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R. DEMOULIN

LA CORRESPONDANCE

des

# Consuls anglais en Belgique

pendant la Révolution de 1830

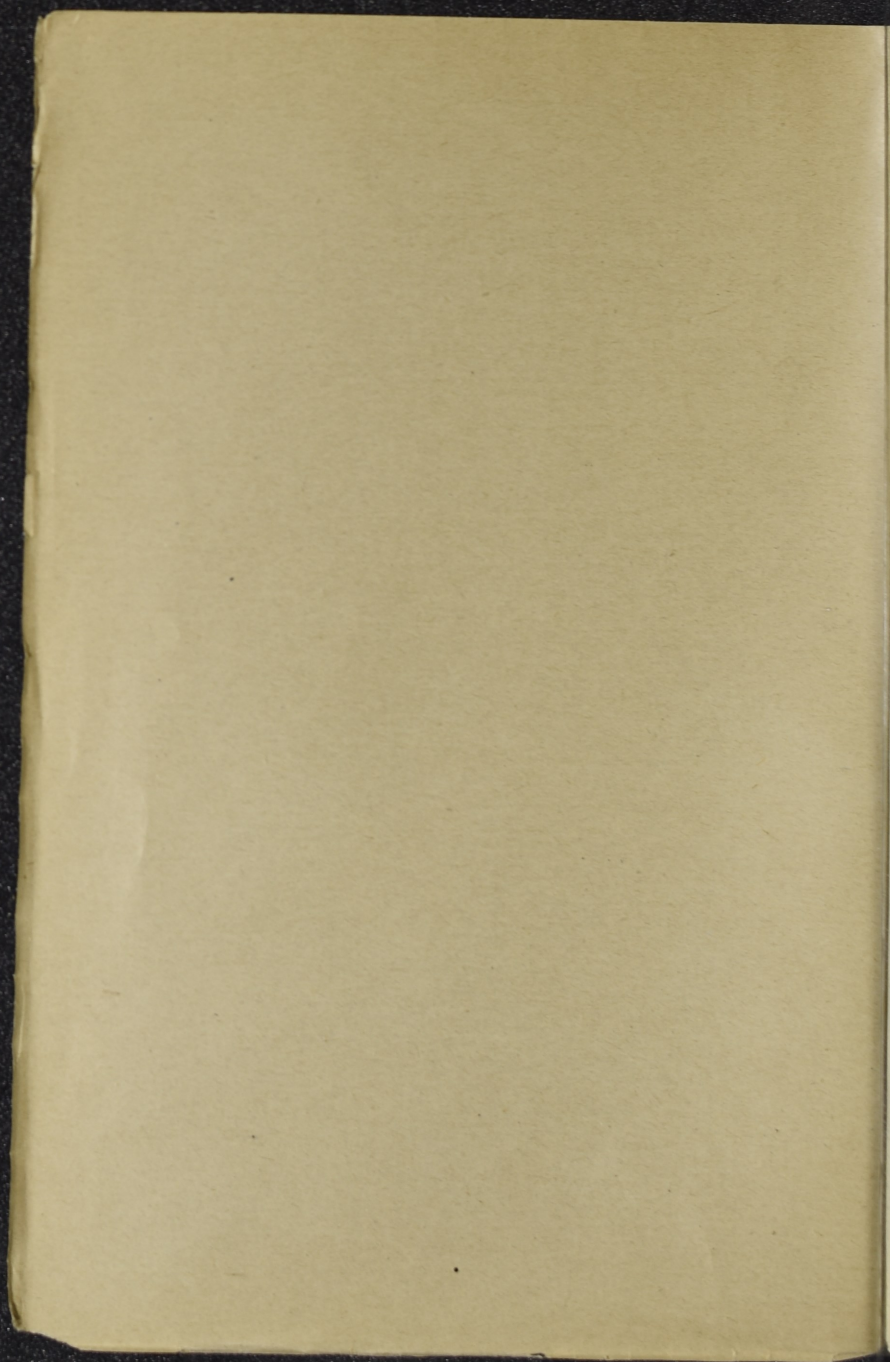


BRUXELLES

Marcel HAYEZ, imprimeur de l'Académie royale de Belgique

112, RUE DE LOUVAIN, 112

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EXTRAIT DU *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*,  
t. XCVIII (1934), pp. 417-534.

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**La Correspondance des Consuls anglais en Belgique,  
pendant la Révolution de 1830,**

par R. DEMOULIN.

En 1906, dans les *Bulletins de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, tome LXXV, pages 105 et suivantes, A. STERN publiait les rapports de Thomas Cartwright, secrétaire de l'ambassade anglaise à La Haye, relatifs à la mission du Prince d'Orange à Anvers <sup>(1)</sup>.

En 1921, dans ses *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland*, X, tome 1, COLENBRANDER publiait toute la correspondance de Cartwright et les missives de l'ambassadeur à La Haye, Sir Charles Bagot <sup>(2)</sup>.

Ces publications étaient d'importance, aussi bien tous les historiens qui étudièrent depuis lors la Révolution belge de 1830 ont-ils toujours accordé à ces relations un crédit considérable.

Stern et Colenbrander n'ont pas cependant épuisé les richesses du Public Record Office : outre l'ambassadeur et le secrétaire Cartwright, l'Angleterre avait aussi des agents consulaires aux Pays-Bas. La

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(1) THOMAS CARTWRIGHT (1795-1850), secrétaire de légation à Munich de 1821 à 1829; à La Haye, de 1829 à 1830. Ministre plénipotentiaire à Francfort de 1830 à 1838, à Stockholm de 1838 à sa mort. Ami personnel de Lord Palmerston. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, Londres, 1908-1909, III, 1141.)

(2) BAGOT (Sir Charles), 1781-1843. De 1815 à 1820, ministre plénipotentiaire aux Etats-Unis; de 1820 à 1824, ambassadeur à Saint-Pétersbourg; de 1824 à 1832, ambassadeur à La Haye; gouverneur général du Canada en 1841. Il y tenta la première expérience de gouvernement parlementaire. (*Ibid.*, XXII, 98).

correspondance de ces consuls installés en Belgique depuis plusieurs années, mêlés à la vie commerciale et politique, a cependant été négligée et par Stern et par Colenbrander.

Nous avons lu les lettres des consuls à Anvers et à Ostende et nous n'en croyons pas la publication superflue, car les documents contemporains provenant d'observateurs impartiaux et bien informés, sur les origines de notre indépendance ne sont pas, quoique cela puisse paraître paradoxal, des plus nombreux.

L'Angleterre avait en Belgique deux consuls, un à Anvers depuis le 5 janvier 1815 et un à Ostende depuis octobre de la même année. A Robert Annesley, consul à Anvers jusqu'en mai 1825, succéda après un intérim de huit mois du consul de Hanovre Ellerman, sir John de Hocephied-Larpent, nommé le 11 novembre 1825<sup>(1)</sup>.

Né le 13 mai 1783, fils de John Larpent, haut fonctionnaire du Foreign Office et notamment secrétaire du duc de Bedford lors des négociations de la paix de

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(1) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *Foreign Office. General Correspondance. Holland and Netherlands*, 37, volumes 82 et 143.

Un « ordre en conseil » du 5 mars 1852 décida le transfert au Record Office des archives des différents départements ministériels. Les archives provenant du Foreign Office sont évidemment classées dans un même groupe. La Correspondance générale des ambassadeurs et consuls de « Hollande et Néerlande » est rangée sous le numéro d'ordre F. O. 37 (vol. 1 à 698, années 1781 à 1885); celle des ministres en Belgique, sous le numéro d'ordre F. O. 10 (vol. 1 à 479, septembre 1830-1885).

La Correspondance générale comprend les minutes des instructions du secrétaire d'Etat, des sous-secrétaires d'Etat, du « chief-clerk » ou du chef du département consulaire ainsi que les originaux des lettres des ambassadeurs, ministres et consuls. Quant aux archives provenant des ambassades et consulats, elles sont classées respectivement sous le n° 238 pour la Hollande, et 123 pour la Belgique.

Paris en 1763 <sup>(1)</sup>, Sir John de Hochepped-Larpent fut pendant de nombreuses années adjoint au « paymaster general » de l'armée et remplit effectivement ces fonctions en 1815 et 1816. Consul à Anvers de 1825 à 1839, il mourut le 8 juin 1860.

Il appartenait à une famille de la gentry. Le 25 mars 1828, à la mort de son oncle, le Général George de Hochepped, il héritait du titre de baron, qu'il était le septième à porter <sup>(2)</sup>.

En envoyant à Anvers une personnalité de cette distinction, le Foreign Office ne faisait que suivre sa politique traditionnelle, qui accorde à notre Métropole une place de premier ordre.

L'intérêt de la correspondance de Hochepped-Larpent tient à la personnalité de l'auteur, à la position qu'il occupe, à la connaissance de la ville qu'il possède (il y réside depuis cinq ans), à la curiosité dont il fait preuve.

Dès qu'il en reçoit l'ordre de son Gouvernement, le 3 septembre 1830 <sup>(3)</sup>, cet agent commercial cesse de borner sa curiosité aux questions économiques, et pendant deux mois il renseigne Londres sur tous les événements anversois.

Rapporteur sincère, il n'a rien de sec. Il raconte et il juge. Il s'efforce de comprendre les désirs des différents partis et dans ses essais d'explication de l'esprit public il reporte ses regards sur les années antérieures. Partisan de l'ordre, il n'a guère de sympathie

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(1) *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, 596-597.

(2) Sir RICHARD BURKE, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*. London, 1898, RIESTAP, *Wapenboek van den Nederlandschen Adel*, I, 180, et F. O. 10, vol. 15. Lettre de Hochepped, 21 mars 1832.

(3) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *Foreign Office. General Correspondance, Belgium*, 10, vol. 3. John Bidwell à Hochepped-Larpent, 3 septembre 1830; voyez ci-dessous, p. 17.

pour la Révolution, mais esprit droit, il ne rapporte rien sans en donner la source, et il a toujours soin d'indiquer à ses chefs le crédit que l'on peut attacher à tel ou tel fait suivant qu'il en eut une connaissance plus ou moins directe.

Il est resté constamment à Anvers pendant toute cette période, sauf un voyage de trois jours dans la capitale. Cela renforce encore l'intérêt de ses lettres : il court à Bruxelles au début de septembre : Anvers est calme, Bruxelles assez agité, et aucun agent diplomatique anglais ne s'y trouve (Cartwright n'y arrivant que le 8).

Mêlé au monde des affaires, il nous renseigne sur les vœux des grands marchands et confirme ce qu'on savait déjà, grâce aux savants travaux de Prims <sup>(1)</sup>, sur le calme de la ville jusqu'à la fin septembre et sur la puissance du parti orangiste dans la Métropole. Mais après les journées de Bruxelles, la position d'Anvers est devenue le *point névralgique*, l'importance du témoignage s'amplifie.

Sans doute de Hochepeid-Larpenet n'a pas été mêlé d'aussi près que Cartwright à la tentative si intéressante de Guillaume d'Orange à Anvers <sup>(2)</sup>, mais il apporte plusieurs indications précieuses sur l'effet de

(1) PRIMIS, De Antwerpsche groothandel in 1830 (*Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, t. XX, n° 4, pp. 239 à 254); De Belgische gezinde deelnemers (*Ibid.*, pp. 271 à 311), van den Herreweghe en de inname van Antwerpen in 1830 (*Ibid.*, pp. 330-337), De arbeiderstand te Antwerpen in 1830-1831 (*Ibid.*, t. XXI, 1930, pp. 158-177), une série d'articles rassemblés dans *Antwerpiensa*, 1929, 3<sup>e</sup> reeks, pp. 191 à 377, et *Antwerpen in 1830. Nota's*, « Antwerp Maatschappij voor God en 't Volk », 2 vol. in-8°, 384-355 pp. Voir aussi MERTENS et TORFS, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, t. VII.

(2) A. STERN, Relations inédites sur la mission du Prince d'Orange à Anvers au mois d'octobre 1830 (*C. R. H.*, LXXV,



diverses proclamations du Prince héritier et il juge impartialement les efforts sincères mais tardifs du Prince pour refaire l'unité du Royaume.

A la fin du mois, Cartwright quitte la Belgique et de Hoche pied-Larpenet jouera un rôle de premier plan dans les tractations entre Chassé et les Belges pendant les journées tragiques du bombardement. Ces lettres ont donc un intérêt incontestable. C'est le seul témoignage d'un observateur étranger sur tous les événements révolutionnaires à Anvers.

Un mémoire publié par Buffin <sup>(1)</sup> a pour auteur un orangiste, les mémoires de Chazal, de Niellon, de Kessels et de Rogier sont de patriotes <sup>(2)</sup>, et si les archives des belligérants ont commencé à être utili-

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1906); BLOK, *De Prins van Oranje te Antwerpen in 1830* (*Verslag Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie*, 1909, pp. 593 et suiv.), et J. KLEYNTJENS, *M<sup>re</sup> Capaccini's zending in de Nederlanden*, dans *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, XXV, avril-juin 1934.

(1) « Verhaal van het voorgevallene in Antwerpen van den 28 Augustus tot den 1 Mei 1831 door een ooggetuige. » BUFFIN, *Mémoires et Documents inédits sur la Révolution belge et la Campagne de Dix Jours*. Bruxelles, 1912, t. II, pp. 175-414.

(2) « Relations du bombardement d'Anvers d'après les papiers inédits du lieutenant général baron Chazal, ancien ministre de la guerre », dans BUFFIN, *Documents inédits sur la Révolution belge*, 1910, pp. 423-460, et « Mémoires de Chazal », dans BUFFIN, *Mémoires et documents inédits*, 1912, t. I, pp. 193-272. — KESSELS, *Précis des opérations militaires pendant les quatre mémorables Journées de Septembre et dans la campagne qui s'en suivit*. Bruxelles, 1836. — CH. NIELLON, *Histoire des événements militaires de 1830 à 1832*. Bruxelles, 1863. — DISCALLE, *Charles Rogier d'après des documents inédits*. Bruxelles, 1892-1895, 4 vol. in-8°, t. II, pp. 36-45. L'ensemble de documents publiés par DE WARGNY, *Esquisses historiques de la Révolution de la Belgique de 1830*. Bruxelles, 1830, et Supplément, 1831, pp. 104-156.

sées, elles portent toujours un caractère unilatéral <sup>(1)</sup>.

Ainsi donc la valeur de ces lettres, riches de contenu, est indiscutable.

Celles de G.-A. Fauche, consul à Ostende depuis le 5 avril 1830, sont précieuses pour l'histoire de la Révolution dans le Nord de la Flandre occidentale. Elles nous informent sûrement de l'état de l'opinion publique <sup>(2)</sup>.

Enfin, nous ne croyons pas inutile de publier une

<sup>(1)</sup> BUFFIN, *Mémoires et Documents inédits*. Lettres de Son A. R. le Prince d'Orange à S. M. le Roi Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>, t. II, pp. 520-526. — Bombardement d'Anvers, 26 et 27 octobre 1830. Extrait du rapport de M. van den Herreweghe au Gouvernement provisoire de la Belgique sur les opérations des 26 et 27 octobre 1830 à Anvers et rapport à son A. R. le Prince Frédéric des Pays-Bas, amiral et colonel général de l'armée sur les événements qui se sont passés à Anvers depuis le 21 octobre 1830, par le colonel Van de Wijck. La Haye, 30 octobre 1830, t. II, pp. 526-540. Voir aussi FRUIN, *Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken betrekking hebbende op generaal Chassé. Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven*, 1923.

Dans les *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland*, de COLENBRANDER, au t. X, vol. 4, les rapports de Klinkhamer, directeur de la police à Anvers, à Van Maanen, un rapport de Chassé à de Eerens, directeur général du département de la guerre, à La Haye (pp. 255 et suiv.); un rapport du capitaine-adjutant Verhorst à de Eerens sur sa mission auprès du baron Chassé, 6 novembre 1830 (p. 272); DE BAS, *Prins Frederic der Nederlanden*, t. IV, *passim*, donne également certains renseignements inédits. Quant à l'ouvrage de DEL CAMPO, *Het leven en de krijgsbedrijven van baron Chassé*, il est sans grand intérêt (pp. 77 à 86).

Parmi les témoignages de neutres sur certains des événements qui ont Anvers pour théâtre, outre les lettres de Cartwright, on lira la correspondance du ministre d'Autriche à Metternich : Anvers, 24 septembre; 1, 6, 10 et 14 octobre 1830. (*Gedenkstukken*, X, 3.)

<sup>(2)</sup> G.-A. FAUCHE, de 1811 à 1816, lieutenant dans l'armée anglaise; en 1820, fut attaché à l'ambassade de Saint-Péters-

lettre de William-Henry Lytton-Bulwer et deux lettres de Ch. White.

William-Henry Lytton-Bulwer, ensuite baron Dalting and Bulwer, né en 1801, mort en 1872, fut envoyé le 25 août 1830 par Lord Aberdeen en mission spéciale en Belgique <sup>(1)</sup>. Nous n'avons malheureusement retrouvé qu'une des lettres de ce jeune mais sagace observateur, qui deviendra dans la suite un maître diplomate. Elle est datée de Gand, 29 septembre 1830, et fournit sur la situation des esprits, sur l'état de la troupe, sur la position des partis des indications remarquables <sup>(2)</sup>.

Enfin, deux lettres de Ch. White, de Gand, 3 octobre 1830, et Anvers, 4 octobre 1830, ne sont pas sans intérêt <sup>(3)</sup>.

Colenbrander a publié, au tome X, 1, page 34 de ses *Gedenkstukken*, une lettre datée du 6 octobre, les deux envois précédents jettent quelque lumière sur les

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bourg sous les ordres de Sir Charles Bagot. Il fut pendant quatre ans son secrétaire particulier.

En 1825, consul dans l'Afrique du Sud, le 5 avril 1830 fut nommé consul à Ostende.

(1) BULWER, *The life of Palmerston*, vol. II, pp. 3-4.

(2) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, *Foreign Office*, 238, vol. 49. Embassy and Consular Archives, Netherland.

(3) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, *Foreign Office*, 10, vol. 3. CHARLES WHITE, 1793-1861. Tôt engagé dans l'armée, il se distingua en Espagne au siège de Ciudad-Rodrigo. Il assista en Allemagne aux opérations militaires de l'hiver 1813-1814. En 1827 quitta le service avec le grade de colonel et se mit à écrire des romans qui obtinrent alors quelques succès. En 1830, fut employé comme courrier par le gouvernement anglais et il a consigné dans deux intéressants volumes : *The Belgic Revolution*, London, 1835, traduction française, Bruxelles, 1836, ses réflexions et expériences personnelles. Il fut secrétaire particulier de Lord Posonby, ministre à Bruxelles, puis voyagea en Orient d'où il rapporta un ouvrage : *Trois années à Constantinople*. London, 1840.

démarches de cet agent, de même que de très sérieux renseignements sur l'état de délabrement des troupes royales et sur l'exaltation patriotique des Belges.

Nous n'avons pas voulu renvoyer constamment le lecteur au bas des pages pour trouver confirmation de maints détails. Nous nous sommes borné aux notes indispensables. Il convient d'ailleurs de remarquer que ces informateurs intelligents ont toujours soin de donner toutes indications utiles afin d'éclairer parfaitement ceux qui les lisaient à Londres.

Le plus grand nombre des lettres de Hoche-pied-Larpent sont adressées à John Bidwell, senior clerk, qui avait dans ses attributions le service consulaire au Foreign Office.

Certaines missives sont envoyées directement à Lord Aberdeen, qui fut secrétaire d'État aux Affaires Étrangères du 2 juin 1828 au 22 novembre 1830 <sup>(1)</sup>. Quant à Fauche, il s'adresse le plus souvent au secrétaire d'État. Nous indiquons d'ailleurs chaque fois le destinataire. Ces lettres proviennent toutes du volume 3 de la *Correspondance général de Belgique*, conservée au Record Office, excepté la lettre de Lytton-Bulwer, qui est tirée de la liasse 49 du Fonds consulaire de Hollande.

Nous remercions très vivement Messrs. J. R. CROMPTON et N. BLAKISTON, assistant-keepers au Public Record Office, pour leurs aimables indications et pour l'aide qu'ils ont bien voulu nous donner dans la résolution de certaines difficultés paléographiques <sup>(2)</sup>.

R. DEMOULIN.

<sup>(1)</sup> GORDON, Georges Hamilton, 4<sup>e</sup> comte d'ABERDEEN (1784-1860). (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, p. 200.)

<sup>(2)</sup> Nous avons substitué à la coutume de l'époque de commencer nombre de mots par une capitale, l'usage moderne. C'est le seul changement que nous avons apporté au texte, conservant l'orthographe des différents correspondants.

