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No subscription will be taken for a term short of six months; nor unless paid for in advance.

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PROSPECTUS. THE MADISONIAN will be devoted to the support of the principles and doctrines of the democratic party, as delineated by Mr. Madison, and will aim to consummate that political reform in the theory and practice of the national government, which has been repeatedly indicated by the general suffrage, as essential to the peace and prosperity of the country, and to the perfection and perpetuity of its free institutions.

The commercial interests of the country are overwhelmed with embarrassment; its monetary concerns are unusually disordered; every ramification of commerce is threatened with disorganization; the social edifice seems threatened with dissolution; and the country is filled with predictions of evil and the murmurings of despondency; the general government is boldly assailed by a large and respectable portion of the people, as the direct cause of their difficulties; open resistance to the laws is publicly encouraged, and a spirit of insubordination is fostered, as a necessary defence to the pretended usurpations of the party in power; some from whom better things were hoped, are making the "confusion worse confounded," by a headlong pursuit of extreme notions and indefinite phantasms, totally incompatible with a wholesome state of the country.

In the midst of all these difficulties and embarrassments, it is feared that many of the less firm of the friends of the administration are wavering in their confidence, and beginning, without just cause, to view with distrust those men to whom they have been long attached, and whose elevation they have laboured to promote from honest and patriotic motives. Exulting in the anticipation of dismay and confusion amongst the supporters of the administration as the consequence of these things, the opposition are seeking to create a party, and to begin, without just cause, to view with distrust those men to whom they have been long attached, and whose elevation they have laboured to promote from honest and patriotic motives.

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From the American Monthly Magazine. SKETCHES OF PARIS. CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

I have, for three months, been observing the proceedings in the two political chambers of France. Their legislation, the bills approved, the bills rejected, the various opinions evolved in their discussion,—these constitute one broad and significant type of the time.

The Chamber of Peers is, as you may be aware, composed of two hundred and fifty-nine members. They are appointed by the king, out of certain classes of notable citizens, designated in the charter. At the age of twenty-five they may sit in the chamber; at that of thirty, they vote. Their various titles are of Duke, Marquis, Count, Viscount, and Baron. The Princes of the blood royal are Peers by birthright. The body's sanction is indispensable to the enactment of all laws, and it constitutes the only tribunal whereby ministers, accused by the Chamber of Deputies, may be tried, and all persons charged with high treason, or any offences against the surety of the state. It holds its sessions, far away from the other Chamber, over in the old palace of the Luxembourg,—a palace that has around it as much of revolutionary, consular, imperial, and Bourbon history, as any edifice in the kingdom. You enter beneath a lofty portal, into a large open court. Through a door at one of its corners, you pass up a flight of stairs, showing your yellow ticket, first to a national guard, and then presenting it to a liveried huissier, who conducts you up a narrow staircase, dimly lamp-lighted, and dreary enough to recall certain avenues in the old prisons of state at Venice. Out from that staircase, you pass into the strangers' gallery, and now down before you may be seen whatever France possesses of Peers of the realm. The charter which annulled every creation of nobility by Charles X., permits no exclusive privileges to that existing for life, under Louis Philippe and his successors. The king may make nobles at his pleasure, but he can give them only rank and honors, without any exemption from the charges and duties of society.

