold in Belgium, the restoration would have taken place in the twinkling of an eye, and probably without the least obstacle.

At the sight of the defeated Belgians, of those base cowards, whom, for the last nine months, the Conference held by the skirt of their coat, beseeching them, for God's sake, not to put Holland to fire and sword, every one was undeceived, and Europe, at last, perceived that she had prostrated herself before a shadow.

Then, and not till then, was perceived the immensity of the error, to the repose of the world, which had been committed, by cherishing a rebellion, to crush which, at the moment of its birth, would have been the interest of all.

Without fear of contradiction from history, it can be asserted, that the noble blood of the Nassaus has warmed again the blood which, in some measure, had been congealed in the veins of all the other potentates.

Nicolas trembled ; but his good will, no less than his energy, were not doubtful ; he had shown his spirit in being the first, in 1825, to lay bare his breast to the bayonets of the rebels in

the streets of St. Petersburg, but in the heart of winter he was paralyzed by the insurrection in Poland.

To fill up the measure of complications and difficulties, the cholera-morbus made its appearance just in time to serve as an auxiliary to the apostles of the universal *propagande*. These abominable men were, indeed, worthy of having pestilence for their ally. It was, no doubt, a scourge, but artfully made subservient to the revolutionary craft, its dangers and effects had been exaggerated beyond measure.*

Every thing appeared to conspire against the re-establishment of order in Europe: Constantine and Diebitsch, in a few hours had fallen victims to the cholera; Basle and Neufchatel were in commotion; in Germany the fire was lurking under the ashes; in Hungary the peasantry revolted: one would have thought the world was at an end.

The sun of Louvain arose, and gradually the mist disappeared.

Honour to the great name of Nassau; posterity alone will record from how many evils the world,

* The proof that this new phantom had purposely been exaggerated, is that hardly one out of every thousand of the population, where it appeared, perished. Witness St. Petersburg, where scarcely four thousand deaths took place, out of a fixed population of three hundred thousand inhabitants, besides a garrison of forty thousand men, without mentioning a considerable number of strangers. Besides, from this number of four thousand must necessarily be deducted those who, already worn out by age, or by other illness, would have died during the year, if the cholera had not stepped in to discount the few days of life which remained to them.

through their wisdom and their valour, has been saved. Warsaw has fallen, Hungary is pacified, Switzerland re-assumes order, the British peerage courageously reject a Bill, at least ill-timed, and which tended to give England, out of a population of twelve millions, half a million of voters, while France has quite enough to do with eighty thousand, out of a triple population.*

All eyes are at last opened, and Europe with clasped hands, supplicates that King, who had for such a length of time been outraged, to grant a prolongation of the armistice to those who, the day before, had boasted of sacking Amsterdam.

Let this truce at least be the last, and let France put an end to such disgraceful proceedings, which are as little the attributes of peace as of war: a government placed at the head of thirty-two millions of citizens must be an honest friend, or an open foe: it must carry on war by cannon, not by stilettos.

What signify those fifteen thousand muskets,† and those generals whom France has sent into Belgium, to drill, to organize the Saxe-Coburg

* A partial reform in England is just and indispensable, but it is evident, that such a reform as was threatened by the Bill, which has been rejected by the House of Lords, would have tended to a subversion of the whole empire.

† It is really incredible, that after the armistice, France should have sent to the Belgians those fifteen thousand muskets, but it is impossible to doubt it: most of the Parisian journals of the 6th and 7th of October, which reached the Hague on the 11th and 12th mention it: the *Journal de la Haye* has repeated it in its number of the 15th. The Belgian papers have confirmed it, and we are at peace with France!!!

army? What signifies the language of the semi-official journals? What signify those soldiers, who evacuate Belgium, because such is the will of the protocols, and who immediately clandestinely creep back into it, stripping themselves of their noble uniform, to put on the *blouse* of the brigands, because such is the pleasure of the party of La Fayette? If such be in France the will of the sovereign people, it is just that that sovereign, sprung from delirium, should sooner or later accept or undergo all its consequences.

But there is in all that evident bad faith, even if we adopt the absurd doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

If the French government, if the directors of the Parisian committee of the *propagande* should have the boldness to say, that they have assisted the Belgian revolution, only out of respect for the sovereignty of the people, we can stoutly, and with a loud voice answer them, IT IS FALSE.