## 1.

*Récit et appréciation des événements survenus en Belgique depuis le 25 août 1830. Le redressement des griefs : objectif de la bourgeoisie. Tranquillité d'Anvers. (A Lord Aberdeen).*

Antwerp, 5th September 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL of ABERDEEN that on Saturday 28th August the local authorities of this city placed arms in the hands of about 500 gentlemen and bourgeois of this town in order to guard against any tumult which might occur among the lower orders.

This circumstance naturally attracted a considerable crowd in one of the principal streets, and as some stones were thrown, some of the armed bourgeois fired among the mob, 3 persons in the crowd were killed and about 10 or 15 wounded.

But this appeared to be purely accidental, and if any design had been entertained of setting fire to the houses of any individuals of note, it was abandoned. I have understood that some suspicious persons have been discovered who seemed to acknowledge that money had been given to them to cause a riot, but from the vigilance of the garrison, the arrival of 2 frigates, one of 48 guns, another of 44 and some brigs and a corvette, the safety and security of this town has never been in the *slightest degree* endangered. The armed bourgeois under the authority of the

governor <sup>(1)</sup> the burgomaster <sup>(2)</sup> and the general <sup>(3)</sup> commanding continue to maintain peace and order.

No anxiety has been felt by any of the British merchants as to the security of the goods in their warehouses and I have every reason to believe that everything will remain tranquil in Antwerp.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE <sup>(4)</sup> and PRINCE FREDERICK <sup>(5)</sup> passed through this city on the 30th August.

<sup>(1)</sup> VAN DER FOSSE (Alexandre-François-Ghislain), Malines, 1769-1840, licencié en droit. En 1815, avocat général près la Cour de Bruxelles; en 1817, procureur général; le 12 août 1826, gouverneur du Brabant septentrional; le 4 février 1830, gouverneur de la province d'Anvers. Se retira de la vie politique après la Révolution. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, *Nieuw Nederlandsche Biografisch Woordenboek*, VIII, pp. 558-559.)

<sup>(2)</sup> DE CATERS (Guillaume-André), Anvers, 1773. Servit de 1793 à 1800 dans l'armée autrichienne. En 1809, commandait la garde d'honneur de la ville d'Anvers lors de la visite de Napoléon; en 1815, colonel de la garde bourgeoise, membre de la 2<sup>e</sup> Chambre des Etats-Généraux; en 1818, membre de la Députation permanente; en février 1828, commandant de la garde communale, le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1828, bourgmestre d'Anvers.

<sup>(3)</sup> CHASSÉ (Tiel, 1765-Bréda, 1849). Servit dans l'armée française de 1788 à 1795, puis dans l'armée batave. Général-major le 6 octobre 1806. Se distingua en Espagne en 1808. Créé baron de l'Empire en 1811, se couvrit de gloire à Arcis-sur-Aube en mars 1814. Entra au service du royaume des Pays-Bas le 22 janvier 1815. Commanda en chef les troupes néerlandaises après la blessure du Prince d'Orange à Waterloo. Le 15 février 1819, nommé commandant du 4<sup>e</sup> Grand Commandement militaire à Anvers; le 27 octobre 1830, bombarda Anvers; du 30 novembre au 23 décembre 1832, défendit la forteresse d'Anvers avec vaillance; en 1833, gouverneur militaire de Bréda. Surnommé par ses soldats « Général Baionnette ». (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 272-278.)

<sup>(4)</sup> GUILLAUME, Prince d'Orange, La Haye, 1792; Tilburg, 1849. *Ibid.*, t. I, pp. 1566-1570.

<sup>(5)</sup> PRINS FREDERIK, Berlin, 1797-Wassenaer, 1881. Voir DE BAS, *Prins Frederic en zijn tijd*.

Many regiments have passed thro' to Vilvorde where the Princes are collecting an army.

The Prince of Orange entered Brussels alone with his staff consisting of 4 aid-de-camps on the 1<sup>st</sup> sept-ember.

He proceeded to the Palace and nominated a commission consisting of the Duke d'URSEL <sup>(1)</sup>, the Duke of ARENBERG <sup>(2)</sup>, the governor <sup>(3)</sup>, the commandant of the armed bourgeois <sup>(4)</sup> (and so on). It is understood that this commission recommended a separation of the southern and northern provinces of the Netherlands in matters of finance, legislature and administration. The Prince after dissolving this commission and withdrawing the troops from the Palace which he left under the guard of the armed bourgeois, passed thro' this city for the Hague.

(1) URSEL (Charles-Joseph duc d'), Bruxelles, 1777-1860. En 1810, maire de Bruxelles, ministre du Waterstaat et des Travaux publics de 1815 à 1819; ensuite ministre d'Etat. En octobre 1830, fit partie du « ministère » du Prince d'Orange à Anvers. Sénateur belge pendant plusieurs années.

(2) ARENBERG (Louis-Prospér duc d'), 1785-1861. Combattit en Espagne au service de l'Empire, 1809-1811. Prisonnier en Angleterre de 1811 à 1815. Un des premiers seigneurs du royaume de Hanovre. Possédait des propriétés en Belgique et en France. Ne prit point part à la Révolution de 1830.

(3) VANDERFOSSE (Hyacinthe-Charles-Guillaume), Malines, 1770-Aix-la-Chapelle, 1834. Frère cadet du gouverneur de la province d'Anvers. Fonctionnaire sous l'Empire français, fut nommé en 1815 directeur de l'enregistrement et des domaines. De 1817 à 1821, bourgmestre de Bruxelles. Conseiller d'Etat il fut nommé en 1828, gouverneur du Brabant méridional. Se retira à Aix-la-Chapelle après la Révolution. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, VIII, p. 559.)

(4) HOOGHVORST (baron Emmanuel vander Linden d'), 1781-1866. Ancien membre des Etats provinciaux du Brabant méridional; commandant en chef de la garde bourgeoise de Bruxelles, le 28 août 1830; membre du Gouvernement provisoire. Voir notice : LECONTE, dans *La Belgique en 1830*, n° 2.

As far as Antwerp is concerned and the interests of the British merchants, no fear is entertained. The citadell which commands the town is placed in a proper state of defence, and the town is declared in state of siege. No petition has been sent from this city to His Majesty and the whole of the armed force has never for an instant been under any other control than that of the legal authorities — viz the governor, the General CHASSÉ and the burgomaster.

As to what has occurred in Liège, Namur and Louvain it is impossible for me to give any detailed account of transactions which pass at such a distance.

Liège is reported to have been placed under a committee of Public Safety by the authorities. At Louvain the small body of troops were overpowered by the bourgeois who took by force the arms which belonged to the militia and I understand a small detachment of dragoons sent towards the town were repulsed by the armed burghers and the officer killed.

As I considered that the events which had occurred in Brussels must have been regularly communicated by the authorities to the Government at the Hague and to the British Ambassador I have not quitted my post at Antwerp and consequently have only been made acquainted with the circumstances which have arisen in that city thro' the medium of the public journals and from reports which are often incorrect and often contradictory.

From His Majesty's Ambassador I have received no orders and consequently I conceived that his Excellency had been informed of such events as had taken place in Brussels which may have a political object which it was difficult for an individual to unravel. I imagine generally that the disturbances have originally arisen from the rabble, which being put down



by the armed bourgeois, the leading members after maintaining the security of the city turned their thoughts to what they called, the redressing of grievances such as :

The restoration of the trial by jury.

The dismissal of an unpopular minister, Mr VAN MAANEN <sup>(1)</sup>.

The reduction of taxes.

The employment in civil and military situations of Belgians as well as Dutch according to the population.

The liberty of the press.

The freedom of instruction.

The more free and open election of deputies.

The responsibility of the ministers.

The High Penal Court to be in the Netherlands instead of the Hague and the suppression of ordinances.

These may be only pretences, but as yet I do not perceive any symptom of a direct French party, though liberals, fanatics, etc., make use of the influence of the numerous priesthood to obtain their ends and to effect a separation of the southern and northern provinces in matters of legislature, finance and administration, still preserving the whole kingdom under the Royal House of Nassau.

(1) VAN MAANEN (Cornélis-Félix), La Haye, 1769-1849. Juriste, procureur général sous la république batave. Créé ministre de la police et de la justice en 1807 par Louis-Napoléon. Ministre de la justice sous Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>, sa politique anti-libérale souleva contre lui l'opinion publique en Belgique. Au 25 août 1830, sa maison fut incendiée à Bruxelles. Le 3 septembre 1830, il reçut une démission très honorable et le 5 octobre 1830, fut rétabli dans tous ses pouvoirs. Restait un des conseillers favoris de Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, *op. cit.*, III, p. 803.)

I do not conceive that much reliance can be placed upon the Belge troops against the inhabitants but some Dutch regiments and Dutch artillery have passed thro' to Vilvorde. But these are subjects upon which His Majesty's Ambassador is far more competent to give information than I am, and indeed, I should not have ventured so much in detail upon political subjects which Sir CHARLES BAGOT always desired me to avoid, unless you had so particularly desired me to make communication to you. The fact is, I considered that the Government at the Hague would have received regular accounts in 10 or 12 hours by estafettes from Brussels so that Sir CHARLES BAGOT ought to be far better instructed in what occurs, than a mere commercial agent.

I cannot conclude without again mentioning that at Antwerp we have been under *no sort of alarm*. That in consequence I had nothing to communicate except what may have been *as easily and quickly* known by the public journals.

I was ready here to attend to any orders from Sir CHARLES BAGOT which might have been communicated to me in 12. hours.

I shall however proceed to morrow morning to Vilvorde and shall endeavour to obtain a correct statement of the number of troops collected there, their disposition and such further information as I may be enabled to collect of the actual state of Brussels and the surrounding neighbourhood, which I shall endeavour to send by the post of Tuesday the 7th.

I have written to his Exc.(ellency), Sir C. BAGOT to communicate this, and shall not fail to send you regular accounts upon every thing that occurs, at Brussels and the neighbourhood.

But as it is impossible for me to obtain early information at Antwerp, of what proceedings take place in Brussels I hope Lord Aberdeen will approve of my going direct for a time to Brussels especially as he may be assured that there is no sort of alarm for the tranquility of Antwerp, where the population are in general well affected, where there are many foreigners, German and English, employed entirely and solely upon their own mercantile affairs, and where the authorities of the city and the general have maintained their power and have provided against any internal rising of the rabble and from any attack from without.

P. S.

Antwerp, 5th September 1830.

I have the honor to acquaint that the governor as well as the burgomaster have acquainted me that there is no *sort of alarm* for the safety and tranquility of Antwerp. Unfortunately, as I was told by one of these authorities, there is a party in this country whose actions and views are not precisely known, and difficult to guard against.

The burgomaster has prevented for the moment any address or petition to His Majesty, but still the party stated « apostolical » may be at work, but I do not imagine that any respectable persons will be induced to sign it.

I know that such an intention was badly received on the Exchange.

The burgomaster stated to me the extreme difficulty of procuring good information and that the government itself were scarcely apprised of the views of the party stated « apostolical » which in fact, seek to make tools of the pretended liberals.

## 2.

*Entretien avec le Prince Frédéric. — Etat moral des troupes.* (A John Bidwell).

Brussels, 6th September 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN, that I this day had an interview with His Royal Highness the PRINCE FREDERICK whose Head Quarters are established at the Cabaret at Villevorde. H. R. Highness stated to me that His Majesty had dismissed Mr VAN MAANEN, and that it was His Majesty's Intention to issue a proclamation on the 7th. H. R. Highness likewise stated that it was his intention to place his troops in cantonnements between Villevorde and Antwerp and to repair to Antwerp himself either on the 7th or 8th Inst. The troops are quartered along the entire road from Antwerp to Malines and Villevorde.

I should not imagine them to be more than six or seven thousand. Many of them appear to be quite lads; and about one half are Belge. All here is quite tranquil. The posts of the PRINCE FREDERICK's army extend about half a mile on this side of Villevorde.

This City is guarded by the armed bourgeois. Some few trees have been cut down. And the Gates barricaded, but no very deep ditches are dug near the Gates.

## 3.

*Larpent excuse son silence pendant les huit premiers jours des troubles. — Difficulté à se procurer*

*des informations sûres autrement que sur les lieux mêmes.* (A J. Bidwell).

SIR, Brussels, 6th September 1830.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter to me of the 3d Inst., I have the honor to acquaint you that Sir CHARLES BAGOT directed me never to interfere in politics; and as no events occurred at Antwerp which for a moment threatened the safety or security of the city, or the interests of British commerce, I did not deem it necessary to create any alarm by communicating the fears of others <sup>(1)</sup>.

I can assure you that I have repeatedly offered Sir CHARLES BAGOT to come occasionally to Brussels, or to open a consular office in this city, but he has constantly desired me to keep quiet.

It was not long ago that I addressed a private communication to Mr COURTENAY, vice-president of the Board of Trade <sup>(2)</sup>, upon the subject, as a very extensive basin is constructing here, and it is the intention to widen the canal of communication with the Scheldt.

Though many of the English reside here for their own amusement, yet there are others who are employed in manufactures and commerce.

In the absence of the Ambassador they have all felt the want of some protection. The alarm in consequence among them, has been very great. Most are gone away. My orders were so positive from

(1) Le 3 septembre 1830, J. Bidwell demande raison à Larpent de son silence sur les événements d'août aux Pays-Bas (F. O. 10, vol. 3).

(2) COURTENAY, Thomas Peregrine (1782-1841), Secrétaire de l'« India Commission » de 1812 à 1828, vice-président du « Board of Trade », de 1828 à 1830. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, p. 1267.)

Sir CHARLES BAGOT that I never entertained an idea of quitting my post.

I beg you will assure the EARL of ABERDEEN that I.

*Ici suit une protestation de zèle :*

If it be desirable to open a Consular Office here at the present moment I will do it.

If Sir C. BAGOT had wished to employ me in any way in procuring information upon the political events which have occurred during the last week, his orders might have been conveyed to me in 10 hours; but in this country, one city is so completely distinct and separate from another, that in a fortress like Antwerp little can be learnt by an individual beyond what the public journals communicate and the reports of the Exchange.

Under these circumstances I feel quite convinced that Lord ABERDEEN will duly appreciate my exertions.

I shall continue at Brussels for the moment in order that I may be enabled to give you such further information as may be necessary upon the passing events, and shall await any instructions I may receive.

— I enclose a « Courrier des Pays-Bas » of the 7th.

4.

*Les forces de la bourgeoisie; les désirs des chefs du mouvement. — L'état de l'opinion publique.*  
(A J. Bidwell).

Brussels, 7th September 1830.

SIR,

I had the honor to acquaint you in my letter of yesterday that His Royal Highness the PRINCE FREDERICK with whom I had an interview at his Head Quarters at the Cabaret at Villevorde, informed me

that it was His Majesty's intention to issue a proclamation agreeing in general terms, I conclude, to the financial, administrative and legislative separation of the northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands, under the Dynasty of Nassau Orange. That His Royal Highness intended to place his army estimated at about six thousand troops into cantonnements between Villevorde and Antwerp; and intended himself to be at Antwerp, either this day or on the 8th instant. H. R. H. positively stated to me that Mr VAN MAANEN was no longer Minister.

I passed through the whole army of His Royal Highness which was either huddled or in quarters along the chaussée from Antwerp to Villevorde. Every rising ground, mill or bridge seemed to be occupied militarily as a position. But the country is much intersected by hedges and heavy wet land.

The troops for the greater part appeared lads quite unaccustomed to fatigue, and I should doubt very much from what I have observed among the Belge troops at Antwerp that they would be inclined to oppose any very formidable resistance to armed citizens.

The advanced post of PRINCE FREDERICK'S army was about a mile in advance of the town of Villevorde on the canal to Brussels. After passing this, there did not appear to be any troops, nor indeed any advanced posts of the bourgeois guard from Brussels. The Gate of Guillaume from the Laken road was closed and barricaded, but not very strongly.

Carriages were merely obliged to pass outside the city from the Gate Guillaume to the Gate near the Allée Verte which had been intersected by ditches, but very little damage has been done either to the trees or to the Boulevards.

This city is now perfectly tranquil. I understood that yesterday, the 6th, the position occupied by the bourgeois guard at Tervueren was menaced by a regiment of Dutch cavalry. About 500 of the armed bourgeois marched out to support it, and 2000 more were in readiness, but upon application being made to H. R. H. PRINCE FREDERICK, he consented to withdraw the troops which threatened to attack, which would have interrupted the communications with Louvain and Liège if successful.

Among the armed bourgeois of Brussels are many old soldiers and some officers who have served in the late wars.

The force of the army bourgeois at Brussels consists of between eight and nine thousand, besides these from the neighbourhood of Mons in a district called the Bourinage it is understood that there are 6000 at the disposal of the citizens of Brussels. At Liège 2000, at Louvain 1000, at Wavre 1000, Alost 300 and at Ninove 700.

These ten or eleven thousand men well armed are ready to give assistance to the bourgeois at Brussels at any moment. The chiefs of the armed bourgeois at Brussels likewise reckon upon an emergency, upon a rising of all the communes and districts in the neighbourhood — so that they consider that they may have any number of men whom they could arm.

The whole province of Liège with foundries of canon and magazines of powder are at their disposal, and animated with a spirit of resistance, and with a strong desire of separation from the northern provinces.

The Council established here by the PRINCE OF ORANGE appeared to have been unanimous in their deliberations, and I am positively assured that the



Prince of Orange appeared to have been quite sincere in his expressions of being willing to recommend to His Majesty a financial, administrative and legislative separation. The chiefs of the bourgeois, whom as an individual, I have seen, state that it is the wish of the people and of themselves to have a completely separate army — in short that everything should be completely distinct from the northern provinces. And that the southern provinces should be placed under a Vice Roy or governor general armed with as much power as the King may be pleased to confer upon him, but subject to no other control.

In the council assembled by the Prince at his Palace there were three of the council of ministers.

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF ORANGE,  
VAN GOBELSCHROOI <sup>(1)</sup>,  
THE DUKE D'URSEL.

Mr LA COSTE, the minister of the Interior is likewise considered favourable to the change. He is a Belgian <sup>(2)</sup>. The wish of the chiefs here is, that all

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(1) VAN GOBELSCHROY (Pierre-Louis-Joseph), Louvain, 1784-Woluwe-Saint-Lambert, 1850. Licencié en droit, fit ses débuts dans l'administration française; le 10 janvier 1816, fut nommé référendaire de première classe; le 19 juin 1825, ministre de l'Intérieur; en 1830, ministre du Waterstaat, de l'Industrie nationale et des Colonies. Il démissionna le 22 octobre 1830. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 291.)

(2) LA COSTE (Edmond-Charles-Guillaume de), Malines, 1788-Bruxelles, 1870. Sous-préfet de l'Empire; en 1816, référendaire au ministère de l'Intérieur; conseiller d'Etat, puis gouverneur d'Anvers, en 1828; fut nommé ministre de l'Intérieur le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1830. Démissionna après l'échec de la tentative du Prince d'Orange. En 1842, il fut élu député catholique de Louvain et en 1846 fut nommé gouverneur de la province de Liège (*ibid.*, t. IX, p. 165).

judicial situations should be elective, the magistrates, the Court of First Instance, and the High Court of Appeal, the King possessing a veto, out of three persons presented to him. The Upper Chamber not hereditary, and the Lower to be elected in an open and more liberal manner than at present. But on these points nothing seems to be definitively arranged even by themselves.

I do not understand that there ever has existed a French party among the leaders, but some of the provinces, bordering upon France as Hainault and others undoubtedly have manifested a desire to belong to France. But this is merely the simultaneous feeling of the people from proximity, and from being so much connected with the interests of the inhabitants of French Flanders and Artois.

The chiefs here *deny* that the priests have ever exercised any power or influence over the people for political objects, but that they, in common with the proprietors and others, have the same feeling, and are rather drawn on by the general impulse instead of giving a tone to the rest of the Nation. The apostolical party these chiefs consider to be a phantom. However there appears to be but one sentiment animating all classes in the southern provinces.

A difficulty will arise from the national debt, since the old Austrian debt was small in comparison with the debt of Holland. The chiefs here have endeavoured to give every protection to such of the Dutch families as found themselves in Brussels accidentally during the troubles. The deputies however, seem quite determined not to assemble in any town in Holland. In Antwerp they would have no objection.

The communications of the armed bourgeois extend all over the southern provinces in the direction of Liège, Namur, Louvain, Mons, etc.

In my communications as an individual, I find every wish to furnish information on the part of some of the leading persons here.

If LORD ABERDEEN has any specific instructions to give me or any inquiries to make among the chiefs at present at Brussels I feel assured that I could obtain satisfactory explanations and answers.