The Peers sit in a semicircular hall, not unlike the Senate room of the United States, resembling also the Chamber of Deputies, though much smaller. Its diameter is about eighty feet. At the middle of this diameter is a carved-out recess, wherein stands the chair of President Pasquier, who is, moreover, Chancellor of France, circled behind which are several statues, and between them hang many standards captured in old wars. The member's benches are ranged amphitheatrically in front of the President. Whoever would address the assembly, may ascend the tribune. Seldom, however, have I seen any of them taking that trouble. Generally their few ideas have been delivered without moving from their place. In personal appearance, they differ somewhat from the members of the other house. The coats of each are gold embroidered. They likewise present a less number of juvenile heads; and as for the matter of tumult and lively action, they are quite tame in such comparison. Thenard, the great chemist, attracted eyes by his shaggy head of hair; Victor Cousin, by his spiritualism and airs of pectiness; and long I looked upon the worn and impressive features of Marshal Soult. Looking is indeed the only purpose for which, this winter, I have ever visited the Chamber of Peers. Had my object been hearing, I should invariably have come to be disappointed. Except the Marquis de Dreux Breze, there is hardly an orator in the whole assembly. And as for interesting discussion, the enunciation of principles, the development of reasons for this or that policy, there has not, thus far in the session,—I write upon the 10th of April, 1837,—been an occasion worth crossing the Seine to enjoy. Until my recent experience, I had no just conception of the political *arrogance* of the French Chamber of Peers. The present opinions and feelings of the nation, the wants and progress of society, have not therein been, this year, revealed. There they sit, three or four days of each week, listening to tedious reports, talking lazily about bills before them, looking forward to the trial of Meunier, Lavaux, and Lacaze, and then adjourning. How wide the contrast between the political importance of this assembly and that of the United States' Senate or the English House of Lords! The daily political press discusses none of their proceedings, speaks seldom of their men. When the political progress of the week is summed up, little or no allusion is made to that body. The ministers are seldom in their benches there. Had the Chamber of Peers never been, by the king, convoked in December, 1836, I firmly believe that public feeling and public knowledge would have been no other than what they are at present. A report of one of their sessions is barrenness itself, and the occasional news of journalists about them is, that the affair of Meunier has been, by the Peers, postponed to the latter part of next week, or next month.

Where, then, shall we look for the present politics of France? About what is this loud political discussion of the press? Where are the ministers upon their benches? When may you see the great results, and also one great source, of public opinion? Only at the Chamber of Deputies. This is the sole national chamber of France. Go, then, and watch its fluctuations and its permanences, if you would know in what corner sits the wind of general feeling. Go there, moreover, if you would hear France's best orators and her most stupid readers. Go there if you would see the finest parliamentary hall in the world, and likewise assembled therein four hundred and fifty-nine law-makers, more turbulent, more disorderly, more abounding in chat and motion, than any law-makers whereof Christendom, or even Pagandom, can be possessed. In this assembly are one hundred and sixty-nine public functionaries, whereof seventy-four are magistrates of different French courts, and forty are military gentlemen. Of the two hundred and ninety members, not public functionaries, forty-six are advocates, eight are doctors, three are bankers, six are manufacturers, eight are masters of forges, five are notaries, and the rest are proprietors, cultivators, or rentiers. An American, accustomed to hear the voice of every citizen in the election of his representatives, is somewhat surprised on learning that these so called representatives of France, of thirty-three and a half millions of people, are elected by only

eighty thousand of the qualified. The phrase Representative Government, as understood broadly and liberally in the United States, is applicable to no political organization in France, or even in England. How slow is progress towards that state, now so generally deemed the end of all political association,—the application of the opinions, the sentiments, the feelings, the demands of the general people.

I was first in this chamber on the 17th of last January. The subject before the assembly was the address to the king in reply to his opening speech. The debates upon it continued nine days. They engaged the first men of the chamber, among whom as orators stood foremost, Odillon Barrot, Guizot, Passy, Thiers, Duvergier de Hauranne, and Berryer. The chief article in the address related to intervention in Spain. The question, you are aware, destroyed the last and created the present Cabinet,—the Cabinet of the 6th September. Its agitation in the Chamber was tremendous indeed. I heard speak upon it Pierre Antoine Berryer.

The Chamber, as you know, is in form a hemisphere. The seats rise gradually, each behind the other, as they radiate out from the centre. At that centre, in a somewhat elevated chair, sits President Dupin. Before him is the tribune or pulpit, up to which each member ascends, who would speak out or read forth his speech. I like this idea of the tribune. It isolates the orator. It brings him more conspicuously before the eyes of the House. It gives a more parliamentary form to his delivery. I object to it, however, as not isolating the orator enough. It still conceals just half his form. It gives him wherewithal to lean his gaucherie and awkwardness upon. Favorable this doubtless is, to the careless and the unstudied. By one who knows that eloquence is greatly an art, among whose elements are figure and position, as well as face-expression and gesture, such pulpit-screen cannot be desired. Nay, by such it will be desired away. It helps to destroy the dramatic part of his situation. No portion of the delivery of Marc Antony's speech over the body of Caesar, was ever to me so unimpressive as that which precedes his descent from the Roman pulpit. I thought Mr. Berryer, as he mounted into the tribune, wished its elevated front away, that his compact and muscular frame might stand full forth in the open presence of the whole assembly.