If it had really been intended to consult and know the national will in Belgium, it would have been necessary to have taken military possession of the country in November, before the expulsion of the Nassaus had been decreed, at least it ought to have been so previous to the election of Leopold: it would have been necessary to suppress the clubs, to restrain the assassins and the

* The *Messenger des Chambres* of the 20th of August, a journal which, as every one well knows, is in the pay of the cabinet of the Palais Royal, declared openly, that the French had entered Belgium to maintain REVOLUTION, and to prevent RESTORATION. Is this not clear enough?

plunderers, and to proclaim loudly, that all this was done for the purpose of protecting the free expression of the wishes of the majority of the Belgian nation, and not that factious expression, which was wrung from them with a knife at their throat.

In that case, three millions eight hundred thousand Belgians would have most powerfully cried out for the return of William, and five hundred banditti would have sunk again to the mire, to hide their shame and spite, or perhaps they would have gone to Paris, to increase the ranks of the "*sociétés mères*."

The Belgians, it is but too true, will never be able to wipe away the stigma of cowardice, because it is unquestionable and notorious that they have allowed the law to be dictated to them by five or six hundred assassins: and this cowardice is the inevitable consequence of the long subjection they have endured under a foreign yoke, a subjection which has smothered within them even the most trifling spark of that real, ardent, and deep-rooted patriotism, which so eminently constitutes the national character of the Dutch.

But it is likewise just to acknowledge, that the majority of the Belgians, as it always happens with every people, who are in a state of revolt, have been deceived, and have not hesitated long in acknowledging their fatal error. All those who have not usurped the first offices, would have desired the restoration of the authority of the Nassaus, and all would have proclaimed it, if a foreign army had occupied the country, not to dictate to

them the law, but on the contrary to afford protection alike to the liberty of all.

Then, indeed, we might have been induced to believe, that the French had entered Belgium with no other motive, than that of supporting the *will* of the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE.

But after all, will any one have the goodness to explain to us the meaning of a people *exercising* sovereignty in any organized state whatever, without even excepting the Republics? If the explanation were clear and precise, its author would indeed not deserve a smaller share of merit than he would, who should discover the quadrature of the circle.

Much has been written, much has been said upon that subject. God knows how many fine things, and likewise how many absurdities will yet be said and written on this question: but, if it has often and justly been found necessary, to rise up against the flatterers of kings, it is not less necessary to make the People comprehend, that there exists a class of men, not less wicked, who have taken upon themselves the task of flattering that same People, for the purpose of making them the instruments of their odious designs.

France contains thirty-two millions of inhabitants: in round numbers, the majority will be seventeen millions. If these seventeen millions, forming a sovereign people, found themselves one day in the presence of another sovereign people of fifteen millions, and that the one wanted Louis Philip, and the others, for

instance, the Duke of Reichstadt, or the Duke of Bordeaux, or a Republic, with the Marquis de la Fayette as president, or the Dey of Algiers as sultan, we should like to know, how M. Odilon-Barrot,* who not many days ago, took the doctrine of popular sovereignty under the protection of his eloquence and his rare talent, how he or they, who, by following his example, cherish such a chimera, would manage with two sovereign people upon their shoulders :—the burden of one must be quite heavy enough.

If Lyons, Marseilles, or Nantes, should one day erect barricades against the barricades of Paris, will then the sovereign people of fifteen millions have a bit less of sovereignty than the people of seventeen millions? The answer must be either affirmative or negative ; it is absolutely necessary to say YES or NO, there is no medium.

If it be No, anarchy is established in its fullest

* M. Odilon-Barrot, in the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies of the 7th of October last, did not hesitate to say plainly, that “ the dogma of the sovereignty of the people is now-a-days “ not only a moral truth, but a practicable and applicable truth, “ calculated to build henceforth upon that foundation the political religion of France.”

Again the same orator adds :—“ The inequality of property is not natural,” but the orator no doubt will agree that it ranks foremost in all human agreements : it is evidently the Agrarian law which they regret, and to which, with Baboeuf, Buonarroti, de Potter, and other demoniacs of that stamp, they would bring us back.

We must either be perfect lunatics, or, in acknowledging such doctrines, we at once lead man headlong to the dissolution of all society.

extent, for the division once admitted, the subdivisions follow as a matter of perfect right: each of the two halves of the kingdom will have the same right to sub-divide itself *ad infinitum*: there is no reason whatever, why the most extensive empire should not in the end divide itself into a number of imperceptible states, similar to the kingdom of Yvetot, or the Republic of San-Marino, and, before it could come to that, we should inevitably be under the necessity, and that for many years, of going through all the intermediate jubulations, and compared to which the horrible scenes and butcheries of 1793 and 1815 would be mere children's play.