## 5.

*Pétition du Haut Commerce, partisan du statu quo.*  
(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 8th September 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to transmit a copy of a petition very respectably signed by the inhabitants and others of the city of Antwerp respectfully requesting his Majesty the King of the Netherlands not to accede to any separation of the northern and the southern provinces of the Kingdom <sup>(1)</sup>.

H. R. H. The PRINCE FREDERICK arrived at the Palace in this city at about 5 o'clock p. m.

A S. M. le Roi des Pays-Bas, Prince d'Orange Nassau,  
Grand-Duc de Luxembourg.

SIRE,

Ce n'est pas sans éprouver un sentiment pénible que nous avons connu la demande qui a été faite à Votre Majesté tendant à obtenir la séparation des intérêts des provinces méridionales et septentrionales.

(1) PRIMS, *De Antwerpsche Groothandel in 1830 (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, 1929, pp. 246-247, publie cette pétition avec les signatures.*

La crainte que notre silence ne soit considéré comme une adhésion nous impose le devoir d'exposer respectueusement à Votre Majesté que ce vœu n'est nullement partagé par nous. L'expérience de quinze années nous a prouvé de la manière la plus évidente que c'est à l'échange mutuel et libre des produits que l'on doit la prospérité réciproque, les avantages que la navigation a retirés du commerce avec les colonies, les débouchés que ces mêmes colonies ouvrent chaque jour de plus en plus à notre industrie sont une preuve irréfragable que toute séparation serait funeste, non seulement à cette province, mais à l'industrie et au commerce de la Belgique entière.

Intimement convaincus de cette grande vérité, nous osons la faire connaître à Votre Majesté avec le respect et la confiance qu'inspire un Roi qui veut le bonheur de son peuple et qui ne travaillera jamais qu'à sa prospérité bien entendue.

## 6.

*Effets de la proclamation royale du 5 septembre. — Nécessité d'une décision prompte au sujet de la séparation.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 8th September 1830.

SIR,

I have written to you a letter of the 5th Inst. which I sent in duplicate, one the 6th and two letters of the 7th from Brussels.

In consequence of the arrival of Mr CARTWRIGHT last night at the British Hotel of Embassy at Brussels, I left that city early this morning and returned to Antwerp.

The proclamation of the King did not give entire

satisfaction to the burghers who were afraid the lower orders in Brussels might have caused some further tumult.

Every thing however is perfectly tranquil. The barricade such as it was, has been removed from the Porte Guillaume, which I passed through this morning. The PRINCE FREDERICK is expected here to day. Small pickets and detachments of his army are cantoned along the entire road from the Maison de Force on the other side of Villevorde.

The principal force, however will be on the pont de Waelhem <sup>(1)</sup> over the river Nethe and a camp is to be formed at Duffel <sup>(2)</sup>.

There are about 25 deputies of the States in Brussels out of 55, I believe which belong to the southern provinces.

The Brabançon colours are not obtruded upon any one, nor are any flags displayed either upon the palaces or churches.

The barricades in the streets are removed, in fact they were only erected in 2 or 3 places against the mob. The civil governor and the burgomaster <sup>(3)</sup> remain, and in fact are always at the Hôtel de Ville in conjunction with the chiefs of the bourgeois who for the maintenance of order and public tranquility have received their power to act from those authorities. Very few of the trees have been cut down on the Boulevards, and hardly any in the Allée Verte.

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(1) *Waelhem*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Malines, canton Duffel, 20 km. S. d'Anvers.

(2) *Duffel*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Malines, 19 ½ km. S.-S.-E. d'Anvers.

(3) WELLENS (de), Anvers, 1772-1846. Siéga au corps équestre de sa province de 1818 à 1830; bourgmestre de la ville de Bruxelles de 1821 à 1830.

The shops are generally open, and one may walk about with the most perfect security until 10 o'clock at night.

As the army have now retired, I am in great hopes, that there will be no further disturbances in Brussels, until the decision of the States General be made known.

At any rate I do not imagine there would be any fighting, as the soldiers and the bourgeois would probably unite as good friends.

As to the firing at Antwerp upon the mob on the 28th ult<sup>o</sup>. it was entirely caused by a few German clerks who had been armed with the merchants, and the whole body were so little accustomed to the use of fire-arms that 2 gentlemen were wounded accidentally by their own party, one in the shoulder and the other in the thigh. This is the only thing like a disturbance which we have ever had in Antwerp.

The reduction of the octroi or municipal duties at Brussels has contributed very much to keep the people quiet. Bread which cost 7 pence may now be purchased for 5 pence, and meat which cost 7 1/2 pp lb (per pound) may now be had for 4 1/2 and 5 pence. The vexatious duties upon greens vegetables and other trifling articles are no longer paid at the Gates.

The abbatage too is taken off, which I was told, amounted to between 50 and 60 francs, or nearly the amount of the value of one vache in four which entered the city to be slaughtered.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE made himself very popular by entering the town of Brussels and in the confidence he reposed in the bourgeois guard which accompanied him. His horse was rather unruly and wounded one man very badly and the second in com-

mand VAN DER SMISSEN received likewise a blow from the Prince' horse (1).

As Sir CHARLES BAGOT informs me that Mr CARTWRIGHT will in future give you every information relative to Brussels, I shall confine myself to such circumstances as may occur in Antwerp, and shall at all times be happy to afford you any amusement by such well authenticated facts as may occur.

At the same time, the situation in which these southern provinces are placed is extremely critical unless the States General and the King consent to some changes in administration, legislation and finance.

The bourgeois now with arms in their hands in possession of Brussels, Louvain and Liège, are for the greater part, most respectable persons, who came forward to crush the mob, and to preserve their own houses and property. Circumstances have occurred which have placed many of them in situations which they never dreamt of being in, at the time, when arms were entrusted to them. If opposed now by the King's troops, they might feel obliged to join or even to excite and raise up the canaille and lower orders to resistance, since, they would not be able to oppose alone the lower orders and the King's troops. Or if

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(1) SMISSEN (baron Jacques-Louis-Dominique van der), Bruxelles, 1788. Se distingua pendant les guerres de l'Empire et à Waterloo dans les rangs de l'armée néerlandaise. En 1830, fut nommé commandant en second de la garde bourgeoise à Bruxelles, sa décision fit tomber Ath aux mains des Belges à la fin septembre. Nommé général-major gouverneur de la province d'Anvers, il déserta en avril 1831 et fut banni. En 1842, il complota à nouveau contre le régime. (KERCKOVE DE DENTERGHEM, *Préliminaires de la Révolution belge de 1830* [*Revue de Belgique*, 1896], et LEGONTE, dans *La Belgique en 1930*, n<sup>os</sup> août-septembre, pp. 6-12.)

the King's troops refused to act against the bourgeois, it might be worse for the country.

I beg to assure you that I have never committed myself in any way as British consul, but in any communications which I may have had, simply, as an individual and in conversations with persons whom I had previously been acquainted with.

I shall from time to time wait upon the authorities here, or upon the PRINCE FREDERICK, if he remains here, in order that I may be enabled to communicate such circumstances as may be desirable.

At the same time allow me to caution you against the thousand ill founded rumours which occur everywhere and which add to the general distrust and confusion. Rest assured that we shall all be very safe in Antwerp with the army in advance, and in a city, where there are so many foreigners of various nations, all interested to preserve their property and to maintain the public peace and tranquility.

7.

*Calme parfait à Anvers. — Premières rumeurs de dissension au sein de la bourgeoisie de Bruxelles.*  
(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 9th September 1830.

SIR,

I understand that the deputies of the States General who are now at Brussels have determined to go to the Hague for the assembly of the States on the 13th.

It is likewise said that the 400 men from Liège who with 2 pieces of cannon were sent to Brussels and who arrived there on the 7th Inst. were of the lowest description, and that the Regency and authorities of Liège, sent them to Brussels in order to get rid of



them, that they might be the better enabled to manage the rest. The Brussels people must pay them 1 florin per day for subsistence.

I shall endeavour to-morrow to procure some authentic information from PRINCE FREDERICK, but we are all exposed to an infinity of false reports and circumstances change from hour to hour. I sent you in a letter this morning inclosed to Mr FAUCHE <sup>(1)</sup> a copy of a petition from Antwerp to his Majesty, requesting that *no* separation may take place between the northern and southern provinces.

This petition has really been most numerously and most respectably signed by all classes and by the natives.

There are about 4000 men in this town. Cannon are placed in the Lunettes and advanced posts of the fortification.

The citadell is in a complete state of defence. Some troops have likewise been placed on board the ships of war in this port. The guard bourgeoise continues to do duty at night, but without any party colours, and merely for the defence of the inhabitants; and at the disposal of the authorities.

At Brussels they said some deserters come in occasionally, but I cannot be at all certain of the fact.

There are rumours here that the Baron d'HOOGVORST, and VAN DER SMISSEN, 1st and 2nd in command of the garde bourgeoise at Brussels, wish to back out, and to give up their commands. This however is not positive.

There are hopes, here, that the bourgeois at Brussels will quarrel among themselves, and be tired of their career.

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(1) G.-A. FAUCHE, consul de Sa Majesté britannique à Ostende.

8.

*Explication sur son silence sur les événements d'août. — Désaffection général à l'égard du régime. — Influence des idées démocratiques. (Lettre privée à J. Bidwell).*

Anvers, 10 septembre 1830.

Had any circumstances of an alarming nature taken place at Antwerp I should not have failed to communicate them to you.

But in the local disturbance which took place here, there was something even ludicrous. Two of the gentlemen to whom arms were entrusted by the authorities of the town on the 28th August were evidently wounded by some of their own companions and the firing was principally from a few young German clerks without any order, and from others totally unused to fire arms, and from some who literally did not know how to load a musket, nor where the priming should be placed...

... In this country the disturbances as they are called, are not local, but universal in the southern provinces, and my opinion is that perhaps even in Antwerp and in Ghent, if not for the fears of individuals for the destruction of private property, the foreign population, and the vigorous measures adopted by the general commanding the troops and steady conduct of the authorities, many of the old families and influential persons among the natives, and most of the lower orders are disaffected to the existing Government and dissatisfied and uneasy. But fortunately these feelings are repressed by other circumstances. All this is increased by the extreme

violence of the public journals, particularly by those of Brussels.

These discontents have been gradually increasing for the last 12 years, until priests, liberals and fanatics form but one party; and regardless of their own private interest, and the public good and welfare of the Kingdom at large, by the promotion of commerce and manufactures, seek in anarchy and confusion for the gratification of their own selfish vanity and ambition, in the establishment of fanciful and more popular theories of Government — in the reduction of taxes, in the low price of bread, meat and other necessaries of life, to produce a state of society more in accordance with the democratic principles generated by the complete division of property, the absence of all old Institutions and the general equality disseminated over this part of Europe at the first commencement of the French Revolution.

If you wish me to give you a true and accurate account of the state of affairs, at Namur, Louvain, Liège, Verviers, etc, it would be very desirable for me to visit those places; since it is only on the spot that the exact state of things can be known. I shall have little more to communicate from Antwerp, and therefore requesting you not to give credit to the reports which may be abroad.

9.

*Le « calme avant la tempête », à Louvain.*

(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 14th September 1830.

DEAR SIR,

I have nothing of a public nature to communicate.

I send you the following extract from a letter received by a friend of mine from Louvain.

13th September.

« I have nothing pleasant of public affairs to tell you. Les esprits se montent et s'aigrissent tous les jours. Il paraît que l'armée est tout démoralisée. The country is full of deserters. Things are calm, but it is a calm which portends a storm. Our supply of grain was nearly as usual to day, consumers the only buyers. We have a great number of peasants in town; ardently do I wish things settled. »

This gentleman lives in a family whose bias may be said to be for a separation of the northern and southern provinces. His information as far as it goes I believe to be his honest opinion.

10.

*La tranquillité continue à régner à Anvers.  
Mouvements à Mons et à Namur.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, Tuesday 21 September 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that H. R. H. The PRINCE FREDERICK quitted Antwerp this morning at about 1/2 past ten o'clock a.m.; it is supposed for the army concentrating at Villevorde.

I have the honor, to enclose a printed copy of H. R. H. the PRINCE FREDERICK's proclamation to the inhabitants of Brussels dated at Antwerp the 21st<sup>(1)</sup>.

(<sup>1</sup>) Proclamation imprimée chez la veuve Delacroix. DE BAS, *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden*, t. IV, pp. 408 à 410.

The peace and tranquility of this city has not been disturbed, and good order is maintained by the armed inhabitants at night, together with the garde communale and the garrison.

The external defences of the city continue to be strengthened by palisades, and cannon are planted on the ramparts in many directions. I have seen a private letter from Mons stating that there had been some disturbances in that city which had been suppressed by the new General HOWEN who is lately appointed in command there (1).

The city of Namur is placed in state of siege by authority given for that purpose to General VAN GEEN (2).

(1) HOWEN (Antoine baron de), 1774-1848. Cadet dans l'armée russe; fit campagne en 1790-1794 en Pologne; en 1799, entra au service de la Hollande, se distingua en Espagne; en 1815, est nommé général-major. En 1830, inspecteur général de l'artillerie, il fut chargé par le Roi le 15 septembre 1830 de prendre le commandement de la place de Mons. La désertion des troupes le força à capituler.

(2) VAN GEEN (J.-J.), Gand, 1773-Rijswijk, 1846. Servit sous l'Empire; se distingua notamment en Espagne. Général-major le 21 avril 1815, il fut nommé en 1820 commandant de l'infanterie et de l'artillerie de l'armée des Indes; en 1824-1825, prend part aux guerres coloniales contre Diepo-Negoro et les indigènes soulevés.

Nommé lieutenant général en 1826, rentra en Hollande en 1828. L'année suivante fut nommé commandant en chef du 5<sup>e</sup> Grand Commandement militaire (Namur). Le 5 octobre 1830 capitula et se retira à Anvers où il reçut le commandement supérieur des troupes retirées de Belgique jusqu'au 23 mars 1831. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, IX, p. 273.)

11.

*Anvers ignore les résultats de l'opération militaire dirigée sur Bruxelles.* (A. J. Bidwell).

Antwerp; 24th September 1830.  
5 o'clock p. m.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that the peace and tranquility of this city continues.

The authorities of this town have privately mentioned to me in conversation that a revolutionary spirit has begun to pervade all classes even the rich in these provinces.

The only official news we have from Brussels, which was received by the authorities yesterday the *23th Inst.* states, that after a cannonade which lasted from seven o'clock a. m. till until one o'clock p. m. the Park at Brussels was occupied by H. R. H. PRINCE FREDERICK and the troops.

It is said the Gate of Flanders is occupied by a corps under the DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR <sup>(1)</sup>.

We have no accounts of the occupation of Louvain by the troops. From Liège, Mons and Ath we have no letters.

Neither the general nor the authorities here have received any official news from Brussels this day the 24.

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(1) SAXE-WEIMAR (Bernard-Charles duc de), né à Weimar, le 30 mai 1792, mort à Liebenstein, le 31 juillet 1862. Commandait la 2<sup>e</sup> brigade aux Quatre-Bras à Waterloo. En 1830, général-major, à Gand, commandant la 2<sup>e</sup> division d'infanterie, il fut appelé le 26 septembre 1830 à Bruxelles pour y remplacer le général Schuurman à la tête de l'infanterie. Il apprit à Vilvorde la retraite de l'armée. Fut blessé le

## 12.

*Excitation extraordinaire des esprits dans tout le pays à la suite de la résistance de Bruxelles. — Entretien avec Chassé : beaucoup d'Anversois sont gagnés au mouvement et les troupes sont peu sûres. (A Lord Aberdeen).*

Antwerp, 27th September 1830.  
Monday.

MYLORD,

In addressing your Lordship at this moment I have the honor to state that I have no reason to alter the opinion which I have entertained and expressed in the numerous letters which I have written to Mr BIDWELL since the 5th Inst., as to the internal peace and tranquility of the city of Antwerp. At the same time, I hope that I shall not be deemed presumptuous in calling your Lordships most serious attention to the circumstances which may now daily, or even hourly occur to affect the political safety or even the political existence of this port, town and fortress.

If Brussels from the resistance made by the armed populace against the troops of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, should ultimately be destroyed, or remain in the hands of the misguided citizens assisted by the strangers who are associated with them, I feel

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22 octobre à Berchem et fut le principal responsable du bombardement d'Anvers le 27 du même mois. (STARKLOF, *Das Leben der Herzogs Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, Königlich Niederländischer General der Infanterie* (Gotha, 1865). Voir aussi sur son rôle à Anvers une intéressante lettre de de Coninck, en 1830, receveur de l'enregistrement et des domaines, et un des parlementaires anversois auprès des autorités militaires hollandaises le 27 octobre. (MERTENS et TORFS, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 568-569.)

it to be my duty to represent to your Lordship that events still more dreadful may arise from the united rage and fury of the inhabitants of these southern provinces, which events may so operate upon the fidelity of the remaining troops, and upon the hitherto peaceable inhabitants of this town, as to menace the political safety or even existence of Antwerp.

Under these circumstances as His Majesty's commercial agent and totally ignorant of the political relations in which His Majesty's Government may be placed with respect to other nations in alliance with His Majesty I feel it to be my duty to make your Lordship acquainted with the just and reasonable fears which I entertain in common with many British merchants long resident here and deeply interested on the score of property. It ill becomes me to point out those means by which such impending dangers may be avoided.

I have however the honor to state to your Lordship that from the private conversations I have at times held with the authorities of this city and particularly with the General baron CHASSÉ, commanding the 4th grand commandement of the Kingdom comprising the 3 provinces of North Brabant, Zealand and Antwerp, I find that circumstances may arise at any moment after the destruction or occupation of Brussels which may add to the revolutionary spirit existing in the minds of all classes in these southern provinces, which may lead to events of the deepest and gravest importance to the welfare and safety of this city.

To use the words of the authorities, we stand upon a volcano. As General CHASSÉ told me the man who gives me his hand in token of friendship to-day, may become a traitor tomorrow. The remains of an unsuccessful army may in a moment of rage and despair



waver from their fidelity, whilst secret emissaries and open traitors may increase the general disaffection.

I understand that even the garde nationale or communale of this town is immediately to be reduced from 1300 men to 900. The dismissed 400 men from the Walloon provinces are not considered worthy of trust and their fidelity is suspected.

Tho' the armed citizens comprising many English, German and other foreigners amounting to about 1500 men nightly patrol the city and preserve the peace of the town, yet the garrison may not always continue firm against a general rising among the inhabitants of the South. Despair, and the numerous losses which many individuals have suffered from pillage by the troops on the one hand, and from outrages committed by a furious rabble on the other may continue to augment the numbers of the disaffected and even induce many to join a rebel army for safety and protection.

I have authority to state the private opinion of General CHASSÉ that if Brussels be destroyed or occupied by the rebels and the army of the Netherlands suffer great losses, he can only look to the forces of other nations for the ultimate reestablishment of order.

Your Lordship is the best judge how far the British shipping in this port and the goods of the British merchants established here have claim to protection. I understand that the King's troops have obtained no further success since the morning of the 23d and are even said to have retreated out of Brussels.

I have the honor to suggest to your Lordship the expediency of procuring an order from the Netherland Government that the British shipping in this port and in the port of Flushing should not under

any circumstances be placed within the power or control of the general commanding, or of the local authorities, but that the whole should be at my disposal for the benefit and for the service of the British merchants <sup>(1)</sup>.

As this city is virtually placed in a state of siege, the British shipping might be seized, upon the responsibility of the general commanding.

Perhaps His Majesty's Government may deem it necessary to have a ship of war or some cruisers near Flushing.

13.

*Retraite de l'armée royale, hors de Bruxelles;  
les pouvoirs de Chassé.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 28th September 1830.

SIR,

With reference to my letter of the 27th Inst., addressed to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, I have the honor to transmit a list of the British shipping in the port of Antwerp <sup>(2)</sup>.

The army of the King are all out of Brussels, and remain at Dieghem, a village beyond Schaerbeek partly on the heights between the Louvain road and the canal leading to Villevorde <sup>(3)</sup>.

The citizens of Brussels have always had an open communication with Liège and Louvain.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Flessingue* = (néerl. : Vlissingen; ang. : Flushing) ville de la province de Zélande. Place forte et port de guerre, 7 km. Sud de Middelbourg, sur la côte méridionale de l'île de Walckeren.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sept bateaux d'un tonnage total de 1,163 tonneaux; 73 hommes d'équipage.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Dieghem* = comm. de la prov. de Brabant, arrond. de Bruxelles, 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. de Bruxelles.

Everything remains tranquil and quiet at Antwerp.

The authorities seem to conduct themselves with propriety and vigour.

The suggestions in my letter of the 27th Inst. to LORD ABERDEEN were made at the request of the British merchants.