Ere he commenced, Mr. Berryer looked around him for a moment amidst profoundest silence. At his left hand was the *extreme gauche*, on one of whose front seats sat Odillon Barrot, in folded arms, with Lafitte and Arago. That portion of the Chamber represented the radicalism and the republicanism of France. Between its opinions and his doctrines rolled oceans broad and far ever unpassable. At its side was the party called the *centre gauche*. Here was seated the brisk and spectacled statesman, Thiers. Around that leader were beating fifty hearts, not one of whose throbs were in political sympathy with those of the man at the tribune. Right abroad before him extended the large *centre*, the two hundred and forty-two sustainers of the present ministry, the redoubtable doctrinaires. On the three front seats were ranged, with their portfolios before them, every member of the Cabinet. Mr. Guizot was Minister of Public Instruction. Count Mole, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was there. Perril was Minister of Public Justice. Duchatel had the portfolio of the Finances. Gasparin was Minister of the Interior, Martin of Commerce. Bernard and Rosamel were there—the one Minister of War and the other of the Marine. Between this *centre* body and Mr. Berryer were a very few sentiments in common. Next to the *centre*, and, as it were, interdoctored with it, sat the *centre droit*. With the opinions in those seats, Berryer was far from being at war. They were ultra doctrinaires, and they embraced, though with no cordial hand, the opinions, the feelings, the hopes and the fears of the party on their left, the *extreme droit*, the sombre and sullen party of the Legitimists, the few fond rememberers of the dynasty of Charles X. Among them sat Lamartine, and from their ranks had just walked forth the orator. Their opinions he was now about to develop. Around the Chamber, in the galleries, in the royal and diplomatic boxes, were ambassadors, princes, and gentlemen—duchesses, and many titled dames, among whom was chiefly conspicuous, the Princess Lieven, and elegant ladies, not merely from all parts of Europe, but of the world. They had here assembled only to hear the eloquence of yonder man in the tribune. Their eyes rested on a body of middling stature, thoughtfully built, just forty-seven years of age thirteen days before, and buttoned tightly up to the chin in a blue frock-coat. His face was of determined fawn and massive make, surmounted by a forehead, calm and rather expansive. That face and forehead were, two hours hence, to be charged with blood, and flaming like firebrands. Mr. Berryer was a lawyer. He, moreover, centered around him the love and the hopes of the old Royalist party. To him that party ever looked for mouth-defence and vindication. He had always been the defender of the *La France* and the *Quotidienne*, so often in the last six years, dragged into the culprit's box at the Cour d'Assises. He had written much in a sort of thundering style; his voice had sounded like thunder many a time from the spot where you would know in what corner sits the wind of general feeling. Go there, moreover, if you would hear France's best orators and her most stupid readers. Go there if you would see the finest parliamentary hall in the world, and likewise assembled therein four hundred and fifty-nine law-makers, more turbulent, more disorderly, more abounding in chat and motion, than any law-makers whereof Christendom, or even Pagandom, can be possessed. In this assembly are one hundred and sixty-nine public functionaries, whereof seventy-four are magistrates of different French courts, and forty are military gentlemen. Of the two hundred and ninety members, not public functionaries, forty-six are advocates, eight are doctors, three are bankers, six are manufacturers, eight are masters of forges, five are notaries, and the rest are proprietors, cultivators, or rentiers. An American, accustomed to hear the voice of every citizen in the election of his representatives, is somewhat surprised on learning that these so called representatives of France, of thirty-three and a half millions of people, are elected by only