If it be **Yes**, if it be maintained that the sovereign people of the Parisian barricades have the right of sending an army to subdue the sovereign people of Lyons, Nantes, or Marseilles, why then it becomes quite another affair, the right of the sovereign people becomes the right of the strongest: Admirable! why Cain and Cartouche never knew any other. The question is therefore solved: there was no necessity of spending so much logic on things so universally understood: that right is as ancient as the world.

There is therefore double falsehood in the conduct of France towards Belgium: in the first place we find falsehood in the speciality of the affair, for the French armies far from protecting in Belgium the free collection of the votes of an immense majority, only marched into the country to protect a gang of assassins, who were dictating the law to four millions of automatons.

The falsehood is above all displayed in the doc-

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trine itself: we have just seen, that the sovereignty of the people is the most absurd of all human conceptions, the most striking of all social improbabilities, and that it cannot in any other way be solved than by the reign of anarchy, or the establishment of despotism.

Let England and France beware!

The conduct adopted by Lord Grey's ministry towards the people of the continent, tends to confirm the old accusations, which purport to represent the cabinet of St. James as always ready to sacrifice people and kings when it is in accordance with its commercial interests and ambitious views.

As soon as this shall have been proved to the nations of Europe, the interdict of the *continental system* will be revived in all its consequences, and England would act wisely not to forget what were, for her numerous manufactories, the consequences of the decrees of Berlin and Milan. What Napoleon alone was not able to effect, the whole of Europe will, perhaps, if she be driven to it.

Let France be equally aware. It is now nearly half a century since she has kept Europe under arms, alternately, for some motive or other.

Twice has this same Europe had the courtesy of returning her, in her own metropolis, the visits which France had made her in most part of her capitals.

Of the first visit she was relieved, by having only the Bourbons thrust upon her, and by losing all the conquests of the Republic and of the empire; the second only cost her a thousand mil-

lions of francs, and the removing of her museum, without mentioning the affront of a European garrison during three years.

The moment, when Europe shall be convinced, that it is France, that has occasioned her to incur two thousand millions sterling of debt, and the insupportable charges resulting from it, as well as the necessity of keeping fifteen hundred thousand men under arms; Europe may all at once make an effort for her salvation, double the number, and let them all at once loose on the soil of France to make an end of her. Rome wished to make an end of Carthage, and yet she had not, in justice, the same motives, which Europe would have in the present day.

What we have just now said of England, and of France, is not by any means a *menace*; would that these two Nations, for the happiness of the world, and for their own, could only see in it a *forewarning*, and nothing beyond it.

Let us conclude: either Belgium must be divided, or the Belgians must return under the authority of the Nassaus: but the repose of nations requires that they return under it quite differently than they were during the *intimate* union, such as the wiseacres assembled in Congress, in 1815, at Vienna, framed it.

It is necessary, for the balance of Europe, for the security of Germany, and of Holland itself, who, left alone to her own resources, has no longer either frontiers or defence, (and the campaign of 1794 has proved it.) It is necessary to guarantee England, whose entire western coast is exposed to an invasion, if Belgium continue

to be, what she has been for the last fifteen months, at the mercy of France.

It is necessary, for the tranquillity of France herself, who neither can, nor must suffer an order of things, calculated only to establish, on the most important part of her frontiers, an immense mart for smuggling, and carrying on intrigues, the necessary *rendez-vous* of whoever will apply to it the lever of confusion and overthrow, at one time for account of the Carlists, and another for that of the Napoleonists, or of the Jacobins.

In short, it is necessary, in order that Belgium may gradually rise from that state of degradation and abjection, misery and ruin, in which she has been plunged by the men who have hurled her into revolt.

May, at least, the contemplation of these evils serve as a lesson and an example to the other civilized nations, and produce on them the same effect, which, of old, the intoxicated Helots produced upon the youth of Sparta.

And you, weak and credulous men, of all classes, be at last convinced of a truth which the experience of centuries evinces, it is, that liberty is *granted*, not *taken*: and should any one of those emissaries of revolution approach, caress and flatter you, in the name of that Chimera, which they call the sovereignty of the people, "BELIEVE HIM NOT; FOR THERE ARE SEVEN ABOMINATIONS IN HIS HEART."

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