I have not the least idea that the authorities or the general who is armed with absolute power (from the city being virtually in a state of siege), upon his own responsibility, would ever exercise that power to the annoyance of individuals except where the safety of the city and the welfare of all required the adoption of vigorous measures.

## 14.

*La jonction du Prince Frédéric et du corps d'armée de Cort Heiligers; nouvelles diverses.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 11 o'clock a. m.  
1st October 1830.

SIR,

Owing to the disturbed state of Flanders on the other side, the post departs at 12 p.m. by way of Rotterdam.

The general has just informed me that the PRINCE FREDERICK'S Head Quarters remain at Waelem, but a junction has been formed between the army of the Prince and the army of Gen. CORT HEILIGERS which may amount to eight thousand men or rather more which latter corps are now at Cortemberg <sup>(1)</sup>.

The General informs me that all is quiet at Antwerp. But no one can foresee how external events

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(1) CORT. HEILIGERS (Gilbert-Martin), 1770-1854. Prit part à la campagne de Russie, entra ensuite au service du royaume

may still operate upon our internal tranquility. The moment is critical, if there be any intention in the part of Great Britain to give protection to the commerce, or to avert the circumstances which may at any hour menace the political existence of Antwerp.

The armed populace from Brussels made a sortie last night along the Villevorde road, but they were repulsed with loss.

15.

*Nouvel entretien avec Chassé, qui réclame l'intervention armée des Puissances. — Les progrès de l'esprit révolutionnaire.* (A John Bidwell).

Antwerp, 2nd October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN that H. R. H. PRINCE FREDERICK arrived in this city this day at 12 o'clock.

The troops remain here, and in advance. The General CHASSÉ stated to me his intention of sending a force to occupy Lillo and Liefkenshoek <sup>(1)</sup>.

The General CHASSÉ repeated to me his firm conviction that order could not be reestablished in these provinces but through the medium of foreign troops.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE FREDERICK stated this likewise to be his opinion.

The General CHASSÉ repeated to me his opinion

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des Pays-Bas, en avril 1815, en qualité de général. En 1830, commandait la 1<sup>re</sup> division de l'armée. Voir l'état des forces dont il disposait : DE BAS, *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden*, t. IV, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, Bijlage, IV B.

(1) *Lillo*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Anvers, canton Eeckeren, 18 km. N.-O. d'Anvers. *Liefkenshoek*, dépendance de Calloo, com. de la Flandre orientale, arrond. Saint-Nicolas, canton Beveren, 5 km. N. de Beveren.

that it was quite impossible for him to answer for the security or for the political existence of Antwerp when the greatest part of the population might be influenced against the Government, and when the fidelity of some part of the army was doubtful.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE FREDERICK authorized and directed me in his name to submit, whether it would not be advisable for the British Government to open a regular communication between Flushing<sup>(1)</sup> and London.

At the same time, the internal peace and tranquility of this city is preserved.

The Dutch guards remain day and night with the Prince in the Palace.

The garde communale and the armed citizens with the garrison continue to patrol the streets at night.

The legitimate authorities maintain their power and stations. Yet, a revolutionary spirit is beginning to gain influence from the state of Flanders and the neighbouring provinces.

## 16.

*La position d'Anvers devient dangereuse : le développement du mouvement insurrectionnel menace la tranquillité de la place. — Influence de l'esprit démocratique. (A Lord Aberdeen).*

Antwerp, 4th October 1830.

MYLORD,

I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that last night a quarrel arose between the garde communale and the Dutch troops, in this town.

Happily, no shots were fired, and I earnestly hope

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(1) *Flushing* (Fessingue), cf. p. 454.

no further effects will result from this misunderstanding.

It is, however impossible for me to conceal from your Lordship the fears which I entertain with regard to the safety, and even the political existence of Antwerp.

By treaty the town of Antwerp is considered to be « solely a commercial port » but, Mylord, where confidence is destroyed, where distrust is universal, and where scarcely any commercial operation can be undertaken, how can Antwerp be at this moment considered a commercial port?

A lot of adventurers have got possession of Brussels, I stop not to inquire by what means and circumstances.

A banished lawyer, Mr DE POTTER <sup>(1)</sup>, an adventurer once condemned in France, and exiled from his native country, Spain, Don Juan VAN HALEN rule in Brussels <sup>(2)</sup>. These with two or three advocates of no moral or professional reputation form the Provisional Government of these lately, rich and flourishing provinces.

(1) DE POTTER, Bruges, 26 avril 1786-22 juillet 1859. Voir biographie détaillée, JUSTE, *Les fondateurs de la monarchie belge*.

(2) VAN HALEN (Don Juan) = Ile de Léon (Espagne-Cadix), 1790-Cadix, 1864. Participe aux guerres qui ravagèrent la Péninsule de 1809 à 1814. Affilié à des sociétés secrètes, il conspira à maintes reprises contre Ferdinand VII. Se réfugia en Angleterre, puis alla offrir ses services au Tzar. Rentra en Espagne et en 1821 devint chef d'état-major du général Mina; après l'échec de la révolution il s'exila aux Etats-Unis, ensuite se fixa aux Pays-Bas. On sait comment il fut chargé du commandement en chef des forces actives de la Belgique au 25 septembre, et comment ses agissements le firent mettre à l'ombre. (Article ALVIN, dans *Biographie Nationale*, t. VIII, p. 617, et L. LECONTE, dans *La Belgique en 1930*, n° de janvier, pp. 30-37.)

The Government of the King of the Netherlands is *utterly* unable at this moment to give security either to person or to property in many provinces.

What is the existing fate of the provinces of South Brabant, Liège the two Flanders and Hainault to-day may be the fate of Antwerp in a short period of time.

The army in advance of Antwerp contains perhaps eight thousand Dutch troops well affected to the King's Government. The remainder of an army of twenty thousand men are not to be trusted.

The DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR and General CORT HELIGERS are at Malines.

The advanced posts of the armed rebels, for I can call them by no other name are on this side Ville-voorde.

Adventurers from all countries flock to their standards, the colours of anarchy in 1791. The peaceable inhabitants are plundered by forced loans and contributions.

Treason to the King is frequent among the officers, and among the authorities.

Universal distrust between man and man pervades the whole country. Property is depreciated, in some places annihilated, and personal safety compromised. Under these circumstances there are many who turn their thoughts to England for assistance. The Prince himself expressed to me that there is *now* little hope but in Great Britain. A small force would confirm the wavering, encourage those who are faithful and intimidate the disaffected. In this province, persons of property and rank have *never* declared themselves against the Government.

Their apathy may arise from fear, not from disaffection. They have never openly shown the slightest hostility to the King's Government.

They may ultimately fall a prey to adventurers and

low intriguers, but it will be principally owing to the fault of the Institutions of the country, the democratic principles pervading this portion of Europe since the commencement of the first Revolution in France, mutual distrust, and their own want of energy, than to any decided hostility to the reigning family, or to any regular plan to upset the government of the country — Ultimately all will be involved in one common ruin — Commerce will be at an end and anarchy will pervade the whole of these southern provinces.

I am not a political character, Mylord, but a commercial agent and in that character I have the honor to address your Lordship.

Antwerp and the line from Boom on the Rupel; Walhem, Duffel and Lierre on the 2 Nethes with Maestricht may yet be preserved. But I can hardly dare to expect it from the composition of this army without foreign assistance.

17.

*Nécessité de garder les communications libres  
entre Anvers et Londres.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 5th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter from Sir CHARLES BAGOT His Majesty's Ambassador, with respect to the propriety of opening a communication between Antwerp and London by the way of Flushing.

I understand that letters are frequently opened at Bruges and other places, and that much inconvenience is occasioned by the present disturbed state of the provinces of East and West Flanders and South Brabant.



*Charles Bagot à Larpent.* (Copie).

The Hague, 3 October 1830.

SIR,

I have just received your letter of yesterday. I think it very desirable that a communication with London should, now that Ostend is not to be safely approached from Antwerp, be opened by way of Flushing — but, it will I presume be necessary for you, to make a representation upon the subject to the Postmaster-General in England.

18.

*Les chances du Prince d'Orange.* (A Lord Aberdeen).

Envoi de la proclamation de Guillaume d'Orange datée d'Anvers 5 octobre; le prince est chargé du gouvernement temporaire des Provinces du Sud. Voir *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, pages 112-113; BUFFIN, *Documents inédits*, page 247.

Antwerp, 6th October 1830.

MYLORD,

I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that I understand, that the Provisional Government at Brussels have received decided information that the French Government are in no manner disposed to intervene in the affairs of the southern provinces of this Kingdom.

At the same time I beg most respectfully to express a decided opinion that if any foreign troops, particularly English, were to be sent to this country to promote order, and to protect property, while at the same time, the Government to which those troops belonged, was known to uphold or to promote a sepa-

ration, judicial, legislative and administrative with respect to the southern provinces, they would be received with joy and with enthusiasm by all ranks of people, and perhaps in the end a more firm and stable barrier would be formed against France, or against any other State that attempted to interfere in the affairs of Belgium. By this measure the northern or Dutch provinces would be rendered more secure.

There is a strong party now comprising all the wealth and respectable part of the inhabitants of Brussels who would receive with gladness H. R. H. the Prince of Orange on the basis of that separation, by which they would be relieved from a crowd of adventurers and from a number of French individuals from Cambrai, Bouchain <sup>(1)</sup>, etc.

19.

*La revue de la Garde communale à Anvers  
le 6 octobre. (A J. Bidwell).*

Antwerp, 7th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that an inspection of the garde communale about 800 men, took place this morning in the most public situation in this town, before the PRINCE OF ORANGE and PRINCE FREDERICK.

This inspection lasted two hours. The Princes were in uniform, but on foot, and mixed with an immense crowd for this city.

The Princes were well received and all went off *well*.

(1) *Bouchain* = Département du Nord, arrond. Valenciennes, chef-lieu de canton.

20.

*Les proclamations royales et princières  
des 4 et 6 octobre 1830.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 8th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a proclamation from the King calling upon all the inhabitants in the northern provinces to take up arms <sup>(1)</sup>. Likewise a copy of a proclamation or arrêté of the PRINCE OF ORANGE nominating a commission consultative <sup>(2)</sup>. The general impression seems to be, that His Majesty's Proclamation will not do much good, and is not quite in union with the proclamation of the PRINCE OF ORANGE of the same date, to the inhabitants of the southern provinces. Meantime, the army remains upon the line from Boom on the Rupel to Lierre, Malines, etc.

Tranquility is preserved at Antwerp for the moment.

The Princes remain here.

21.

*Entretien avec le Prince d'Orange. — Les espoirs  
d'une prochaine conciliation.* (A Lord Aberdeen).

Antwerp, 8th October 1830.

MYLORD,

I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship, that I have had the honor of seeing H. R. H. the PRINCE OF ORANGE and that H. R. H. has desired me to state that

(1) *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 114.

(2) BUFFIN, *Documents inédits sur la Révolution*. Bruxelles, 1910, p. 261.

the affairs of the southern provinces begin to wear a better aspect. The PRINCE FREDERICK has left Antwerp for the Hague.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE was very well received yesterday at an inspection of the garde communale which lasted two hours. The principle street the Place de Meir was crowded to excess and the Prince mixed with the crowd on foot.

H. R. H. stated to me that the clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion were coming forward in his favor. It is said that Don Juan VAN HALEN has given in his resignation upon a promise of receiving ten thousand francs per ann(um). I know him to be very poor.

The proclamation of the 5th Inst. from His Majesty relating to the arming en masse in Holland and in the northern provinces has done harm; but is capable of explanation.

If the Prince of Orange be left to act from his own judgement unfettered by the ministers at the Hague, I feel confident that all people of any station or property will shortly rally round His Royal Highness; and feel desirous of reestablishing order and tranquility.

His Royal Highness' manners are popular with all classes.

He will, however, have far more trouble in reconciling people after the unfortunate attack upon Brussels. What might have been effected with ease at one time may be done now, with difficulty. I told His Royal Highness that it would be an important measure to have a clever writer at his command for a journal. It is extraordinary that such a thing should be neglected.

The presence of the PRINCE OF ORANGE has greatly promoted the tranquility of this city.

22.

*Le désarroi à Anvers.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 12th October 1830.

SIR,

The situation of Antwerp remains tranquil, but there can be no permanent feeling of security. The desertions are constant among the troops, more especially at this moment as in October the year of service with many of the soldiers terminates. The fathers, mothers and relations of the soldiers come to the villages, where they are quartered and entice them away.

To give you an idea of the state of society or rather anarchy in which this country is plunged, I can assure you, that a young man, Mr DE CAYLA one of the commandants of barricades came here the other day from Brussels (1). He was armed with sword and pistols with a blue frock over his clothes. He saw the Prince, but afterwards going to an hotel to dine publicly in a coffee room, he was denounced to the police by some person. The officer of police came too late but a day or two afterwards this young man Mr DE CAYLA returned again to Antwerp and having been warned by a friend that the police were after him he said : « Eh bien, dites à la police de me venir

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(1) de Hochepeid commet une erreur dans la transcription du nom. Il s'agit de DE CULHAT, aventurier français, aide de camp de Van Halen pendant les Journées de Septembre. Servit d'intermédiaire entre Van Halen et le Prince d'Orange en octobre 1830. En 1831, tenta encore des projets de contre-révolution. (Voir à son sujet lettre du Prince d'Orange à Falck, 29 avril 1831. *Gedenkstukken*, t. X, vol. 4, p. 493.)

chercher dans le Cabinet du Prince » (1). Mr DUCPÉ-  
TIAUX has been most joyfully received by the Club  
at Bruxelles (1).

The Dutch Troops are certainly not more than five  
thousand in this town and neighbourhood. The rest  
are perfectly useless. We are therefore in constant  
alarm of some crisis, which may take place from the  
appearance of any armed force from Brussels or from  
the Provisional Government.

23.

*L'activité du Prince d'Orange.*

*La détresse du commerce.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 12th October 1830.

I have the honor to transmit 2 gazettes, containing  
copies of an arrêté of his Majesty for the convocation  
of the States of the Kingdom at the Hague and a

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(1) DUCPÉTIAUX (Edouard), Bruxelles, 1804-1868. Publiciste, collabora au *Courrier des Pays-Bas* et fut condamné à un an de prison pour délit de presse. Le 22 septembre, au soir, il se rendit avec son ami Evrard au quartier général du Prince Frédéric à Vilvorde pour entrer en pourparlers avec les autorités militaires. Il fut arrêté et dirigé sur Anvers. Il fut libéré le 11 octobre. (Pétitions de MM. Ducpétiaux et Evrard à S. M. le Roi des Pays-Bas, Anvers 24 et 28 septembre 1830. BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 453-461.)

Après la Révolution devint inspecteur général des prisons et des établissements de bienfaisance. Célèbre par ses enquêtes et mémoires sur la condition de la classe ouvrière. (E. RUBBENS, *Edouard Ducpétiaux*, Bruxelles, 1922, in-8°.)

decree allowing a bounty equivalent to the duty upon the importation of foreign coals <sup>(1)</sup>.

There is likewise a similar decree relating to foreign grain. There is likewise a copy of a notice given by certain members of the provincial states of East Flanders to assemble at Ghent, <sup>(2)</sup> and a copy of a decree from the PRINCE OF ORANGE relating to the ministers attached to his Royal Highness, who are to sign acts relating to the provinces submitted to his Government <sup>(3)</sup>.

I have to acquaint you that H. R. H. the PRINCE FREDERICK returned to Antwerp on Sunday evening

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(1) Arrêtés royaux du 8 octobre 1830.

(2) ... « Considérant qu'il est urgent de s'occuper sans délai de la formation d'une garde provinciale qui dans l'absence de toute force armée, soit chargée de maintenir le bon ordre, la tranquillité, le respect aux lois et des propriétés et assurer la rentrée des impôts, etc., considérant qu'il y a beaucoup d'autres mesures à prendre pour assurer le bon ordre dans la province et que l'urgence des circonstances est telle qu'il est de la plus haute importance qu'on s'occupe tout de suite de réunir les États provinciaux.

» Avons résolu d'inviter MM. les Membres des États de la Flandre orientale à se réunir lundi du courant [11 octobre] à 3 heures de relevée à l'hôtel du gouvernement à l'effet de se concerter sur les mesures ci-dessus et autres à prendre pour le bien-être de la province, mesures qui doivent être considérées comme de conservation. » Fait à Gand, le 7 octobre 1830.

(3) « *Art. 1er.* « Toute disposition émanée de Nous, relativement à l'administration des provinces, soumises à notre gouvernement devra pour sortir son effet, être contresignée par le ministre ou autre chef de département que la chose concerne.

» *Art. 2.* Le ministre d'État, duc d'Ursel, contresignera les actes qui ne se rattachent à aucun département établi. »  
Donné à Anvers, le 9 octobre 1830. (S.) GUILLAUME, Prince d'Orange.

the 10th Inst. I understand however that H. R. H. the PRINCE FREDERICK will quit Antwerp almost immediately and that the command of the army will be entrusted to General TYNDALE <sup>(1)</sup>. The army remains in the same position. The DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR is in Antwerp — General FAVAUGE at Malines <sup>(2)</sup>. I understand that the decrees of the Provincial Government at Brussels continue to have force; and that the taxes are paid and received by their agents in some places.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE has placed at liberty Mr DUCPETIAUX, PLENTINKX <sup>(3)</sup> and EVERARD who were sent to Antwerp when the army attacked Brussels. This

(1) TINDAL = (Ralph. Dundas, baron), Deventer, 1773-Zeist, 1834. Se distingua dans l'armée batave, puis après 1810 dans l'armée française. En 1812, général de brigade. Se couvrit de gloire en Russie et le 7 mars 1813 fut créé baron de l'Empire; le 31 juillet 1814, fut nommé lieutenant général dans l'armée des Pays-Bas; en 1828, fut nommé commandant général du 1<sup>er</sup> Grand Commandement militaire à Utrecht, situation qu'il occupait en 1830. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 935-939.)

(2) FAVAUGE (Henri-Théodore-David), général-major, commandant la 2<sup>e</sup> brigade d'infanterie, fut chargé de s'emparer de la Porte Guillaume le 23 septembre 1830 mais échoua dans sa tentative.

(3) PLENTINKX (Charles-Joseph-Pierre), Bruxelles, 1797- Midelkerke 1877. Servit dans les rangs de l'armée néerlandaise à Waterloo et aux Indes (de 1819 à 1824). Démissionna en 1827. En 1830, lieutenant-colonel de la garde bourgeoise de Bruxelles, fut un des rares hommes qui restèrent à leur poste pendant les journées qui précédèrent immédiatement l'attaque du prince Frédéric. Fait prisonnier le 25, il fut mis en liberté le 11 octobre. Colonel de cavalerie le 18 octobre 1830, combattit sous Anvers. Participa à la campagne des Dix Jours. Général-major en 1845, il termina sa carrière comme commandant supérieur de la garde civique de Bruxelles. (Voir notice biographique de BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 274 à 289.)



wise measure together with the release of a number of individuals who had been confined on board a pontoon in the river, upon very slight causes, during the time the army attacked Brussels, has given general satisfaction, and has tended very much to create a most favorable opinion of the kindness and humanity of the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

In the Gazette of the 11th Inst. you will find a decree of the Provisional Government relating to the mode of election to be pursued with respect to burgo-masters, echevins, etc.

... Persons of property and consideration however, do not appear to come forward on either side, openly.

The popularity of the PRINCE OF ORANGE daily increases, and all who have anything to loose, continue to deplore the present state of anarchy, the distresses in commerce, and the necessary want of employment for the lower orders. The approach of winter increases the fears of all; and a residence in the country is by no means considered safe, from the number of deserters and idle persons spread over the provinces.

24.

*L'état de la troupe.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 15th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that the peace and tranquility of this city is preserved.

The citadell is strengthened and provisioned. The garrison chiefly composed of Dutch troops.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE is gone to day to Malines to review the troops stationed in the neighbourhood; and

I believe that H. R. H. wishes to separate Dutch from the Belgians. It is said that General TINDALE does not remain.

Mr CARTWRIGHT arrived here yesterday evening.

25.

*Proclamation du Prince d'Orange du 16 octobre. — Mécontentement du ministre de la Coste, qui se plaint de l'entêtement royal. — Les premières frictions entre la troupe et le peuple.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 18th October 1830.

SIR,

In the present state of affairs at Antwerp, I can only furnish a few cursory facts and remarks which will tend to show the situation in which we are placed.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE has issued a proclamation dated the 16th Inst. a copy n° 1 herewith enclosed. allowing the elections for this provinces for the National Congress to take place <sup>(1)</sup>. I likewise enclose n° 2 an address from the Prince to the 8th regiment of hussars.