to the opposition. He blazed away at them without fear and without remorse. He attacked the policy of Intervention, and also of Non-Intervention. He moved about his scythe into this and that opinion, this and that feeling, this and that policy, always with fearlessness, always with power. "Why do they endure this?" said I. "Why do they not, as usual, interrupt the speaker?" First, Mr. Berryer belongs to the past. His words will do no harm. Second, Mr. Berryer has a splendid voice, and a certain resistless grandeur of manner. But he was interrupted. "I tell you," said Berryer, "there can be no intervention in Spain." "Pourquoi?" asked a piping voice in the *centre gauche*. "Pourquoi?" shouted Berryer with scorn and energy. Then was a movement general. "Parceque," continued Berryer, and then paused. The agitation in the Chamber suspended him for a moment. "Because," resumed the speaker, "all reasons for so intervening involve consequences which you will unhesitatingly reject. Because what this ministry desires is impossible in Spain. Because what the opposition wishes can never be accomplished. You asked me the *pourquoi*, you have my *three parceques*." After a pause, he said, "I am now going to develop these truths. I shall wound your ideas, but that's another reason for hearing me with attention." And so he went on, developing truths and wounding ideas. The interruptions soon became very frequent. He called Don Carlos by the recognition of Charles V. Said a voice in the *gauche*—"We know nothing of Charles V. any more than of Louis XIX. or of Henry V." Mr. Berryer went on. "When Charles V. shall be triumphant"—(tremendous interruptions).—"When Charles V. shall be"—here the confusion had grown into what the French call *un bruit epouvantable*. The President rang his bell incessantly. I recalled certain sittings of the Convention in the old Revolution. The minister of public instruction arose, and in his place declared, with emphasis, that such words could not come forth from that tribune. "We know no Charles V.," said he. "We have to do only with Don Carlos." "Eh bien," says Berryer. "I care not about words. When Don Carlos"—and here the satisfactory ejaculations of "Ah, ah, enfin," were murmured throughout the assembly, and the orator, shrugging significantly his shoulders, went on. He went on to new denunciations and to new interruptions. "Silence!" exclaimed Berryer. "I'll stand here till I am heard. I have ideas to speak forth, and I will speak them;" and then he placed himself into a dogged, obstinate position, which declared emphatically, *no budging hence*. Silence was at length restored, and Berryer continued. A little man on a distant seat in the *centre* interrupted him, saying—"Mais non, ce n'est pas cela, ce n'est pas cela." "Come down to the tribune, sir, if you wish to speak," shouted Berryer, "but, for God's sake, do not interrupt me thus." To one quite green in French political assemblies, the scene was altogether extraordinary. In what is called an *interruption*, every member moves with discontent in his seat, tosses up impatiently his hands, mutters something to himself, his neighbor, or the speaker; some ten or twenty rise up, passions flare in the eye, the President rings loudly his bell, the sworded huissiers cry out—"silence, Messieurs, silence;" and the orator in the tribune, looking solitary and sullen, merely sips by way of diversion, some sugar-water from the glass at his right hand. Mr. Berryer spoke two hours. His voice continued clear and powerful. His gesture was chiefly with his right hand, and not unlike the sledge-hammer style of Webster. His position and manner were full of vigor and independence. So much for the vehicle. His thought was dramatic in a very high degree. His ideas were condensed into the smallest possible quantity of words. His speech sounded well, and it reads well. Its delivery, right in the face of that opposition, and those Doctrinaires, seemed to me proof of no ordinary moral courage. When it was concluded, Mr. Berryer descended into the *extreme right*. Several gentlemen of that section felicitated him, and Lamartine shook him warmly by the hand. The whole assembly arose. Several went into the conversation rooms. Many gathered in groups, gesticulating violently. The hall, for fifteen minutes, was all in hubbub. One of the huissiers in sombre livery, placed a fresh glass of sugared water at the tribune. The President rang his bell to order. Cries were frequently heard *en place*, *Messieurs, en place*; and looking down into the tribune, I saw, leisurely leaning upon its desk, a little, thin, bronze-complexioned man, in a black dress coat and white cravat. His face was rather solemn and impressive. The brows projected, and from light falling down through the chamber's single window in the ceiling, cast sombre shadows over all his features. This was Mr. Guizot, the author, among other works, of thirty volumes of French history; lately made member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Minister of Public Instruction, and Chief of the Doctrinaires.