The minister of the Interior Mr DE LA COSTE placed about the PRINCE OF ORANGE by the King, finding himself in a false position, since the proclamation and wishing to leave the Prince unfettered, has resigned his situation here, and means, as he is provisionally replaced at the Hague by Mr VAN DOORN, to give in his resignation to the King <sup>(2)</sup>. The

<sup>(1)</sup> *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 118, et BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 192.

<sup>(2)</sup> VAN DOORN van Westcapelle (Hendrik-Jacob baron), Flessingue, 1786-La Haye, 1853. Sous-préfet pendant le Régime français, fut nommé gouverneur de Zélande en 1818 et de

number of troops in the citadell of Antwerp are about 3000 Dutch, about 6000 are in the town and suburbs. With the army in advance there are about 9000 more. Altogether 18000 Belgians and Dutch. The Provisional Government at Brussels constantly march the armed populace out of the city. It is said that about 4000 have been sent part from Louvain to Arschot and to the Campine towards Lierre, which is occupied by the people.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE reviewed and inspected some of the troops on Friday last.

A merchant told me, the other day that he had cleared 100 casks of sugar for Brussels, and had given a bond for the duty, which bond being negotiable he had sent it to Brussels, it had been there received, and the sugar allowed for consumption.

At the same time, goods known to come from Brussels for exportation had been sworn to at Antwerp as the property of a person « Fidèle au Roi » and had been allowed for exportation.

It is hoped that everything may pass off tranquilly here and that there may be no necessity to put up the Brabançon colours.

At Brussels all is perfectly tranquil, and I have heard from good authority that is was the universal opinion among the well informed in that city that if the PRINCE OF ORANGE chose to come among the people there, unarmed and unattended he might do so with perfect security. At the club in the Théâtre du Parc,

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la Flandre orientale en 1826, Son attitude énergique garda jusqu'à la fin septembre la province de la Flandre orientale au roi Guillaume. Fut ministre de l'Intérieur de 1830 à 1836 et ministre-secrétaire d'Etat de 1836 à 1841. A eu une influence considérable sur Guillaume 1<sup>er</sup> et Guillaume II. (MOLHUIZEN et BLOK, t. I, p. 739.)

the members are not armed, but of many opinions, some evidently French and it is said belonging to the society of the Amis du peuple at Paris.

Mr DE BROUCKÈRE <sup>(1)</sup> and Mr LE HON <sup>(2)</sup> who are of the Prince's Council are gone to their provinces in order to get themselves elected of the National Congress. I have been told that Mr ROGIER <sup>(3)</sup> one of the leading members of the Provisional Government was absolutely driven out of Liège against his will at the head of about 500 vagabonds and that when he arrived in Brussels was by acclamation made one of the members; and was obliged to take upon himself those functions, in order to save his life from those who had been placed under his command. The minister Mr DE LA COSTE called upon me on Saturday evening to take tea, told me that he had resigned his situation about the Prince. He said the King was « entêté », would never follow his advice; Mr DE LA

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(1) DE BROUCKÈRE (Charles-Marie-Joseph), Bruges, 1796-Bruxelles, 1860. En 1826, élu membre de la deuxième chambre des Etats-Généraux par la province de Limbourg; le 10 octobre 1830, membre du Congrès National. Ministre de la Guerre en 1831, député, professeur à l'Université libre. Premier directeur de la Banque de Bruxelles (1835), il fut ensuite directeur de la Vieille-Montagne de 1839 à 1847. En 1848, bourgmestre de Bruxelles. C'est dans cette dernière fonction qu'il donna la pleine mesure de ses moyens. JUSTE, *Les fondateurs de la monarchie belge*.

(2) LE HON, Tournai, 1792-Paris, 1868. En 1824, élu député du Hainaut à la deuxième chambre des Etats-Généraux. Se distingua dans l'opposition. Le 28 octobre 1830, fut élu bourgmestre de Tournai et le 4 novembre 1830, membre du Congrès National; en 1831, fut nommé ministre de Belgique à Paris. Il le resta jusqu'en 1842. Dans la suite fut plusieurs fois encore député de Tournai.

(3) ROGIER (Charles-Latour), Saint-Quentin, 1800-Bruxelles, 1885. Voir *Biographie Nationale*, t. IX, pp. 693-781, et ERNEST DISCAILLES, *Charles Rogier*, Bruxelles, 1895.

COSTE has done his best, but had been opposed by others. Mr DE LA COSTE has been 32 years in the Public Service as *prefet*, two years governor of Antwerp, and nine months minister of the Interior.

He considered the Société des Amis du Peuple at Paris took part in the troubles of Belgium and that the King was ill used by the Great Powers of Europe, which had guaranteed his Kingdom. But I told him that I could not conceive that the Great Powers of Europe could always interfere, when Kings had got into scrapes with their subjects, either from want of tact, mismanagement or misrule.

Mr DE LA COSTE however, considered that without such interference the Belgian provinces would fall under French dominion.

The General CHASSÉ commanding the provinces of North Brabant, Antwerp and Zealand retired on Sunday the 17th Inst. into the citadell of Antwerp where the Dutch troops remain.

About 5 o'clock p. m. on Sunday an affray took place at the Porte de Bruxelles.

It was occasioned by some persons with long iron bars insulting the cuirassiers who instead of resenting it, went away. They then insulted the guard at the Gate composed of 5 men, who retired to the guard house. However the officer took up a musket and firing, killed one man. He then directed the guard to fire, and three more were wounded.

Some of the detachements of the garde bourgeoise on duty on Sunday evening were insulted and some persons in the crowd appeared with tricolor ribands crying « Vive de Potter! Vive la liberté! »

Joint à la lettre une feuille imprimée :

« *Allocution de S. A. R. le Prince d'Orange au 8<sup>e</sup> Régiment de Hussards.* — S. A. R. le Prince d'Orange s'est rendu aujourd'hui dans les cantonne-

ments du 8<sup>e</sup> Régiment de Hussards, composé presque en entier de Belges et leur a adressé l'allocution suivante :

» Officiers, sous-officiers et soldats natifs de la *Belgique*, j'ai appris que la grande question qui s'agit de la séparation de la *Belgique* et de la *Hollande*, sème de l'inquiétude dans vos rangs et pourrait vous entraîner dans de graves erreurs. Je me suis donc empressé de venir vous voir, comme celui qui vous aida aux champs des *Quatre-Bras* et de *Waterloo* à conquérir votre indépendance nationale les armes à la main. Maintenant, mes amis, dans la question de la séparation, qui doit se décider définitivement sous peu, il s'agit d'empêcher que le sang des *Belges* ne coule de nouveau; ma mission étant une mission de paix, que l'on réponde à mon appel qui vous est connu par ma proclamation du 5 octobre et nous rentrons dans le calme et tout trouble cessera.

» Défenseurs de la Patrie! restez fidèles à vos drapeaux et attendez avec confiance le résultat de mes efforts. »

26.

*La politique du Prince d'Orange. — La division de l'armée en régiments belges et hollandais.* (A. J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 18th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a notification from General CHASSÉ relating to placing the town actually in a state of siege, which I trust may, yet be avoided <sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) Proclamation de Chassé : Anvers, 17 octobre 1830. *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 119. MERTENS et TORFS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 539.

I hope to procure a copy of an « ordre du jour », which I have *seen* dated this day the 18th Inst. and signed by the Prince stating that the General VAN GEEN is authorized as soon as possible to cause a separation to be made « par corps » of the Dutch and Belgic regiments. This I trust will calm the people among whom there is at the moment a very great effervescence. It is impossible for the garde bourgeoise, or any other corps to prevent the adoption of the national colours, since the PRINCE OF ORANGE is as the head of the « mouvement » as stated in H. R. H. proclamation. I saw H. R. H. to-day who acknowledged this and conducted to H. R. H. a person just come from Brussels, who states, that the general feeling in that city, and in the clubs, etc. is strongly, in favor of the PRINCE OF ORANGE, as the chief of a constitutional and monarchical government.

His Royal Highness' conduct throughout has caused great satisfaction and has tended greatly to calm the effervescence, to restore tranquility and to maintain order.

27.

*Effet bienfaisant sur la population anversoise de la proclamation du Prince, créant des régiments distincts. — Attitude des consuls. (A J. Bidwell).*

Antwerp, 19th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the « ordre du jour » alluded to in my letter of yesterday n° 16. The effervescence in this town as I stated was very great at 3 o'clock yesterday. The garde bourgeoise, 2500 men, and the garde communale to whom after

the affray of Sunday evening, the Porte de Bruxelles had been confided, each assembled in full force.

I had heard of the « ordre du jour » at 2 o'clock yesterday and went to the Palace with Mr ELLERMAN His Maj(esty)'s consul gen(eral) for Hanover, we there met by accident the president of the Bank BARON OSY<sup>(1)</sup> and Mr DHANIS CANNAERT the lieutenant colonel of the garde bourgeoise, who requested an interview with His Royal Highness. The PRINCE OF ORANGE after some conversation immediately consented to make public the ordre du jour. It was directly printed and circulated and at 3 o'clock read at the head of every company of the garde bourgeoise and of the garde communale.

The effect as I had anticipated was great, and I found in the evening of yesterday at 9 and 10 o'clock that the troops had been withdrawn from their nightly bivouak on the place de Meir and from about the Palace. All was calm and tranquil, and the citizens and agitators of all parties, content.

The alarm caused by the old General CHASSÉ's threat to place the city actually in a state of siege, was dispelled, and I feel confident that all will pass off quietly if the PRINCE OF ORANGE continues to act in the manly straightforward way he has shown, after having placed himself at the head of the « Mouvement » as H. R. H. mentioned he has done, in his proclamation.

All persons who have any thing to loose, as well as all the agitators, whether apostolical or liberal will be glad to rally round a constitutional chief and the Provisional Government at Brussells will be desirous

(1) Joseph-Jean-Renier, baron OSY DE ZEGWAART, Rotterdam, 1792. Membre de la Chambre des Représentants, président de la succursale de la Société Générale à Anvers en 1830.



of getting rid of the clubs and armed vagabonds and strangers by whom they are surrounded.

*Ordre du jour pour l'Armée.*

(Joint à la lettre).

S. A. R. le Prince d'Orange donne à connaître aux troupes, que la séparation entre les nationaux Belges et Hollandais par corps, aura lieu sous peu et que le général VAN GEEN est attendu pour l'effectuer. Les troupes Belges resteront en Belgique et sous les ordres du Prince.

S. A. R. engage donc les officiers, sous-officiers et soldats à attendre avec calme le moment où cette mesure sera mise à exécution.

Par ordre de S. A. R. le PRINCE D'ORANGE.

*Pour copie conforme,*

LE COMTE DE CRUCQUENBOURG <sup>(1)</sup>.

Anvers, ce 18 octobre.

28.

*Approche des troupes belges. — État lamentable du commerce anversoïis. — Doutes sur l'indépendance du Prince d'Orange. — Le pouvoir de Chassé apparaît.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 21th October 1830.

I have the honor to acquaint you, that Malines continues to be occupied by the patriots, and that the

(1) CRUYCKENBOURG (Henri du Fourneau, comte de), Bruxelles, 1785. Combattit au service de l'Espagne pendant les guerres de l'Empire. En 1815, entra dans l'armée des Pays-Bas, aide de camp du Prince d'Orange; il accompagna celui-ci en Belgique puis en Angleterre, en septembre et octobre 1830. Devint dans la suite lieutenant général. STEIN. *Annuaire de la noblesse de Belgique*, 1859, p. 143.

armed populace from Louvain, under Colonel NEILON <sup>(1)</sup> are still in possession of Lierre, while the troops of the King are posted along that chaussée, about one league from Lierre, which falls into the chaussée from Antwerp to Malines, at Lythagen <sup>(2)</sup>, which is at the second barrière from this town, on the Brussels road.

The pont de Waelhem continues in the power of the King's troops though in a military point of view that position is turned by the occupation of Lierre, altho' the patriots are not in sufficient force to avail themselves of the circumstance. However, the patriots tirailleurs spread over the country, and some got across to Wyneghem <sup>(3)</sup> on the road from Antwerp to Turnhout; and from Lierre they may stretch over the barren country called the Campine, famous for ortolans and other birds, chiefly a tract of bruyere, which extends to the North, of Breda road, and even to Breda itself. However the patriots are not for the moment in sufficient force, or organisation, to cause any serious alarm for the fortress of Antwerp.

The troops in general are not at all *inclined* to fight. At the pont de Waelhem about six hundred of the Kings troops, drawn from a depôt of soldiers condemned to the colonies for military offences repulsed many of the patriots, upon being promised

(1) NIELLO (Charles), Strasbourg, 1795-Laeken, 1871. Combattit à Lutzen, Bautzen, Leipzig. Se retira ensuite en Belgique, s'occupant de théâtre et de politique. Commandant d'un corps de volontaires, se distingua pendant la campagne d'Anvers. Le 29 octobre 1830, fut nommé général, fut mis en disponibilité en 1833. (*Biographie Nationale*, t. XV, p. 707.)

(2) *Lythagen*, dépendance de Mortsels, prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Anvers, canton Contich, 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. S.-S.-E. d'Anvers.

(3) *Wyneghem*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Anvers, canton Santhoven, 9 km. E. d'Anvers.

remission of punishment. The fighting yesterday in the neighbourhood of Antwerp was not serious. General CHASSÉ remains in the citadell with the orange flag, and the red flag for bombardment ready to be hoisted at a moment. But few guns are placed on the fortifications of the town, and a sudden attack might be made at one point of the extensive line of defense. However, it does not appear that the patriots have as yet, either the means or the inclination to make the attempt. I saw about eight hundred men of the late garrison from the citadell of Ghent, on the quay at eight o'clock in the morning — Dendermonde is occupied by the patriots.

The Brabançon flag, which was hoisted in Antwerp on Sunday last on the tower of an ancient building belonging formerly to the Knights of St John, but now used as a boucherie, and as a warehouse, still remains. The street in which this building is placed is narrow, and by no means in a frequented part of the town.

The flag which is conspicuous has attracted little notice, and has produced no effect, either one way or the other. Some few persons, one I heard of in particular, appeared at the meeting of the garde bourgeoise with ribands of the Brabançon colours, but was immediately desired by the officer, either to take off the colours, or to deliver up his musket. He preferred the latter. Many persons, some English, some Dutch, and others have left the garde bourgeoise, as there does not appear to be any immediate dread of plunder or pillage; and they do not like to remain in arms, as members of a corps which may at any moment form either a national or a political bias.

As the PRINCE OF ORANGE has declared himself at the head of the « Mouvement » no observation appears

to be taken of any who may feel inclined to adopt the colours.

However, I have as yet only seen a few boys with them, who do not appear to be molested by the authorities. The director of the police being a Dutchman has retired, the director of the poste aux lettres for the same cause has quitted his situation <sup>(1)</sup>.

Some persons have left their houses, and taken away their furniture. Many have concealed their valuables.

The shops in general make no display, and as many persons are thrown out of employment, or the usual means of gaining a livelihood, and, as scarcely any money is spent by individuals, except for absolute necessities, the town wears a very mournful appearance. Merchants are occupied in getting rid of the goods in their warehouses, and almost all who have ships consigned to them, have directed them to proceed from Flushing, where they always rendezvous, to some other destination. The alarm together with the approach of winter, renders this step necessary for all those who have under their direction, the goods of others. Scarcely any business is transacted on the Exchange — the state of the country and exaggerated accounts caused by a general alarm, are the usual topics of conversation. Very few transactions take place in the foreign funds and securities which in former and quieter times, occupied the attention not only of merchants but of rentiers and of persons in easy circumstances.

The gentry or local noblesse have in some instances

(1) KLINKHAMER était directeur de la police à Anvers en 1830. C'était un des agents les plus fidèles du ministre de la Justice van Maanen. Cf. Sa correspondance, COLENBRANDER, *Gedenkstukken*, X, 4, *passim*.

remained in their country houses and are under no apprehension from the patriots except in a moment of collision with the troops. Though they do not appear to take part, yet they are all favourable to the change of political circumstances and some may be more deeply engaged than can be discovered by a casual observer.

Mr DE POTTER has in a letter to the editor of the « *Courrier des Pays-Bas* », declared his sentiment to be republican. He states that he is not an orangist, but that he shall nevertheless abide by the decision of the National Congress <sup>(1)</sup>.

(1)

Bruxelles, 19 octobre 1830.

*A Messieurs les Rédacteurs du « Courrier des Pays-Bas ».*

MESSIEURS,

Des bruits aussi absurdes que calomnieux, auxquels n'ont pas peu contribué les faux jugements portés par les journaux français sur nos affaires se répandent sur mon compte. Je crois devoir les démentir publiquement. Comme simple citoyen, je n'ai pas traité, je ne traite pas et je ne traiterai pas avec le Prince d'Orange. Comme membre du Gouvernement provisoire, j'ai été avec mes collègues dans le cas de recevoir de lui des communications non officielles, que le Comité Central a constamment repoussées, en déclarant même qu'il ne voulait plus se prêter à de pareilles négociations, entièrement inutiles et nécessairement sans résultat.

Comme membre du Gouvernement provisoire je ne manifeste pas mes opinions politiques, laissant au Congrès National, avec la liberté la plus absolue, tout le soin de déterminer l'organisation sociale la plus convenable aux provinces de la Belgique.

Mais comme simple citoyen, mes principes sont connus, ils sont démocratiques; mes opinions je ne les ai jamais cachées, je suis républicain.

Je ne crois plus nécessaire après cela, de dire que je ne suis ni ne saurais être orangiste.

Je ne me soumetts pas moins à ce que décidera le Congrès National, la volonté du peuple étant ma loi suprême.

Si le mode de Gouvernement adopté ne me convient pas,

In consequence of the proclamation of the PRINCE OF ORANGE, the bourgmestre and the authorities of the town have prepared lists of those entitled to vote for the election of members to the National Congress. They are to remain open, and reclamations may be made by such as are not included in the lists from the 20th to the 30th October Inst. On the 31th Inst. the lists will be definitively closed. A sort of club has assembled to promote the elections here in the Theatre. The president Mr GLEIZE is a respectable and clever notaire. I do not, however, think from what I know of him, that he is in any way particularly attached to the House of Orange.

The provisional government has issued a proclamation, in answer to the proclamation of the PRINCE OF ORANGE who placed himself at the head of the « mouvement » (1). It is impossible for any one, like myself who have no means of precisely knowing the expectations the PRINCE OF ORANGE, may have formed from the intercourse he is publicly known to have with many persons in Brussels, to form any judgement as to his ultimate success.

But, in these times, the Prince himself, may be deceived by the very persons in whom he confides.

He is in a difficult and singular position and although he states himself to be at the head of the « mouvement », His Royal Highness does not appear to possess an entire independence.

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ou si le chef choisi pour exécuter le pacte social n'est pas celui que j'aurais désiré moi-même, je ferai, comme j'ai toujours fait, de l'opposition au risque, si je déplaît, de me faire bannir une seconde fois.

« *Courrier des Pays-Bas* », du 20 octobre 1830.

Voir DE POTTER, *Souvenirs personnels*, t. I, pp. 322-323.

(1) *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 119.

The General CHASSÉ commanding the citadell does not appear to receive any orders except from the King. After all, the Dutch troops hold the citadell, and I have not heard that the separation or dislocation of the Dutch from the Belgians, has yet taken place under the General VAN GEEN. This in fact disappoints many, who conceived that the separation would have been followed up by a final retreat of the Dutch troops, by which measure, Antwerp would have been left with a Belgian garrison, and all collision prevented.

There may be good reasons for this, of which I am ignorant, yet, whether the Prince has, or has not the power of separating and withdrawing the Dutch troops, yet, until this be finally effected, no confidence can be generally placed in H. R. H.'s professions, as an independent personage, by the inhabitants of the southern provinces nor can the citizens of Antwerp be relieved from a state of alarm and fear in which they are placed, from the dread of being bombarded on the one hand by the Dutch in the citadell, and abandoned by the Belgians to the armed patriots, on the other. Indeed, I must say, that General CHASSÉ quite ridiculed to me, in conversation, the idea of withdrawing the Dutch troops. Though the period may be protracted for a while, yet, whether the PRINCE OF ORANGE be elected, or not, Antwerp must, in the course of a shorter or longer time, follow the fate of Ghent and of Liége and the Dutch, without foreign support and assistance, must ultimately give up this citadell as they have given up others.

Much misery and even carnage may be occasioned by the King continuing to hold the citadell, yet with the communications open, and with other troops in the town upon which *no* reliance can be placed, it

must come to this at last. However I have just learned that His Majesty by a proclamation has desired his faithful subjects in the North, to take care of themselves and has left the southern provinces to the care of his beloved son, to themselves and to the protection of Divine Providence and his Allies <sup>(1)</sup>.