"It is but seven years," he slowly began, still leaning familiarly on the tribune, "it is but seven years since, that the last honorable speaker and myself entered this chamber; he to sustain the ministry of M. De Polignac, I to batter it down, (tres bien, tres bien, muttered twenty voices), he to oppose the Address of the 23d, I to support it, (new acclamations.) We have both of us been, since that time, and we are still to-day, true to our origin and to our principles. What he did seven years ago, he has just now done. What I then did, I do to-day." I was much pleased by this quick grouping of the preceding and the present speaker. A few words had opened the wide chasm that yawned between them. They showed Mr. Guizot belonging to the present, Mr. Berryer standing on the past. The little statesman went on. I was charmed with his distinct and slow enunciation. His voice was firm, though it lacked the volume of Berryer's tones. I was pleased with the compressed neatness of his delivery, and the luminous arrangement of his thoughts. Others seemed equally pleased. The ejaculations of *tres bien, tres bien, bravo, oui, oui, oui*, chased each other up, for the next half hour, very rapidly from the *centre*. He went on developing himself with few interruptions, but with many *sensations*, many *marks of adhesion*, many, what the French call, *vifs assentiments*. He declared that France would continue in her recent and present course with regard to Spain; that she

would not engage herself, but would attempt to act, and would act, so as to serve that country, and to baffle the designs of the Pretender. Here Odillon Barrot cried out, "Je demande la parole." It was to signify that he desired to speak, at this sitting or on the morrow.

I have often heard Mr. Guizot at the tribune. I have always been impressed by his solemn and conciliatory tone and manner. I like his terseness of thought, and the measured precision of his speech. I like his neatness, his *netete*, as his friends call it. I like him for never wandering out of the circumference of his subject. Ten times a day he will ascend the tribune to answer questions or objections. How swiftly does he conceive out the necessary answer, and with what concise distinctness does he not enunciate it! I know of nothing in his way, more delightful than to hear Mr. Guizot, after announcing that he rises to place the subject before the Chamber on its true foundations, go on to separate from it the nets and entanglements, flung around it by preceding speakers, and in five or ten minutes, to make what was dark confusion regular and transparent as the day. Mr. Guizot's doctrines are terribly attacked, never his character or his intellect. There is nothing about him of blaze or fire. All is calm, practical, passionless. I think him the most adroit speaker in the cabinet. Indeed, he is almost the only speaker. Count Mole reads, and so do others of the ministry.

When Mr. Guizot had concluded, Mr. Sauzet ascended the tribune, and after him Mr. Remusat, with a little bundle of manuscripts. He commenced reading his speech. I confess I am surprised to find so many members of this assembly reading their speeches. I was not prepared for such exhibition, in a nation famed for their much and admirable conversation. The French are reputed quick and nimble of thought and tongue. They are so. But they do not seem capable of sustained efforts. They can chat with the best parrots in the world. Very few of them care about speaking consecutively, three, four, or five hours, on a single theme. There is no continuing over a speech, as with us, to the second or third day. Spoken or written it is never what we call long-winded. The reading of speeches, however, is becoming of less and less favor. The press endeavors to laugh it down. The chamber itself does not seem altogether to like it. The taking out of a manuscript is generally one signal for instant interruption. Mr. Remusat, as I said, began to read, and immediately twenty members getting up, walked into the couloir and hemicycle for conversation. Twenty others took up pens for letter writing. A half dozen stared at the Princess Lieven through her spectacles. The extreme *gauche* betook themselves to lively talk around Odillon Barrot. The extreme right glowered at them in morose and bitter silence, while every moment President Dupin arose to ring his bell. The session, which commenced as usual, at two o'clock, closed as usual, at six. The debate on the Address continued three days longer. It was finally adopted by a majority of eighty-five voices. Such vast majority produced wide sensation. The opposition were not prepared for it. The ministry had not dared to reckon upon it. The debate had stirred up and evolved the opinions of the chamber. The vote had settled them into form and distinctness. Eh bien, thought Mr. Guizot, rubbing his hands—we are well sustained. We shall go strongly and triumphantly on. Let us congratulate ourselves upon this first manifestation of attachment to the Cabinet of September 6th. We shall carry out some grand measures. We shall make permanent a grand policy. I am at the head of the Doctrinaires. A future of success is before me.

Do not dream too confidently, Mr. Guizot. You are indeed strong now. Beware how you presume upon your strength. There are storms in the future. You are to be railed at by saucy voices from yonder tribune, and saucier tongues in the Parisian press. You are to meet with defeats—nay, with reverses; and there is one defeat awaiting you, that shall make you start in yonder ministerial seat, and shall half snatch the portfolio from your hand.

MASSACHUSETTS BANKS. The Secretary of State has sent a copy of the Bank Returns, made in November, as prepared for the use of the Legislature, and showing the state of the Banks in Massachusetts on the first Saturday of October last:

AGGREGATE ACCOUNT OF THE BANKS. Capital Stock paid in, \$38,280,000 00 Bills in circulation of five dollars and upwards, 7,654,366 46 Bills in circulation less than five dollars, 5,618,752 25

Net profits on hand, 1,514,535 39 Balances due to other Banks, 5,721,969 54 Cash deposited, &c., not bearing interest, 8,467,198 02

Dash deposited, bearing interest, 69,890,128 45 Due from the Banks, 1,517,934 22 Gold, Silver, &c., in Banks, 1,552,726 13

Bills of Banks in this State, 2,796,976 13 Bills of Banks elsewhere, 191,641 28 Balances due from other Banks, 5,814,224 04

Due to the Banks, excepting balances, 58,414,182 39 Total Resources of the Banks, 69,940,048 83 Amount of the last semi-annual Dividend, 1,060,350 00

Amount of reserved Profits, 1,555,551 99 Debts secured by pledge of Stock, 2,139,525 52

Losses and considered doubtful, 750,540 57 Rate of semi-annual Dividend on amount of Capital of the Banks, as existing when dividend was made, a fraction more than 2 and 13-16ths of one per cent.

REMARKS. The Franklin Bank, in Boston, has not made a return. The Lafayette Bank, in Boston, has given the state of the Bank as it existed on the 14th of November, instead of the first Saturday of October, as required by the Governor; its dividend is declared for eight months.

The Fulton, Midding Interest and Shawmut Banks, in Boston; Danvers Bank, in Danvers; Grand Bank, in Marblehead; Neponset Bank, in Canton; and the Wareham Bank, in Wareham, have only given the *rate* but not the amount of the last dividend, as required by the statute.

The Ipswich Bank, in Ipswich; Mercantile Bank, in Salem; Chichepe Bank, in Springfield; Bank of Norfolk, in Roxbury, made no dividends in October, but made their last dividends in April, 1837,—and the Pawtucket Bank, in Pawtucket, states its last dividend to have been made in July, 1835.

The City and Globe Banks, in Boston, returned, in addition to their capital stock paid in, the amount borrowed by them from the State, viz.—the City Bank, \$100,000, and the Globe Bank, \$54,000. These sums are transferred to the column of "Cash deposited, bearing interest," and are included in it.

The Eagle Bank, in Boston, has embraced in the amount of "Cash deposited, bearing interest," \$99,794 81, borrowed of the State.

The Northampton Bank, in Northampton, declared its dividend on \$150,000, and for five months. The City Bank, in Lowell, commenced operations on the 2d of October, 1837.

The Roxbury Bank, in Roxbury, did not commence operations until the 17th of October, 1837,—although its capital was paid in on the 30th of December, 1836. The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, in Adams, from the return of the Commissioners appointed to count the Specie in said Bank, does not appear to have gone into operation until subsequent to the first Saturday in October.

The amount of Bank Capital in the State, actually paid in, on the first Saturday of September, 1836, (as specified in the Abstract of that year,) was \$54,478,105; bills in circulation, \$10,892,949; gold, silver, &c., \$1,456,230.

COMPARATIVE CONDITION OF THE NEW YORK BANKS. From the Albany Argus of Dec. 15. BANKS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.—We publish to-day the monthly return of the Banks of this State, for the 1st of December inst. A comparison with preceding reports will show the following results:—

June 1, 1837. Nov. 1. Dec. 1. Loans and disc'ts 64,391,399