29.

*Les élections pour le Congrès National. — Le général Chassé, maître souverain à Anvers. — Le départ du Prince d'Orange. — Combats aux portes de la ville.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 26th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you that the list circulated by Mr GLEIZE, who was at the head of a certain meeting held in the Theatre to promote the election of members to the National Congress, contains the names of four respectable landed proprietors, including one of the old members to the States General, the present procureur du roi, a merchant of respectability and one of the principal armateurs or ship owners, and finally to complete the eight an avocat. These eight names probably indifferent to you, but they would form a moderate and respectable return for the city of Antwerp, and its arrondissement.

I believe it is the intention to proceed with the elections.

There are about 1500 electors, but it is quite impossible to tell how the different parties may operate as to the return of members. The election is to take place the 3d November. The National Congress is

<sup>(1)</sup> Proclamation de Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>. La Haye, le 20 octobre 1830. Message aux Etats-Généraux. *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 123.



to assemble on the eight November. It will be for the Congress itself to determine whether members may be admitted upon the verification of their returns, from a city and province which has not, and may not at all, acknowledge the Provisional Government. If the election takes place, it will show the good will of H. R. H. the PRINCE OF ORANGE, in allowing it, and the adhesion de facto of the province to the new order of things in Belgium; whilst, by holding out, independently, some peculiar privileges and immunities may be obtained for the port and city of Antwerp, advantageous to commerce and to the mercantile interest.

The separation of the Belgian soldiers of the army commenced on Saturday the 23rd Inst. under the direction of General VAN GEEN. Many soldiers have received their discharge, and may either return home, or swell the ranks of the national force. I had occasion to wait upon General CHASSÉ in the citadell on the 23rd Inst. with some other consuls, and he most distinctly gave us to understand, that it was his intention to maintain that fortress as well as the city of Antwerp, against any attack that might be made against it, either externally or internally. General CHASSÉ will receive no orders except from the King, and he said that when all the force returned to the town, he might perhaps be at the head of between ten or twelve thousand men. A great portion of these may be Dutch, but, it is difficult to ascertain precisely the numbers.

The citadell is placed in a complete state of defence. General CHASSÉ told me that his head and his heart were good, but he is now not young, and he is suffering from fever and cold probably brought on by anxiety, and by exertion to which of late he has been unaccustomed.

A great part of the cavalry I understand have gone

across the Campine to Loenhout <sup>(1)</sup> on the road to Holland within a few leagues of Breda. General BOREEL is there with the division which he commanded at Waerloos <sup>(2)</sup> on the road to Malines, before the position of the Nethe and Waelhem was abandoned <sup>(3)</sup>.

The director of the police Mr KLINKHAMER a Dutchman having suddenly taken his departure, a report arose, which still continues, that Mr KLINKHAMER had instigated the lower orders to pillage, and to throw the town into confusion, in order to justify the proceedings which have been adopted to repress the public feeling, and to warrant the measures of coercion which it may be necessary to adopt. I cannot trace this report to any certain source, but I merely state it as general, and some people are willing to give it credit, though I do not.

The force in the river appears to have been augmented. There are armed vessels stationed at Oosterweel <sup>(4)</sup>, Lillo, Liefkenshoek and Doel <sup>(5)</sup>, besides others in the province of Zeeland.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that when

<sup>(1)</sup> *Loenhout*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arrond. Anvers, canton Brecht, 30 km. N.-N.-E. d'Anvers.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Waerloos*, com. de la prov. d'Anvers, arron. Anvers, canton Contich, 15 km. S. d'Anvers.

<sup>(3)</sup> BOREEL (Willem-François), Amsterdam, 1775-Friedrichshafen (Wurtemberg), 1851. Le 16 décembre 1813, lieutenant-colonel du régiment des hussards; le 20 décembre 1815, général. Pris part aux combats de Waterloo, à l'expédition de Bruxelles et à la campagne des Dix Jours. En 1849, grand maître de la maison du Roi.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Oosterweel* = nom ancien de Austruweel. Province et arrond. d'Anvers, 4 km. N. d'Anvers.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Doel* = com. de la prov. de la Flandre orientale, arrond. de Saint-Nicolas, canton de Beveren, 23 km. N.-E. de Saint-Nicolas.

His Majesty's steam vessel *The Fury* arrived off Flushing, a nine pound shot was stated to have been fired, which fell very near that vessel from one of the Dutch frigates stationed at the mouth of the Scheldt. It was represented to me, to have been done, in consequence of *the Fury* having taken up a position which she ought not to have done.

As Capt<sup>n</sup> LYNE, commander of *The Fury*, though *pressed by me*, declined giving any account of the transaction in writing, and said that he was *perfectly satisfied* with the apology that had been made by the captain under whose direction the shot had been fired, I merely state the circumstance in the case that you might hear any exaggerated account — But as the whole passed in conversation with Captain LYNE, I am not officially acquainted with any of the details. On the 23th Inst. an order was issued by General CHASSÉ directing that no diligence should be allowed to pass from Antwerp to Brussels, Malines, Louvain, Lierre and Ghent, and that all communication should cease with those places. Likewise that entrance into the town should be denied to all persons who did not belong to the town.

For about 3 hours on Sunday the 24th from 2 o'clock p. m. much firing was heard in the direction of Berchem, a suburb of Antwerp on the road to Malines.

It appears that the patriots have cannon and act as *tirailleurs* from behind walls and trees, by which any officer and soldier is exposed to be picked off.

The greater part of the Belgian troops have been allowed to go away, and only such retained as would consent to take service with the King. About eighty workmen have been armed with pikes for the protection of the port and basin. The burgher guard has

been increased. The firing continued near te town on Monday morning the 24th Inst. <sup>(1)</sup> and some wounded have been brought in.

I have the honor to enclose the Antwerp journal of the 25th Inst. The temporary Government of the Prince of Orange is at an end <sup>(2)</sup>.

The bulletin of the arrêté from the Hague of the 25th you are probably acquainted with.

The city of Antwerp is *absolutely* placed in a state of siege by a letter from General baron CHASSÉ of the 24th Inst. <sup>(3)</sup>. The whole army appears to be under the command of General CHASSÉ as well as the 4th Grand Commandement Militaire.

I am sorry to inform you that the DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR was wounded in the leg on Monday Morning the 25th Instant — Since 4 o'clock on the 25th the firing round the town has ceased.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE quitted Antwerp for Breda on the 25th.

30.

*Entrée des troupes belges dans la ville. — Retraite des Hollandais dans la citadelle.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 27th October 1830.

SIR,

In have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN that the Dutch troops

<sup>(1)</sup> Le 25 et non le 24 octobre.

<sup>(2)</sup> Proclamation du Prince d'Orange, au départ d'Anvers, le 25 octobre 1830. *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 127.

<sup>(3)</sup> Lettre de Chassé à la régence de la ville d'Anvers. Quartier général d'Anvers, le 24 octobre 1830. *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 126. MERTENS et TORFS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 560.

in this town have all retired into the citadell at 6 o'clock a. m., on the morning of the 27th Inst. The national troops entered this city at about 9 o'clock a. m. the same day.

The Brabançon flag is flying upon the towers of the cathedral and in other places.

I have therefore to request, that you will move the EARL OF ABERDEEN to furnish me with information and instructions for my future conduct. It is understood that the Dutch troops in the citadell have agreed not to fire upon the town.

31.

*Moyens insuffisans de Chassé pour défendre sa position. — Bombardement de la ville le 27 octobre.*  
(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 27th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that at 1/2 past 12 o'clock p. m. yesterday the 26th Inst. the sentinels at the Bank were disarmed. A contest was maintained in the place de Meir and in other parts of the town, which continued at intervals during the whole of the 26th and during the night until six o'clock a. m. on the 27th, when all the gates of the town were in the hands of the armed citizens.

The Dutch troops retired to the citadell, and an agreement was entered into with General CHASSÉ that if the troops in the citadell were not molested, he would not fire upon the town. A white flag was hoisted on the citadell and on the Hôtel de Ville. The national army of the Bruxellois entered in force with cannon at about 9 o'clock a. m. this day the 27th.

No excesses have been committed. Two Dutch officers are said to have been killed, but although numerous barricades have been thrown up in various streets, and tho' the firing in different parts was kept up at intervals from 1/2 past 12 p. m. on the 26th until six o'clock a. m. on the 27th, I do not believe many lives were lost either on one side or the other.

Since the departure of H. R. H. the PRINCE OF ORANGE, and the termination of the powers granted to him by the King and the declaration by which the city of Antwerp was placed in a state of siege by General CHASSÉ, I had the honor to acquaint you that I waited upon General CHASSÉ in company with 4 other consuls, at which interview the general informed me that he should be at the head of between ten and twelve thousand troops and had sufficient means at his command to insure the safety of persons and property and likewise of the shipping.

Though ten or twelve thousand troops may not perhaps be deemed quite sufficient for the defence of the citadell and of the extensive fortifications of the town, yet I feel convinced that Lord ABERDEEN will be astonished, when I state that General CHASSÉ had not *in all* more than three or four thousand troops, and that of these, only twelve hundred men were left in the town, principally at the four Gates.

I consider therefore, that the general had *positively* not the means of affording security to persons, or to property, more especially as he had himself previously informed me, that he could place *no* dependance upon the citizens, ur upon the population which he knew to be hostile.

The state of distress and misery in which the female subjects of His Majesty have therefore been placed is beyond description.

At the same time I must likewise state, that those members of the garde communale and of the garde bourgeoise who had merely taken up arms for the security of the town, and for the maintenance of internal security were grossly betrayed by a part of the officers of those gardes and by other official persons.

The third section of the garde bourgeoise fired upon the troops of the King par corps, and other individuals of these gardes come in uniform and others likewise turned against the soldiers who ultimately gave way in all directions.

Since writing the above I have been in many parts of the town where numerous barricades have been thrown up, and returning home at half past one o'clock p. m. on the 27th Inst. I was surprised about 2 o'clock by a recommencement of the firing which came from the citadell and from the ships of war stationed in the river. This firing has continued until 9 o'clock at night.

This firing is evidently from the citadell. The arsenal near the citadell, a prison and the entrepôt of the St Michel are totally destroyed. Many shells and rockets from the shipping have struck and damaged several houses in the town; some in the place de Meir.

The Bruxellois who entered may be perhaps four or five thousand dressed principally in blouses or sarois, with some few pieces of cannon, caissons etc.

The peace and tranquility of the town have been maintained from excess and from pillage during the whole time; notwithstanding the continual firing from the citadell and the destruction of many houses around the arsenal and entrepôt.

*Les causes et responsabilités du bombardement.  
Les tentatives d'armistice.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 28th October 1830.

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN that after the disastrous night of the 27th Inst, I this morning called at the Hôtel de Ville upon General MILLINET commanding the Bruxellois troops <sup>(1)</sup>. General MILLINET stated what I fear may deviate a little from the real state of the case, that General CHASSÉ had fired from the citadell in consequence of some drunken soldiers of the Belgic troops having fired off, their muskets towards the arsenal and citadell and that all the destruction of the arsenal and of the entrepôt containing very rich merchandise has been owing to this circumstance.

General MILLINET when I called upon him, was occupied in drawing up the proclamation enclosed n° 1 and the ordre du jour n° 2.

I then went at 9 o'clock a. m. in company with

(1) MELLINET (François-Aimé), Corbeil, 1768 (Seine-et-Oise). Adjudant général dans les armées de la Révolution, ensuite professeur d'histoire à l'Ecole centrale de Nantes, se tint à l'écart des affaires publiques sous l'Empire. En 1815, reprit du service et se distingua à Waterloo. Exilé de France, se retira à Bruxelles et s'occupa de littérature. Pendant les Journées de Septembre, commandait l'artillerie bruxelloise et liégeoise. Général le 3 novembre 1830, il fit le blocus de Maestricht, puis fut mis en disponibilité le 20 août 1831. Fut impliqué dans l'affaire de Risquons-Tout en 1848. Condamné à mort, il vit sa peine commuée en 20 ans de réclusion et fut gracié le 16 novembre 1849. Il mourut le 20 juillet 1852. Cf. LECONTE, Le Général Mellinet, dans *La Belgique en 1930*, n° de février, pp. 28 à 43.



Mr ELLERMAN, His Majesty's Consul General for Hanover to the citadell in my carriage, bearing a white flag in my hand. After some interval, General CHASSÉ sent an officer and guard to conduct us blindfolded to his appartement. General CHASSÉ then gave me the enclosed copy n° 3 of a letter from Mr VAN DER HERREWEGHE delegate of the Provisional Government <sup>(1)</sup> dated the 27th Inst <sup>(2)</sup>.

This person had evidently been concealed in the city of Antwerp for some time.

I consider, therefore, that there was a decided party organized within the town, for the Provisional Government, and that on the 26th Inst. it was determined by them to strike a blow against the troops, by means of the canaille and lower orders of the town, assisted by the third section of the garde bourgeoise which fired upon the Kings troops *par corps*, and by others of the garde bourgeoise and of the garde communale who acted individually against them.

In the morning of the 26th a boat full of the arms and of the lancers had been seized upon by the rabble. The troops of the King were regularly repulsed from the Palace, the place de Meir, the Hôtel de Ville and successively from the four principal Gates. The combat continued during the whole night of the 26th.

In consequence of the letter of the delegate VAN DER HERREWEGHE, General CHASSÉ did give orders to his

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(1) VAN DER HERREWEGHE, délégué du Gouvernement provisoire à Anvers en octobre 1830. Voir son rapport au dit Gouvernement. MERTENS et TORFS, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-577, et BUFFIN, t. II, pp. 526-532, et PRIMIS, van der Herreweghe en de inname van Antwerpen in 1830. (*Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, t. XX, pp. 330-337.)

(2) BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 534-535.

troops to retire into the citadell. The suspension was agreed upon and ten keys of the gates of Antwerp given to the delegate at 7 o'clock in the morning of the 27th Inst., as per copy n° 4 herewith enclosed <sup>(1)</sup>.

It was *not* until the keys had been so obtained that the Bruxellois entered the town. The keys having been given up at 7 o'clock a. m., about 9 o'clock I *saw* the Bruxellois army enter the town, about 4,000 with a few pieces of cannon, caissons, etc.

Soon after this, the arsenal was attacked by the Bruxellois. The arsenal is a building connected with the citadell by a subterraneous passage, and attached to the old convent of St Michel, which, with its buildings and towers commands a part of the citadell.

I was assured by General CHASSÉ that a fusilade took place at the time with musquetry, from the adjoining houses occupied by the Bruxellois. This, and the seizure of some cattle placed in an enclosure near the Esplanade incensed General CHASSÉ after the suspension of arms, or armistice. General CHASSÉ, therefore, directed his fire first against the arsenal and against the convent of St Michel or entrepôt. The frigates, likewise, being under his orders and in communication with him, opened their fire upon the town.

Guns of a heavy calibre were fired, 24 and 36 pounders, shells and rockets in all directions.

Several houses were struck, even in the place de Meir which is in the interior of the town. The whole city was in consternation and alarm throughout the night. This firing continued until about half past 9 o'clock in the evening.

The arsenal and the entrepôt were completely

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(1) BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

destroyed, and of course abandoned by the Bruxellois. General CHASSÉ as a military commander who has served with distinction in Spain with the Dutch troops under the French, and under the DUKE OF WELLINGTON at Waterloo, felt his military character compromised by treachery, and by a canaille which as a military man he despised, on the other hand, the officers and leaders of the national Belgic force, General NYPELS <sup>(1)</sup>, MILINET (sic), etc., feel that the party in the town, who gained their object, and finally caused the Gates to be opened to them by convention with the concealed delegate HERREWEGHE, have acted for the cause of the Belgic nation. They even consider General CHASSÉ to be a brutal incendiary, who has avenged himself against the peaceable inhabitants of a populous and rich city of their country, like Antwerp, and who has maintained military possession of the citadell by firing upon the town, and by destroying an arsenal which belonged to them as to the Provisional Government of the country, by right, together with a rich entrepot and who has spread alarm and consternation throughout the whole city.

All who could leave Antwerp the next morning abandoned it, and we who remain are now exposed, not only as to our property, but as to our lives, by the collision of the different parties, and our only

(1) NYPELS (Lambert-Pierre-Antoine-André-Servais), Maestricht, 1783-Bruxelles, 1851. Se distingua dans les rangs de l'armée française de 1801 à 1815. Le 4 avril 1815, entra au service des Pays-Bas avec le grade de lieutenant-colonel; en 1830, en garnison à Mons, il fut un des premiers officiers à se rallier au nouveau Régime; le 3 octobre, il fut promu général et reçut le commandement des forces mobiles; en mars 1831, impliqué dans un complot orangiste il fut acquitté devant la Haute Cour. *Biographie Nationale*, t. XVI, p. 31.

security is in the temporary observance of a sort of suspension of arms, which may, at any moment be broken by a drunken and infuriated rabble, or by an indisciplined force of Bruxellois, who may provoke a combat, by unguardedly firing upon the citadell and thereby lead to a still more dreadful catastrophe than the former.

Such is the fate that momentarily awaits us unless the King of the Netherlands should order General CHASSÉ to evacuate the citadell, and, knowing that he can avenge himself upon the town, whenever he is attacked, the general remains with the command over the ships of war, ready to blow up the magazines of powder on the ramparts, to cannonade the whole city, which he can reach, and finally to blow himself up with the DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR and such of the troops as cannot retreat.

At the same time, I have to observe, that the internal peace and tranquility of this city is at this moment preserved by the army of the Bruxellois, conjointly with the garde bourgeoise which is reorganizing, and I do not now believe that General CHASSÉ will even now, wantonly fire upon the town, unless he be again attacked. But, on the other hand, I do most firmly believe, that if the King does not send orders to General CHASSÉ to evacuate the citadell, the chiefs of the Belgic force, General NYPELS and General MILLINET will collect under their orders a very large force, from the distress and misery existing in this city, which will drive many to their standard. Besides this, they will call in, to their assistance the miners of Liège, of the Borinage near Mons, and they are determined, neither to leave General CHASSÉ, nor the frigates in the river unmolested.

Général CHASSÉ considers some barricades erected

by the Bruxellois near the quay, to be evidently directed against the shipping and to be a breach of the convention. The Bruxellois on the other hand, consider them to be erected for their own defence, and will not destroy them.

General CHASSÉ stated to me his desire to diminish his garrison, and to send some even to Breda. If that could be effected, the General would be relieved from some of his troops, but, as I put the question hypothetically to NYPELS and MILLINET I know likewise, if they discover this proceeding, and meet any troops so sent away, they will attack them, and consider it to be a breach of the convention on the part of the general, and again he can only avenge himself on the city. Such is our position, and no ray of comfort can dawn upon us, but in the express order of the King, for the evacuation of the citadell. Such are the miseries of civil war. On the one hand, the King in his obstinacy may look forward to the intervention of his Allies, or of the great powers of Europe, by the maintenance of the citadell under General CHASSÉ — either by political or by military intervention. On the other hand the general and chiefs of the national forces are prompt and sudden in their operations.

It is by these means alone, that they can keep together such a motley group, confirm their power and obtain security in the city of Antwerp, by a sudden attack, by the capture of the citadell and of the frigates they may spread themselves over the province of Zealand, and, finally, even realize their threats of cutting the dykes and inundating the whole of Holland. This is their language.

On the other hand General CHASSÉ has let in the

water on the opposite side of the Scheldt at the Tête de Flanders, as far as Lillo, and likewise on the side of the basin towards Merxem. The general told me himself that if they are fond of water, they shall have enough of it around Antwerp.

The destruction of property, the alarm and consternation spread through all ranks, has reduced this rich and once populous city to a desert.

It may become a second Moscow, though it will not be caused by the people, but by the rage of civil war, by the obduracy of the general and by the obstinacy of the King.

P. S. I have likewise the honor to enclose a copy of the propositions made to General CHASSÉ by the generals and by the delegate HERREWEGHE which were most indignantly rejected by General CHASSÉ before the attack or demonstration against the arsenal by the Bruxellois <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Documents joints à la lettre.*

N° 1. — Proclamation.

Les désastres qui ont accablé la ville d'Anvers ne peuvent être attribués qu'à la malveillance; il est de notoriété publique que les troupes nationales n'ont aucun reproche à se faire à cet égard. Il est malheureux que quelques coups de fusils tirés par des hommes ivres et sans aveu aient décidé le commandant d'une forteresse à incendier toute une ville...

Une convention a été conclue entre le commandant

(1) *Esquisses historiques. Supplément*, p. 133, BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 220-221. MERTENS et TORFS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, pp. 561-562.

de la citadelle et les chefs de l'armée citoyenne. Il ne sera plus tiré sur la ville.

Tous les habitants doivent concourir avec nous à la stricte exécution de cette convention. Il est temps que la garde bourgeoise se montre, et que les chefs nous aident à maintenir l'ordre; de fortes patrouilles circulent pour cet objet.

Tous les citoyens sont autorisés à désarmer tout individu qu'ils rencontreront dans la ville; les notables doivent sur-le-champ aviser aux moyens qui peuvent rétablir la tranquillité publique et se réunir à cet effet à l'Hôtel de ville.

Au Quartier Général à Anvers, le 28 octobre 1830.

Le général-commandant,

MELLINET.

Approuvé par le général en chef

NIPELS.

N° 2. — Commandant de la Place d'Anvers.

Ordre du jour.

Il est expressément défendu à tout individu armé de décharger son fusil dans les rues. Tous les citoyens sont autorisés à désarmer ceux qui se permettent de troubler ainsi la tranquillité publique.

Au Quartier Général d'Anvers, le 27 octobre 1830.

Le commandant provisoire de la Place,

STEVENOTTE <sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) STÉVENOTTE, commandant des volontaires. Commandant provisoire de la Place d'Anvers. Fut remplacé le 31 octobre par le colonel l'Olivier.

33.

*La Convention Rogier-Chazal. — Les conversations entre Rogier et les principaux marchands.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 29th October 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN, that I this day attended a meeting at the Palace, convened by Mr ROGIER one of the Provisional Government.

Mr ROGIER gave that meeting to understand that the Provisional Government of Belgium had endeavoured to form a convention with General CHASSÉ commanding the citadell of Antwerp for His Majesty the King of the Netherlands. This has not taken place, but Mr Rogier had received the fullest assurance on the part of the General Chassé that he would not again fire upon the city of Antwerp unless any *hostile military operation* was undertaken *against the citadell or ships of war* in the river <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Provisional Government had endeavoured to make General CHASSÉ sensible, that it was at times scarcely in their power to control the ardour of some of the volunteers and free corps attached to the national force, and they had the firmest assurance from General CHASSÉ, that he would not consider the casual firing of a musket, as warranting him in firing again upon the city. But General CHASSÉ would fire upon the town if any *hostile* military demonstration was made against either the citadel or ships of war.

Mr ROGIER likewise informed the meeting that the

(1) Sur l'activité de CH. ROGIER pendant ces journées, voir DISCAILLES, *Ch. Rogier*, t. II, pp. 36-45.



Provisional Government had determined to prevent the sortie of any mercantile vessel.

Mr ROGIER stated that the Provisional Government had adopted this measure for the interests of commerce, and in consequence of the relations in which the Provisional Government stood, with respect to Holland and the King of the Netherlands, but, that if any reclamations were made to them by the consuls of Foreign States or by individuals, the Provisional Government would do all in its power to satisfy the wishes of consuls, and of individuals, and that if from the nature of the cargo, and the destination of the vessel, there should exist no impediment which might effect the relations in which they, the Provisional Government, stood, with respect to the King of the Netherlands, and as to the particular situation of the town and port of Antwerp, a free sortie would be instantly granted to such vessel upon application.

I have likewise to acquaint you that it was stated by Mr ROGIER that *on the morning of the 27th Instant* that at the time when the suspension was made by the delegate VAN DER HERREWEGHE with General CHASSÉ and the keys of the city delivered to him, two corps of Brussels troops under VAN KESSELS <sup>(1)</sup> and NEILON entered by force, or by other means, at 2 Gates viz : the Breda Gate and by Borgerhout Gate, and that VAN KESSELS and NEILON, immediately marched to

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(1) KESSELS (Herman), Bruxelles (1794-1851). Se distingua pendant les 4 Journées de Bruxelles. Le 28 septembre 1830, nommé commandant de l'artillerie mobile, il fit toute la campagne d'octobre et entra un des premiers à Anvers. Accusé de complicité dans le complot orangiste du 2 février 1831, il fut acquitté par la Haute Cour le 22 juin 1831. Se signala à Kermpt et Cortesseem. *Biographie Nationale*, t. X, p. 670, et LÉCONTE, Herman Kessels, dans *La Belgique en 1930*, n° de décembre, pp. 6-11.

the arsenal, and commenced the hostile demonstration against the citadell, either ignorant of the convention, or unwilling to respect a suspension, when they considered they had entered the city by force.

Under these circumstances the merchants and others present at this meeting appeared to feel that under the unfortunate and disastrous circumstances in which the property and even the lives of all in this city are placed, there may still be formed some grounds to hope that some amicable arrangement may yet be made, by which confidence may be restored, public order maintained, and tranquillity preserved.

34.

*La prolongation de l'armistice.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 31th October 1830.

SIR,

I have positive information upon which I can rely that the city of Antwerp will be spared.

The armistice has been prolonged for 5 days.

General CHASSÉ yesterday the 30th Inst. sent to the Provisional Government for a parlementair. A gentleman was sent to the citadell. He dined with General CHASSÉ.

General CHASSÉ gave him his conditions in writing.

Those conditions were in toto rejected by the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government drew up other conditions. The same person took them back to General CHASSÉ. General CHASSÉ agreed to the whole of those conditions.

General CHASSÉ requested cattle, gin, etc. The Provisional Government refused these supplies in kind,

from the bad appearance it would have in the city.

The Provisional Government sent General CHASSÉ a supply of money to purchase provisions as he could. General CHASSÉ accepted that money <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Provisional Government are determined to have Breda, Bergen op Zoom, Bois-le-Duc.

As Antwerp is saved, I understand that no operations will be undertaken against Holland.

Inclus *Journal d'Anvers et de la Province*, (feuille politique, commerciale et littéraire, annonces et faits-divers), 31 octobre 1830, avec le texte de la convention Chazal-Chassé. Voir *Supplément aux Esquisses Historiques*, pp. 142-143.

35.

*L'armée belge dans Anvers.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 1st November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the determination of the Provisional Government with respect to the sortie of foreign vessels now in the basin and port of Antwerp <sup>(2)</sup>.

I have received a permission to go on board the Dutch Admiral's ship in the river in case the frigates should on their part prevent any ships from sailing.

In other respects we remain in the same state of uncertainty.

<sup>(1)</sup> Texte de la convention définitive passée entre Ch. Rogier, le général Nypels et le baron Chassé, *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, pp. 151-155.

<sup>(2)</sup> DISCAILLES, *Charles Rogier*, t. II, p. 41.

Persons are leaving the city in all directions, and sending away their property. The most dreadful state of alarm continues. In other respects, public order is maintained, among nearly 12,000 national troops, free corps, etc. But even this may at any moment cease.

Thousands are ruined, and it is almost impossible to procure any money upon bills.

Col. NYPELS <sup>(2)</sup> the brother of the general informs me that the Provisional Government would be satisfied with the ancient boundaries of the Belgic provinces, provided the King consents to evacuate the citadell, to remove the vessels of war in the river, and to grant a good commercial treaty and the free passage of the river.

Otherwise the citadell will be attacked after Thursday (4 novembre) and the Belgic army will proceed towards Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc, etc.

## 36.

*Les positions des deux armées. — La population anversoise. — Les élections pour le Congrès National.*  
(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 4th November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of Lord ABERDEEN that the armistice concluded between General CHASSÉ in the citadell, and the Provisional Government, expires at 4 o'clock to day.

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(1) NYPELS (Dominique), frère du général. En 1830, major de l'ex-garde royale française, passa au service de la Belgique. Cf. *Mémoires de Chazal*, BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 267-272.

It is understood that this armistice is considered to be prolonged indefinitely, either party having the power of recommencing hostilities giving 12 hours notice, though General CHASSÉ has given his parole of honour not to commence unless he be attacked. It appears that the King's troops with the exception of the military possession of the river Scheldt, the forts and citadell are all within the antient limits of the northern provinces.

The King's army occupy Lillo, the country around which is inundated. The line occupied by the King's troops extends from Bergen-op-Zoom, Nispen <sup>(1)</sup>, Rysbergen <sup>(2)</sup>, where they are in force, to Breda. The patriots occupy Kapelle, near Bergen, a small fort on the river near Oosterweel, their advanced posts are about 5 English miles on the Breda road where a chaussée branches of on the left to Donk <sup>(3)</sup>, on the other side they extend over the bruyeres to Turnhout where there is said to be a free corps of 1500 men; from whence they are in communication with Liége and can derive succours from that province.

We expect every moment the return of General NYPELS, the commander in chief and Mr ROGIER who are at Brussels. This appears to be a critical moment, and an opportunity may be afforded now for all parties to come to an arrangement. The greater part of the patriots have left Antwerp.

It is but justice to say, extraordinary as it may appear, that they have maintained good order in the

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(1) *Nispen* = village du Brabant septentrional (Pays-Bas), à la frontière entre Esschen et Rosendaal.

(2) *Bysbergen* = village du Brabant septentrional (Pays-Bas), arrond. de Bréda, 10 km. de Bréda.

(3) *Donk* = hameau, dépendant de Brasschaet, prov. de arrond. d'Anvers, 11 km. N.-N.-E.

town ever since they entered. The inhabitants have only suffered from giving food and lodging to the numbers that arrive, many houses, having had 12 men and 2 or 3 officers quartered upon them.

It would appear that the intention of the patriots is to go on in advance and merely to leave a sufficient force to keep the line of demarcation between the city and the citadell with the river. Many persons are alarmed lest General CHASSÉ should threaten to burn the city of Antwerp in the case the patriots army advance towards Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom.

For this reason, *the greatest part* of the population have quitted the town, and all who remain are in the greatest consternation.

The admiral has permitted those foreign vessels to pass down the river which have cleared out from the basin, so that on both sides the belligerents have respected neutral flags.

With respect to the elections for the National Congress which took place yesterday I have the honour to acquaint you that the persons elected are all of the highest respectability.

Mr DU BOIS, an elderly gentleman of fortune, the chief of one of the first families in Antwerp <sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr WERBROUCK PEETERS a landed proprietor <sup>(2)</sup>.

Mr CLAAS a notaire.

Mr A. COGELS a banker <sup>(3)</sup>.

(1) DU BOIS (baron F.-A.-D.-I.-A.), conseiller d'Etat sous Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>, membre du Congrès et du Sénat (1768-1848).

(2) WERBROUCK (Joseph-Emmanuel), Anvers, 1775-1850. Conseiller communal pendant trente-cinq ans, membre de la deuxième chambre des Etats-Généraux en 1820-1821, membre du Congrès National. En 1801, épousa Marie PIETERS.

(3) COGELS (Albert-Ferdinand), Anvers, 1776-1852. Grand aumônier d'Anvers, membre de la deuxième chambre des Etats-Généraux, président de la Chambre de Commerce,

Mr H. J. COGELS the former deputy <sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr DE WAEL, a merchant of talent and consideration.

Mr LE GRELLE a banker <sup>(2)</sup>.

Mr d'HANIS CANAERT, bourgmestre of Antwerp <sup>(3)</sup>.

37.

*L'aspect désolé de la ville.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 5th November 1830.

No notice has yet been given of any arrangement between General CHASSÉ and the Provisional Government.

I expect General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS this day in the Alban; and communicated that expectation to the Provisional Government and likewise to General CHASSÉ yesterday <sup>(4)</sup>.

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membre du Congrès National, puis de la Chambre des Représentants.

(1) COGELS (Henri), Anvers, 1774-1846. Membre de la deuxième chambre des États-Généraux, puis du Congrès National.

(2) LE GRELLE (Gérard-Joseph comte), 1793. Membre du Congrès National, membre de la Chambre des Représentants. Le 8 décembre 1830, les bourgeois choisirent comme bourgmestre le chevalier FLORIS VAN ERTBORN qui avait été bourgmestre de 1817 à 1828. Celui-ci déclina cet honneur et Gérard Le Grelle fut alors élu. Il fut bourgmestre pendant dix-huit ans.

(3) ANTOINE D'HANIS VAN CANAERT, commandant en second de la garde bourgeoise d'Anvers, fut nommé provisoirement bourgmestre par arrêté du 28 octobre 1830 en remplacement de Guillaume Caters, destitué. DISCAILLES, *Charles Rogier*, t. II, p. 42.

(4) DOUGLAS (Sir Howard), 1776-1861. Combattit vaillamment pendant les guerres de l'Empire. Surtout connu par ses

The news that the French Government have become a party to the Congress, has done much to quiet the alarm and consternation and to arrest the progress of emigration.

This city presents a dreadful scene of desolation. Almost every house entirely shut up.

The post now goes regularly by way of Ostend. But our communications with Holland go by way of Aix-la-Chapelle. As the mail for Ostend departs at 10 o'clock a. m., I have nothing further to communicate, except the earnest hope that at this moment all parties may find it to be their common interest to terminate the present state of affairs in Belgium.

38.

*La nouvelle prolongation des conventions.*

(A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 5th November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that a captain of one of the Dutch frigates laying in Antwerp roads came this day to Mr CH. ROGIER member of the Provisional Government, and also addressed himself to the military government in order to be informed whether fresh troops were arrived to reenforce the army at Antwerp, as it had been reported to him, and having received thereabouts satisfactory explanations, he gave his parole of honor that neither the frigates

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ouvrages militaires. En 1830, était attaché à l'ambassade de La Haye. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, t. V, pp. 1203-1206.) Sur la mission de reconnaissance de cet officier britannique, voir DE BAS, *op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 500.



nor the citadell had received any new supply of powder nor of cattle.

After this interview the Dutch captain went to the citadell accompanied by Mr CHAZAL in order to make an agreement concerning the free navigation of the river Scheldt for trading vessels, and this agreement was concluded (1).

The armistice is indefinitely prolonged, with the clause that in case the hostilities were to be renewed, both parties should give notice three days before (2).

I have further to add that the foregoing circumstances and agreements have been confirmed to me by the baron VAN DER SMISSEN general of the patriots.

## 39.

*Les discussions entre les diverses autorités pour établir un régime provisoire de l'Escaut.* (A. J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 5th November 1830.

7 o'clock p. m.

I have the honor to acquaint you that I have reason to believe that an armistice has been concluded with General CHASSÉ for an indefinite period, each party having the power of giving 3 days, or 3 times 24 hours before the commencement of hostilities.

I know positively that brulots have been made at Boom in the Rupel by the patriots which are ready.

These brulots remain at Boom. They are destined

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(1) CHAZAL (Félix, baron), Tarbes, 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1808-1892. Voir notice détaillée du baron CAMILLE BUFFIN, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 3-32.

(2) Convention passée entre Chazal, de Robiano, gouverneur de la province, et le baron Chassé. *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, p. 155.

to burn the shipping and frigates before Antwerp. On the part of General CHASSÉ the conditions probably are, that no operations are to be undertaken against Holland, or even beyond the ancient limits of Belgium.

But, nothing is yet publickly known. The emigration from Antwerp continues; the town is litterally almost a desert. Every house and shop shut up. Scarcely any business. It is said that the free navigation of the Scheldt is stipulated for by the patriots, and that this will be accorded.

General CHASSÉ is said to be very ill, that he has been attacked by an apoplexy foudroyante.

I endeavour as much as possible to dispel the alarm of the inhabitants. Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS is not yet arrived.

I am sure that General CHASSÉ would communicate more readily through an English general of rank and reputation.

Mr ROGIER promised me that if General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS arrived on board an English vessel in the Scheldt, he would have no objection to go on board for the sake of promoting a good understanding with General CHASSÉ, and to arrange matters for the preservation of Antwerp and for the cause of humanity.

40.

*La stagnation du commerce. — Le logement des troupes chez l'habitant.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 9th November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the EARL OF ABERDEEN that every thing

remains here on statu quo. An indefinite armistice with 3 days notice on either side. The small country vessels are allowed to pass up to Brussels and Ghent. But in other respects the admiral endeavours to keep the river as free as possible.

Few merchants will now give orders for vessels to proceed from Flushing.

This city is almost deserted and as no one is permitted to approach the river or the quays, a general stagnation of business continues.

The quartering of the patriot troops is likewise very burthensome to the inhabitants, many householders having 10 soldiers and 3 officers to lodge and to feed.

In other respects, we remain quiet and good order is preserved <sup>(1)</sup>.

41.

*La position des neutres : la Belgique est définitivement perdue pour Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>. — Le maintien de Chassé à Anvers est contraire à tous les intérêts du commerce international.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 11th November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the EARL ABERDEEN that affairs remain here in statu quo.

An indefinite truce, with three days notice before the recommencement of hostilities.

As to the port of Antwerp, no vessels of any kind

(1) Une copie de la convention passée entre Rogier, Nypels et Chassé, le 30 octobre, et la convention du 5 novembre sont jointes à cette lettre. Voir *Supplément aux Esquisses historiques*, pp. 154-155.

are permitted to pass up the river by the Dutch authorities in Flushing, and by the commanders on the river.

All foreign vessels, however, not bearing munitions of war, or property of the house of Nassau, are allowed a free sortie by the Provisional Government. Such sortie has hitherto been respected by the Dutch.

I have to call the most serious attention of Lord ABERDEEN and of His Majesty's Government to the unfortunate situation in which the city of Antwerp is placed, so long as the citadell continues to be occupied by the Dutch garrison, and to be held by the general and troops of a monarch who has de facto ceased to reign over these provinces; who has, moreover by a public document abandoned the territory and whose son the PRINCE OF ORANGE allowed and authorized the elections for deputies to the Provisional Government, to be commenced and carried on, under the very guns of that citadell which has been held only for the destruction of a rich flourishing and loyal town. I wish His Lordship to observe that the city of Antwerp has been loyal, until loyalty became almost a crime, until protection had ceased to be given on the part of the Dutch Government, until the citizens beheld their country houses in the suburbs in flames, and themselves, with their wives and children held as hostages under the guns of the fortress and under the control of a few thousand Dutch troops who had abandoned the defence of the city. The monarch had given up the territory and the troops had universally given way before the citizens or armed force.

The power, but not the right of destruction and intimidation alone remains. The worst and most cruel dreams of the Duke of Alva may be realized without intervention.

It is, therefore to Great Britain and to the Allies, alone that the really unfortunate inhabitants of this city look for safety and protection in the speedy removal of the small force in the citadell who have not the means to recover what has been lost, but simply to destroy what remains.

I have the strictest assurances from the military chiefs and others that no troops of the Provisional Government will be allowed to pass the ancient limits of the province.

42.

*Prise de Venloo par les troupes belges. — Les mesures de défense militaire de Chassé lui ont aliéné la population anversoise.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 16th November 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of Lord ABERDEEN, that everything remains here in statu quo as to the citadell.

Some more of the national troops have arrived well-clothed and accoutred, but the great number have left Antwerp for the North. I understand that General MILLINET has about ten or eleven thousand troops in the neighbourhood of Breda. These numbers are constantly increasing from the idle characters in the neighbourhood who join.

We understand that the fortress of Venloo has been taken by the national troops. The King's garrison about 500 in number are made prisoners, and some have been conducted to Louvain. The possession of Venloo will enable the Provisional Government to cut off the communication between Maestricht and the northern provinces. At Venloo

there is a flying bridge over the Meuse. That city is surrounded by marsh land and uncultivated bruyere. The inhabitants about 5,500. An easy communication may be opened to the way of Grave <sup>(1)</sup> and Nijmegen to the north, or by Bois-le-Duc towards Breda.

In these respects the acquisition of Venloo is of importance to the Provisional Government <sup>(2)</sup>.

I take occasion to mention here that I yesterday walked to the royal harmony gardens, which belong to a society chiefly or almost entirely composed of the respectable but middling class of bourgeois. The trees in these garden were perhaps in a *military point* of view very judiciously cut down by General CHASSÉ's orders on the 24th and 25th Ult. About 500 of the colonial Bn (bataillon) cut these trees down and burnt the neighbouring houses.

This was, undoubtedly one of the military measures which greatly offended all classes in the town before the fusilade on the 26th Ult°. It seems to be the plan of the general here to leave their best and most respectable troops in the towns and to let the rest pass on in advance. The country about Bois-le-Duc I have reason to believe is not well affected to the King's Government.

The national troops will gain some adherents by taking crosses as well as tricolors.

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(1) GRAVE, ville du Brabant septentrional (Pays-Bas), arrondissement de Bois-le-Duc sur la Meuse.

(2) Sur la prise de Venloo: 11 novembre 1830, voir P.-H. VAN DER KEMP, *De Belgische Omwenteling in Luik en Limburg*, La Haye, 1904, pp. 145-150.

43.

*Le chômage et la misère. — Les interventions personnelles du Consul Larpent.* (A J. Bidwell).

Antwerp, 2nd December 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of His Majesty's Government, that I understand there are about thirty vessels of various nations at Flushing, destined for the port of Antwerp.

No vessels have been allowed to ascend the river. The misery of this town is very great, and the want of employment most sensibly felt by the labouring classes.

Most of the principal inhabitants have left the town, and few shops are open except for the necessaries of live.

Business is entirely at a stand. Public order is maintained by the garde urbaine, the 3d and 4d regiments of Belgic militia and by some armed workmen of the port.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that His Excellency Sir CHARLES BAGOT must have been greatly misinformed as to my position at Antwerp, if he could imagine it to have been in my power to approach the River Scheldt, much less to embark on board His Netherland Majesty's steamer, upon the invitation of Major general Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, attached to His Majesty's Embassy at the Hague, without first obtaining permission from the local authorities and stating my object. Had I attempted this without such authority, my own safety as well as that of the city might have been compromised.

I keep myself quite retired, but, having received orders to remain at my post, I have never been near the local authorities except immediately after the bombardment of the 27th Ult<sup>o</sup>. in the cause of humanity, when all the authorities of the King had fled, and when most of the other consuls had quitted the town. Subsequently I have only visited the local authorities for commercial purposes, to obtain passports, and to promote the just claims of British subjects.

One corvette of 32 guns, the Curaçao, an armed steamer and about seven gun brigs of his Netherland Majesty's Navy remain in the stream of the Scheldt. General CHASSÉ remains in the citadell with a small garrison. It is said that the troops there are healthy and well provisioned.

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La Correspondance du consul anglais à Ostende, Fauche.

1.

*Les répercussions à Ostende, le 29 août 1830, des émeutes du 28 août à Bruges. — Les mesures de précaution. (A Lord Aberdeen).*

*British Consulate.*

Ostend, September 5. 1830.

MYLORD,

At noon on the 29th of August a gens d'arme arrived here from Bruges with an order to the commandant, to dispatch three companies of Infantry out of the four composing the garrison as serious riots having commenced at Bruges the preceding night, the prisons



had been broken open and the mob were then engaged in pillaging and burning houses <sup>(1)</sup>.

This intelligence created considerable alarm at Ostend and during the day arms were delivered to the bourgeoisie and a strong guard of them established as the Hôtel de Ville as measures of precaution, which might check any disposition that might arise in the numerous workmen employed on the fortifications to follow the example of the rabble at Bruges.

The commandant upon making me acquainted with the state of affairs informed me that it was his intention, in case, of any disturbance at Ostend, to confine himself to the care of the magazines, and to let things take their course. He added « I recommend you to advise the English to go to the Hôtel de Ville to join the bourgeoisie ».

I beg to call your Lordship's particular attention to the facts that at this time the burgomaster was absent at his country seat and that I had no source of authentic information, but the commandant.

Under these circumstances I sent an invitation to the English of which the following is a copy :

« The following British residents are invited to inscribe their names at the Hôtel de Ville where arms and ammunitions will be delivered to them to join the bourgeoisie in the maintenance of order in this town. »

Here follow the names of fourteen English residents. The above invitation I humbly submit cannot be construed into any thing more than those necessary precautions for self-defence (which the state of affairs at the moment demanded) unmixed with any considerations of a political nature.

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(1) L. RYELANDT, La Révolution de 1830 à Bruges (*Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 1905, t. LV, raconte les événements d'après les documents contemporains.

2.

*L'hostilité passive de la population. — L'attente de la tournure des événements à Bruxelles.* (A Lord Aberdeen).

Ostend, August 27. 1830.

... « I must not disguise to your Lordship that the worst spirit exists in this vicinity and that a general insurrection is to be expected. »

Joint : Supplément au *Journal de Gand* du 27 août 1830.

*Nouvelles de Bruxelles.*

Nous apprenons à l'instant par voie officielle que tout à Bruxelles est rentré dans l'ordre et que la tranquillité est rétablie. »

Ostend, September 8. 1830.

MYLORD,

The worst feature of the Belgian insurrection has manifested itself in the refusal of the deputies to the States General to assemble at the Hague on the 13th September. The deputies from this part of the country have all left their residences for Brussels yesterday. It is the general opinion that a Provisional Government will be formed at Brussels within a very few days.

Perfect tranquillity reigns at Ghent, Bruges and Ostend.

Ostend, September 22. 1830.

MYLORD,

The communication with Brussels being totally interrupted, I think it is my duty to acquaint your Lordship with the rumours which prevail here this morning.

That a Provisional Government composed of nine

persons was formed on the 20th, DE POTTER being one of its members.

That a sortie was made yesterday by the Bruxellois with a view to try the fidelity of the Belgian troops, who are not expected to act against them.

That the whole population of these provinces is ready to rise en masse, should the Bruxellois succeed with the troops.

The mail leaves Ostend half an hour after the arrival of the letters for England; this morning the carriage which brings these letters waited until two o'clock at Ghent when no letters from Brussels having arrived, the conducteur came away.

## 3.

*L'influence considérable de la victoire du Parc.*  
(A Lord Aberdeen).

Ostend, September 28. 1830.

MYLORD,

It appears certain that the troops under PRINCE FREDERICK have been forced to abandon Brussels, after an obstinate conflict of four days, on Sunday night.

An attempt was made on Sunday night to arrest the command of this town from the general and to hoist the Brabant flag; but owing to his courage and activity after killing 2 men and wounding 6, tranquillity is for the moment restored.

General GOEDALS <sup>(1)</sup> arrived here yesterday at the

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(1) Erreur de transcription, il s'agit du général GOETHALS (Charles-Auguste), 1782-1851. En 1815, lieutenant-colonel commandant un bataillon de chasseurs de la 2<sup>e</sup> brigade à Waterloo; en 1830, général-major, commandant la Flandre

head of 1100 men, retiring from Bruges, which is now in the hand of the bourgeoisie, everywhere rebelling against the Government.

A similar catastrophe is hourly expected at Ghent, although by the last accounts that city enjoyed tranquillity.

The spirit is everywhere very bad and I fear that in a few days the whole of Belgium will be independent of the government.

I send this dispatch by Mr BARRY who left Brussels on Sunday morning <sup>(1)</sup>.

## 4.

*La retraite de la garnison hollandaise d'Ostende sur Flessingue.* (A Lord Aberdeen).

Ostend, September 29. 1830.

MYLORD,

Last night the troops of this garrison simultaneously mutinied and threatened the lives of their officers who are chiefly Hollanders.

General SCHEPERN in consequence of his courageous conduct on Sunday night has become an object of determined hatred to the Belgians and found himself under the painful necessity to fly with his countrymen <sup>(2)</sup>.

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occidentale; le 27 septembre, se retira à Ostende avec trois bataillons; Le 29, les troupes se mutinant, force fut à Goethals d'embarquer pour Flessingue les 27 officiers et les 47 sous-officiers hollandais; le 6 octobre 1830, se rallia au Gouvernement provisoire et fut nommé général de division.

(1) BARRY = éditeur anglais établi à Bruxelles.

(2) SCHEPERN = général-major, commandant en 1830 la garnison d'Ostende. Le 11 octobre 1830, un arrêté royal le nom-

Under these circumstances he applied to me to procure a steamboat and I have the satisfaction to state that all the Dutch officers and men have quitted Ostend early this morning where they certainly would have been sacrificed to the popular fury. The troops disbanded themselves this morning and the bourgeois guard have taken possession of the authority under the Brabant flag.

5.

*La désertion des troupes.* (A Lord Aberdeen).

Ostend, October 2. 1830.

MYLORD,

Every town in Belgium has now declared against the Government, excepting Antwerp; the troops have everywhere disbanded themselves and all is confusion and anarchy. The Dutch are all looking for safety in flight and it is much feared that many of those who reside in the Interior will be arrested and illtreated.

The mail is just arrived from Brussels with letters for England, which obliges me to close this dispatch.

6.

*L'activité du Gouvernement Provisoire. — Les frictions entre le peuple et la troupe.* (Lettre privée à J. Bidwell).

Ostend, October 4. 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

I sent Mr WHITE en courrier with the dispatches for Mr CARTWRIGHT wherever he may be. The Provi-

ma commandant en chef de la place forte de Venloo; le 10 novembre 1830, il fut forcé de capituler devant les assauts de l'armée du général Daine.

sional Government is extremely active and we have hourly to expect the arrival of a commandant already appointed. The defection among the troops is general and I very much fear the impossibility of reconciling the Belgians with the House of Orange. Things seem quiet for the moment, the Dutch have everywhere escaped molestations except at Ypres, where they met yesterday with considerable ill usage. Our steam vessels have refused to take them from Nieuport to Flushing; a revolt is said to have taken place there, the battalion de punition quartered at Flushing having turned against the Dutch inhabitants. Altho' this is a mere report, it is to be feared the battalion as the name indicates being composed of all the mauvais sujets in the Belgian part of the army.

## 7.

*L'état de Bruxelles au 1<sup>er</sup> octobre.* (Lettre d'un anonyme transmise par Fauche le 4 octobre 1830).

Brussels, 1st October 1830.

There was much alarm here this morning, in consequence of a few horse-soldiers appearing in the Louvain road near the burial ground; the bourgeois to the amount of 500 went out with five guns but met with no enemy. They are said indeed to have fallen back to Malines, and as I have been this afternoon in the top of Ste Gudule where the Provisional Government placed an excellent telescope, I have satisfied myself that no troops are within several leagues of Brussels.

The general opinion is that our city will not be reentered or bombarded, in fact we are under no alarm ourselves, and we find that confidence is much on the increase. The place Royale presents a

formidable appearance. 12 cannons and 1 mortar with four ammunition waggons being stationed there. The Dutch have doubtless committed great excesses, but do not believe, Sir, one tenth of the reports in circulation. The churches were opened on Monday last as usual, and continue to be so.

8.

*L'extension du mouvement révolutionnaire.*  
*L'excitation de la population yproise.* (A J. Bidwell).

Ostend, October 6. 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

Antwerp and Maestricht are the only places of consequence in all Belgium, where the Brabant flag is not floating and such is the activity of the Provisional Government that in a very short time, all the places and appointments, civil and military, will be filled up by persons attached to the new order of things.

We are here in a sad state respecting money, the distress of many English families is beyond all belief. I was again fortunate in persuading the captain of an English cutter to take 80 Dutch persons to Flushing — they came from Ypres where the populace stripped and illtreated them shockingly; had they come here in the day, horrors would have been committed upon them which was luckily prevented.

9.

*La mission de Ch. White.*  
(Lettre privée à Lord Aberdeen).

Ostend, 7th October 1830.

MYLORD,

I have the honor to address your Lordship on a

subject which at this moment may be of importance. I sent Mr WHITE en courier to Mr CARTWRIGHT. He was obliged to pass thro' Antwerp, saw the Prince of Orange and afterwards the members of the Provisional Government. His letters I have hitherto sent to M. BIDWELL; the enclosed is one which I received from him this morning. It needs no comment on my part. If it should coincide with your Lordship's views I think an admirable opportunity presents itself to employ Mr WHITE secretly thro' my channel <sup>(1)</sup>.

10.

*La désertion des troupes en Flandre. — L'arrêt des manufactures à Gand. — Les aventures de Ch. White.* (Ch. White à Fauche, transmise par Fauche au Foreign Office le 4 octobre 1830).

Ghent, Sunday, 6 o'clock p. m.  
(3 Octobre)

You will be surprised to hear that I am not further advanced, but I was detained so long at Bruges, that I lost at least 2 hours.

Everything was perfectly quiet at Bruges, wonderfully so and the tranquility of this place and surrounding country is astonishing. Were it not for the tricolour at the grand' garde and a few gardes bourgeois it would be impossible to discover that any revolution had taken place. At Eecloo and 3 villages, all is quietly peaceable, I did not meet a single soldier between Ostend and this place, though I, discovered some low cropped heads very jollily

<sup>(1)</sup> La lettre jointe à cette missive est publiée par COLEBRANDER, *Gedenkstukken*, X, vol. 4, p. 94.



amusing themselves at bowls (how do you spell it) by the road side.

All the troops here are disbanded or disbanding as fast as possible. The few Dutch privates and Non-Coms. <sup>(1)</sup> are separated from their Belgian comrades and it is the intention of the citizens to send them by night in order to secure them from molestation.

They tell me if there is no disturbance here next week they hope all will pass.

But in consequence of 5 large manufactures having stopped working last night a large body of men are thrown out of employ and fears are entertained that they will cause trouble unless the burgomaster takes proper precautions, that is unless they are paid or employed; there are 38,000 poor or working people in this place — and as the bankruptcy of the majority of the manufactures must ensue — the consequences must be dreadful. The Duke of Saxe Weimar and almost all the Dutch officers departed the night before last.

Fifteen unfortunate fellows (colonels and inferior officers) I saw confined in the great room at the Town Hall at Bruges. They are to be detained as hostages.

On arriving at the bridge at Bruges the guard drew out, asked for my pass. The officer advanced, turned it up side down, said it was not en règle, ordered out a very small corporal and an immense grenadier whose stomach never could admit of his presenting arms, to whom were adjoined four others and I was marched up au pas to the Hôtel de Ville — grande consultation. After examining the passports, seals, letters, etc., it was declared all right.

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(1) Non-commissioned officers = Sous-officiers.

We fraternised, cried fif la pelchik, and having put an officer into the carriage to see me well extra muros, I started and arrived here without the slightest interruption. I have not seen 3 cockades in the place and indeed there is little necessity for all people are unanimous and were they not, the flag at the Garde-House is large enough to answer for all their sins. DURAND, the Editor of the *Journal de Gand* has escaped to the Hague.

I hear from a man just arrived from Brussels (the host of the post) that the degat at that place is exaggerated in the most absurd manner, and indeed the horrors said to be committed. But he affirms as positive the affairs of the little girls <sup>(1)</sup>. From all I can find out, PRINCE F(REDERIC) is at Antwerp, they say that old General Trip and the officers told him yesterday — they would not fight against their fellow-subjects! And that he is consequently going to withdraw to form a cordon his left on Maestricht, his right on Antwerp.

As I find the road to Antwerp swarms with disbanded and drunken soldiers and that the Dutchmen are at St Nicholas (I mean those who retreated hence), I am going to wait until the Antwerp diligence comes in at 9 — and this delay is of little consequence as I cannot enter Antwerp before 6 a. m.

One paper says Mr C(ARTWRIGHT) is at Brussels, another that he is returned to the Hague.

Excuse this griffonage but I have eaten nothing all day and I have a fork in one hand, a pen in the other and a tough fowl's pinion in my month.

(1) On a accusé les troupes hollandaises à Bruxelles d'avoir commis des atrocités dans deux pensionnats, rue Royale et rue Verte. Ces imputations étaient fausses, voir *Esquisses historiques*, pp. 307, 308, 320, et Suppl., p. 206.

## 11.

*La position de l'armée royale après la retraite de Bruxelles. — Sa démoralisation.* (Ch. White à Fauche, transmise au Foreign Office le 8 octobre 1830).

(Antwerp) Monday 10 a. m.  
(4 octobre 1830)

MY DEAR SIR,

On my arrival here I find that Mr C(ARTWRIGHT) is still at Brussels where I shall proceed directly. HOICHEPIED is gone to endeavour to get me a passport, as all communication with Brussels by Vilvorde is cut off I shall I hope be at B. by 4 and I will stay there as short a time as possible. PRINS F(REDERIC) is here with the guard and about 7.000 men.

He has about 16.000 in advance, the outposts are at Epegghem in front of Malines <sup>(1)</sup>. But they are certainly going to retire — a superb battery of 9 guns horse artillery is marching now past the window. All is fear and confusion here as it appears to be the intention of Prins Frederic to take up a position, his right here on the Wahl, his left upon Lier, supported by 2 larges frigates — 2 corvettes — 1 brig. These are moored immediately opposite the Quays. There was a movement here last night but of no consequence.

All the country on the left back of the Scheldt at Beveren is up; the outposts (a squadron of 8° hussards) are at Zwijndrecht 3 miles from hence <sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) *Epegghem*, prov. de Brabant, arrond. de Bruxelles, 16 km. N. de Bruxelles.

(2) *Beveren-Waes*, com. de la prov. de la Flandre orientale, arrond. de Saint-Nicolas, à 10,5 km. N.-E. de cette ville.

*Zwijndrecht*, com. de la prov. de la Flandre orientale, arrond. de Saint-Nicolas, 15 km. N.-E., à 5 km. de Beveren.

The loss of the troops has been severe, but not in the tenth proportion what people say, but the fact is they are completely demoralised. General BOREEL is with the P(RINS) FREDERIC <sup>(1)</sup>.

I have no time to write more, I shall give you a account in person.

P. F. (Prins Frederic)'s corps united with General CORT-HEILIGERS. They are all echeloned between Lier and Epeghem. A detachment of Brusselers are expected this day at St Nicholas coming from Termonde. People here consider the thing over and dread but this place should be declared en état de siège.

12.

*La profondeur du sens national. — Les rapports entre le Prince d'Orange et le Gouvernement Provisoire.* (Fauche à J. Bidwell).

Ostend, 7th October 1830.

SIR,

My courier, M. WHITE arrived this moment charged with dispatches from Mr Cartwright. The PRINCE OF ORANGE will accept the Government under any title the people please, perfectly independent of Holland. Mr WHITE saw several of the members of the Provisional Government, who gave him to understand that they would have no objections to treat with the PRINCE OF ORANGE, if they would be saved harmless

(1) Général BOREEL, Amsterdam, 1775-Friedrichshafen (Wurtemberg), 1851. Lieutenant-colonel au régiment de hussards en décembre 1813, il fut nommé général le 20 décembre 1815. Il a pris part aux combats de Waterloo, à l'Expédition de Bruxelles, à la Campagne des Dix Jours, Grand maître de la maison du Roi en 1841.

from the adherents to the new order of things and the people at large. Any body with the shadow of an authority from government might now be successfully employed between the Provisional Government and the Prince and matters brought to an end. The great object to have in view is to encourage the national spirit created by the Revolution and to use it as a barrier between France and Holland — better than all the fortresses imaginable.

Here being no possibility of sending a steam vessel from this port (the mail packet not being at my disposal) and an exorbitant charge of £ 60 (and harbour dues not included) being made by the agent of the steam navigation company, I send the dispatch to Calais. In these important times it would be of the almost utility to keep the « Lightning » and « Comet » constantly plying between England and Ostend.

## 13.

*La victoire de Bruxelles. — La chute d'Ath. — Le nationalisme des populations.* (H. Lytton Bulwer à Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Office, 238 vol., 49).

Ghent, 29th September 1830.

SIR,

I had the honour of informing your Excellency on the 25th of what I had written to London respecting the feeling which pervaded the towns on the French frontier, as well as of the number both of citizens and soldiers (having deserted) whom I met in coming from Alost, on their road to join the insurgents.

The Gentleman however who took charge of my letter was delayed on his journey and I now receive it.

Your Excellency will be already informed of the repulse of PRINCE FREDERICK : I am just returned from Brussels, which, for the moment, is perfectly quiet. The accounts of the damage it has received are greatly exaggerated. Few houses have suffered from fire, nor does the cannon appear to have done any serious mischief. The Provisional Government is organizing the soldiers and peasants who hourly come in from different quarters.

I understood that one regiment of eight hundred men was already equipped and in uniform; and according to what I could learn there are about twelve thousand effective men in the city.

Cannon and ammunition have been received from Ath, as I had informed your Excellency, they would be. Deserters from Tournay and Mons are arriving, and I hear that an attempt will be made to-night to seize the commandant at Tournay, on the success of which the whole garrison will declare for the popular cause. Indeed, from all I have seen I should say that every Belgian soldier only wants an occasion to desert.

At Alost, where I slept last night, the troops (as I was credibly informed) solicited the people to attack them and seize their arms; the unexpected appearance of some officers, prevented this. But tho' there is a decided animosity thro' out this country towards Holland, I have not, in any part of it, heard a wish expressed for French interference or assistance. The contest is the Belgians against the Dutch, and the enthusiasm which animates it is every instant increasing.

MR DE POTTER is at last arrived in Brussels. The wish I heard expressed there by the most respectable bourgeois is, that the Prince of Orange should present

himself, in which case, it was their opinion that he would be unanimously well received. I cannot learn to any certainty the number of troops under PRINCE FREDERICK nor their exact position. Rumours of a rise at Antwerp have been circulated but I believe on very slight foundation.

There has been some disturbance in this town to-day which was soon quelled; but altho' the principal inhabitants of it are disinclined to a separation, that disinclination has a powerful balance in other feelings, and if they would not take a part against the King, I do not think that they can be relied upon, as likely to act with energy in his favour. The Editor of the « Catholique » has been arrested and imprisoned.

I regret very much that this has been the first communication I have had the opportunity of making to your Excellency and that I am not able to make it more complete.

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